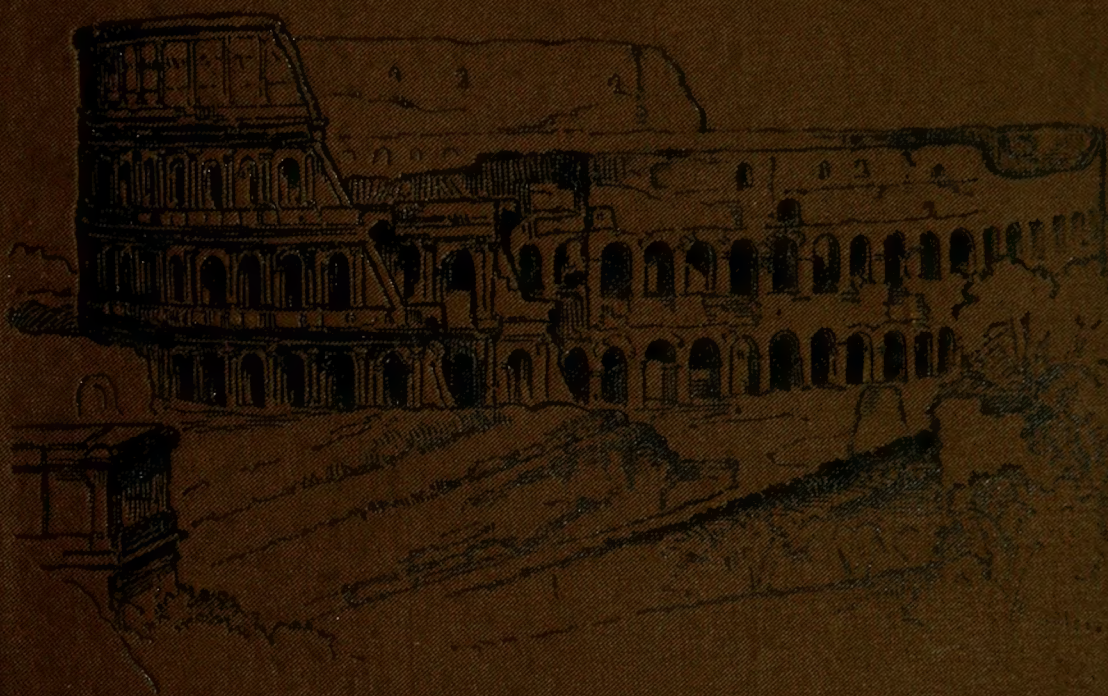


DURUY'S HISTORY
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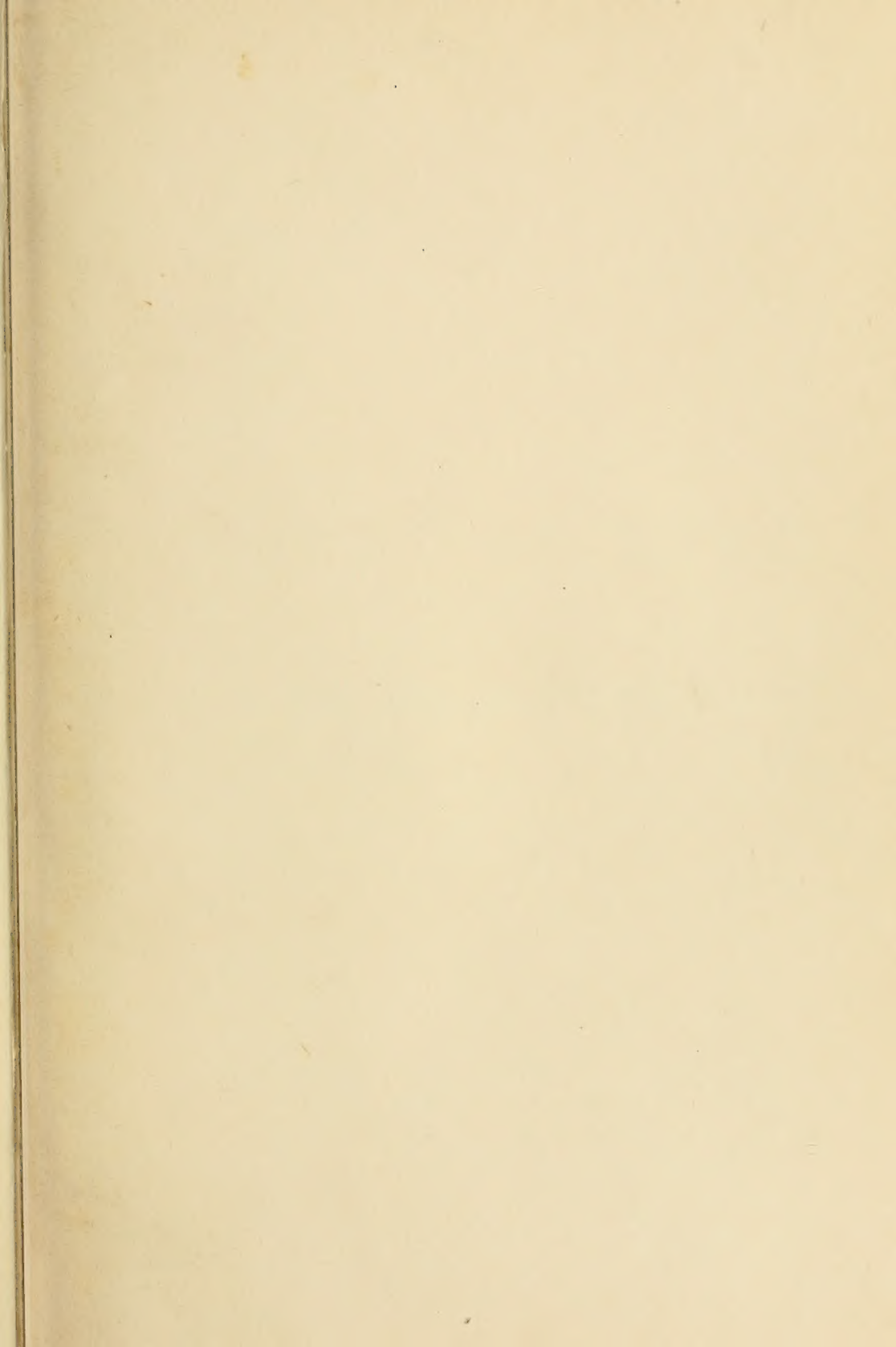


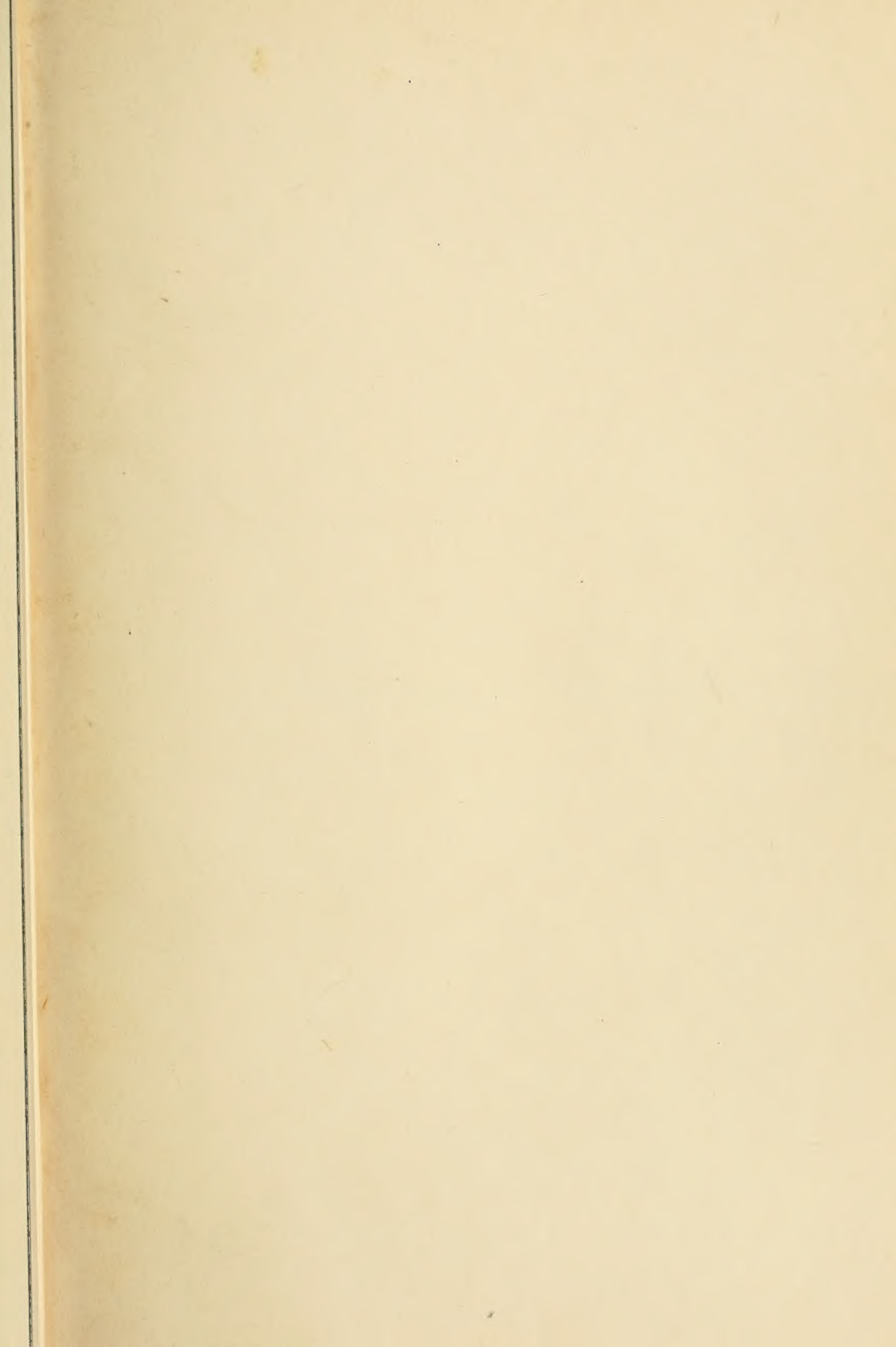


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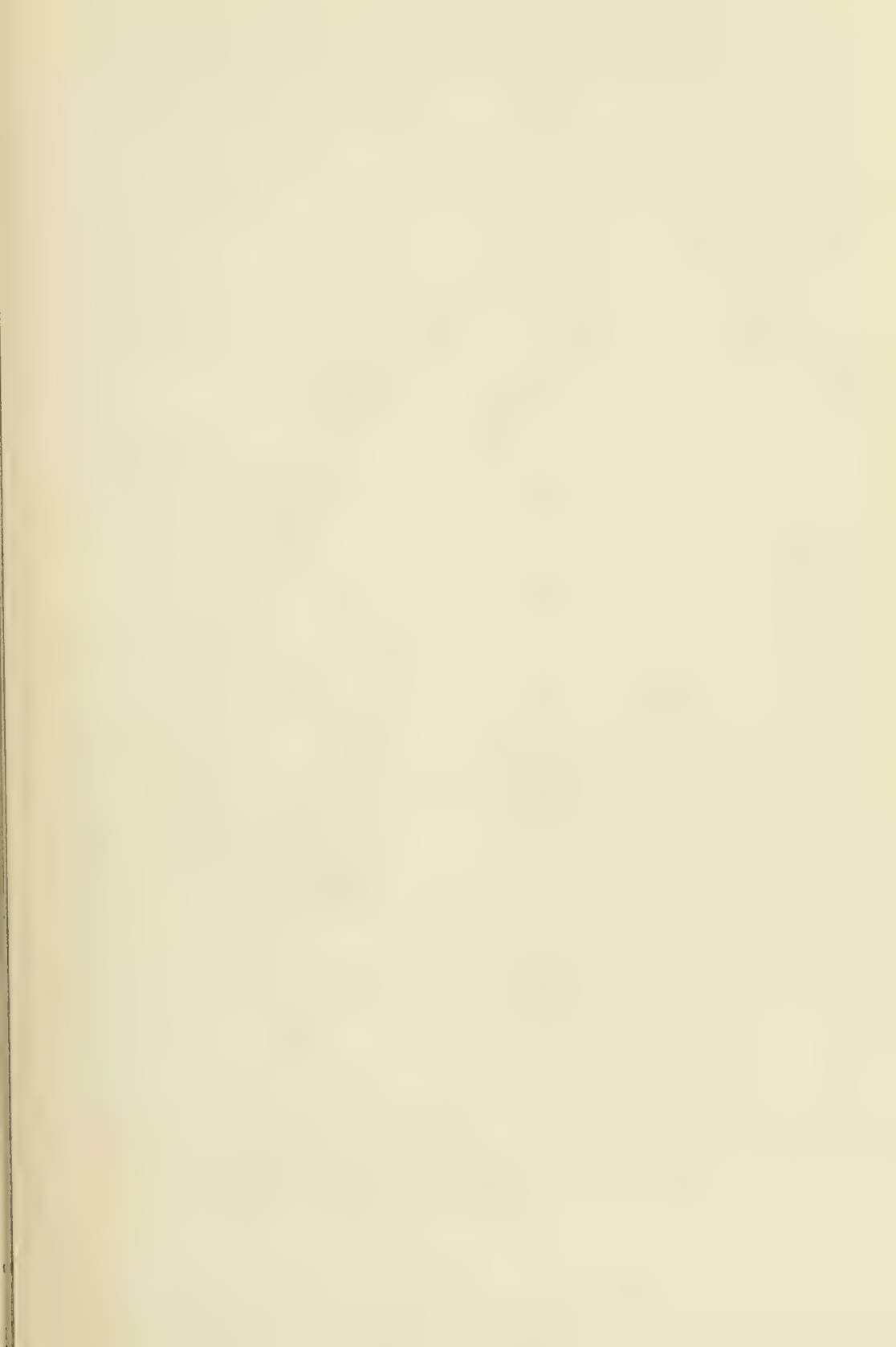




HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.





THE TRIUMPH OF AMPHITRITE

From a Pompeian Picture after Nicolin

HISTORY OF ROME, AND OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE INVASION OF THE
BARBARIANS.

By VICTOR DURUY,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, ETC.

TRANSLATED BY M. M. RIPLEY AND W. F. CLARKE.

EDITED BY

THE REV. J. P. MAHAFFY,

PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

Containing over Three Thousand Engravings, One Hundred Maps and Plans,
AND NUMEROUS CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

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HISTORY OF ROME.

FOURTH PERIOD

(CONTINUED).

THE PUNIC WARS (264-201).

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONTINUATION OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR. FROM THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ TO THAT OF THE METAURUS (216-207).

I. MEASURES TAKEN AT ROME AFTER CANNÆ; DEFECTION OF CAPUA.

“LET me go forward with my cavalry,” said one of his officers to Hannibal the evening after the battle. “and in five days you shall sup in the Capitol.” But never did an army of mercenaries sacrifice to its leader, however beloved, the day after a victory. To obtain much from such soldiers, much must be allowed them. Hannibal gave them time to gather up the spoils, to strip the dead, to sell their prisoners, and to celebrate, in prolonged orgies, their recent triumph. He knew, moreover, that between him and Rome there was a distance of eighty-eight leagues, there were rivers, mountains, fortified towns, a hostile country; last of all, an immense city defended by high walls and a moat thirty feet deep and a hundred broad;¹ and behind them a whole people in arms.

At Rome distress produced reaction; when the first moment of stupor was past, the city rang with sounds of preparation.

¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The wall on the inner side rested against an embankment fifty feet wide. See Vol. I., pp. 161-162.

Fabius, who was listened to as an oracle, directed that the women should remain at home, lest by their lamentations in the temples they might weaken the courage of the inhabitants; that all able-bodied men should be armed; that bands of cavalry should patrol the roads; that the senators should go about the city keeping order, setting guards at the gates, and preventing the departure of anybody from the city. In order to have done with the signs of grief as soon as possible, the time of mourning for the slain was limited to thirty days: the city seemed another Sparta. Nor were the gods neglected. Certain senators particularly versed in such matters undertook the duty of restoring confidence by satisfying popular superstitions. An embassy under the charge of Fabius Pictor set off for Delphi to consult the Pythia. The god of light and poetry doubtless gave only patriotic counsels. But the Roman divinities were more gloomy; among the religious expiations required some were cruel; two Vestals, accused of adultery, were interred alive in the field of crime, *campus sceleratus*; two Gauls and two Greeks suffered the same fate.¹ The chaste and implacable Vesta, with her honor thus avenged, would now return to her faithful people; and it was believed that the infernal gods, appeased by these abominable sacrifices, would no longer demand the hecatombs of war.

But the disastrous year was not yet ended. A few days later, news came that a Carthaginian fleet was ravaging the States of Hiero; that another lay in wait at the Aegatian Islands to fall upon Lilybaeum as soon as the praetor had gone; finally, that Postumius Albinus, drawn with his army into an ambushade by the Cisalpine Gauls, had perished there, and that his skull, set in gold, now served the Boian priests as a cup whence they poured libations in their sacrifices.³ But after the great disaster of Cannae these new misfortunes seemed trivial. Men's hearts, moreover, were regaining courage. Two



COIN OF TEANUM.²

¹ Livy, xxii. 57. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxx. 12) places in the year 97 a senatus-consultum, abolishing human sacrifices: . . . *ne homo immolaretur*.

² On the obverse, TIANVR, in Oscan. Head of Mercury and a star. On the reverse, SIKIKIN, in Oscan. Bull with human face and a star. Bronze coin of Teanum Sidicinum.

³ Polybius, iii. 106, 118.

legions were already in the city, and to them Marcellus added fifteen hundred more soldiers from the fleet at Ostia; also, with an activity and clear-sightedness which announced the successful adversary of Hannibal, he posted a whole legion at Teanum Sidicinum, to bar the road into Latium. Since the war began, more than a hundred thousand Romans and allies had perished; these two campaigns had then reduced by one seventh the military strength of Rome.¹ M. Junius Pera, however, being created dictator by the Senate, raised four legions, and a thousand horse, together with eight thousand slaves bought from their owners, and called for the contingents of the allies. Arms were lacking, and he despoiled the temples and porticos of the trophies accumulated there during two centuries. Finally, when Carthalo came with deputies from the prisoners of Cannae to speak of peace and ransom, a lictor was sent at once to bid him depart from the Roman territory. About ten thousand soldiers were in the power of Hannibal: these the Senate refused to ransom; others² had taken refuge at Venusia and at Canusium: it decreed that they should go into Sicily, there to serve without pay or military honors, until Hannibal should have been driven out of Italy.³

This patriotic heroism verged on cruelty. Rome regarded as criminals her soldiers taken captive by the enemy; she consigned to the slave-markets of African cities, she gave over to all the miseries and all the disgrace of slavery, these sons, these brothers of senators, who fighting at Cannae had already risked their lives for her. But it is with these extreme severities that nations are saved; on the day when Rome took this grievous resolution, she found therein the superhuman strength which must presently give her the victory.

These men, stern though they were, showed at the same time an admirable spirit of conciliation. Disregarding their causes of

¹ See above the total of the Roman forces in 225.

² About three thousand, according to Polybius; according to Livy, eight thousand. The reader will doubtless remember the improbable story, that the fugitives after Cannae proposed to seek an asylum with foreign kings, and that Scipio defeated this scheme by threatening death to the first man who should speak of flight. Polybius makes no mention of this report, although he narrates minutely the youth of Scipio. After the battle of Cannae, Hannibal again had sent home the Italian prisoners without ransom.

³ Livy, xxii. 61.

complaint against Varro, the faults of this popular consul, and his flight from the field of battle, the Senate went out in a body to meet him, with all the people, as he drew near Rome, and thanked him publicly that he had not despaired of the Republic.¹ This magnanimity should be remembered to the credit of the Roman Senate, when we recollect how cruel and how suspicious democracies are wont to be in times of peril. The manner in which this body was composed goes far towards explaining their moderation. To fill the gaps made in it by the war, a new dictator, Fabius Buteo, was appointed, who prepared a list consisting of, first, former senators; then, of those who had held curule magistracies since 221, who had been tribunes, aediles, and quaestors; and finally, who had obtained civic crowns, or had brought home trophies from the enemy: making in all a hundred and seventy-seven new members.

But the proposition made by Spurius Carvilius, that each one of the Latin cities should be allowed to send two of the new senators, was rejected with indignation. This refusal was a mistake: first, because the Latins merited the confidence of Rome; and secondly, because if the Senate had adopted the resolution, and had granted to all the Italian cities, one after another, the right to designate their two senators, that assembly would have become the true representative body of Italy, and would have been able to save the Republic and render the Empire unnecessary. Up to the time of Augustus, the Romans, with all the imperious egotism of a city turning the whole world to its profit, had nothing more than a municipal constitution. By accepting the proposition of Carvilius, they would have given themselves a national constitution, in which the subjugated would have found a place beside those who had conquered them, and in this way would have restrained the power of the rapacious oligarchy whom its excesses finally destroyed. Rome soon expiated this fault, when, in 209, twelve Latin colonies refused joint action with her.

¹ He still remained in command of the army of Apulia, and later on the legions of Picenum were intrusted to him. In 203 he was one of the three ambassadors sent to Philip; three years later he went in the same character to Africa; after this, as triumvir, led a colony to Venusia. These high trusts and this long-continued favor prove that the man defeated at Cannae was not the low demagogue that Livy describes. Frontinus (*Strategematicon*, iv. 5 and 6) is favorable to him; Polybius, however (iii. 116), treats him with great severity.

Meanwhile, in the south of Italy the fidelity of some states had given way before so many disasters. Rome having no longer an army to defend them, they went over to the enemy; these were the Bruttians, Lucanians, some of the Apulians, the Caudini, the Hirpini, and in Campania, the cities Atella, Calatia, and Capua.¹

Capua was six or seven miles in circumference. Its strong walls had seven gates, opening upon seven great streets, of which those named Seplasia and Albana are celebrated. The stately temples of Jupiter, Mars, and Fortuna, the forum, the curia, the amphitheatre, with its immense subterranean vaults, which recent researches have brought to light, other edifices of public utility or ornament, and an immense number of bronze statues, made Capua, according to Cicero, the rival of Corinth. She wished to be also the rival of Rome; and because she could arm thirty thousand foot-soldiers and four thousand cavalry, believed herself, notwithstanding her effeminate manners, fit to give the law to Italy. Many noble Campanians had married into Roman families; but the people preserved their hostility towards Rome, and honors gained there seemed to them a disgrace. After Thrasimene, Hannibal, by means of the captives he sent away without ransom, had laid the train of a defection which exploded upon the news of his victory at Cannae. He promised to levy in the city neither troops nor taxes, to leave to it an unbroken independence, and, as soon as Rome should have been destroyed, to recognize Capua as

¹ It has been the custom largely to exaggerate (after Livy) the defections which followed the battle of Cannae. He says, indeed: *Defecere . . . Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites praeter Pentrios, Bruttii omnes, Lucani; praeter hos Surrentini et Graecorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses, Locrique et Cisalpini omnes Galli* (xxii. 61); but the later books compel us to correct this passage. In Apulia we find under the power of Hannibal only Arpi, Salapia, Herdonia, Uxentum; the large towns, Luceria, Venusia, and Canusium, remained to the Romans. By the Samnites we must understand only the Caudini and the Hirpini, in whose territory the Romans preserved Beneventum. The Bruttii were determined to exert themselves only in their own interests. The Greeks of the Gulf of Tarentum, far from betraying Rome, remained faithful to her. Petelia was taken only after a desperate resistance; Crotona, Locri, and Consentia, only after a siege, as late as 215; Tarentum not until 212, when the city was betrayed into the hands of Hannibal. Metapontum and Thurium went over to the enemy in 212 and 213 (xxv. 1 and 15), that is to say, when Hannibal had been expelled from Campania and had fallen back into Magna Graecia. Rhegium, Brundisium, and Calabria remained faithful all through. In regard to the Cisalpinians, the battle of Cannae in no respect changed their position. Livy, forgetting what he had written in chap. xxii., says in chap. xxvi.: "The defection of Capua only caused that of a few other states."

the capital of Italy.¹ To seal this alliance indissolubly, the Capuans seized upon all the Romans living in their midst, and smothered them in the public baths. They had good reason to fear that Rome would avenge this upon the three hundred Campanian horse serving in Sicily; and against that danger Hannibal gave the Capuans as hostages an equal number of his prisoners, whom they selected at will from the crowd of captives.



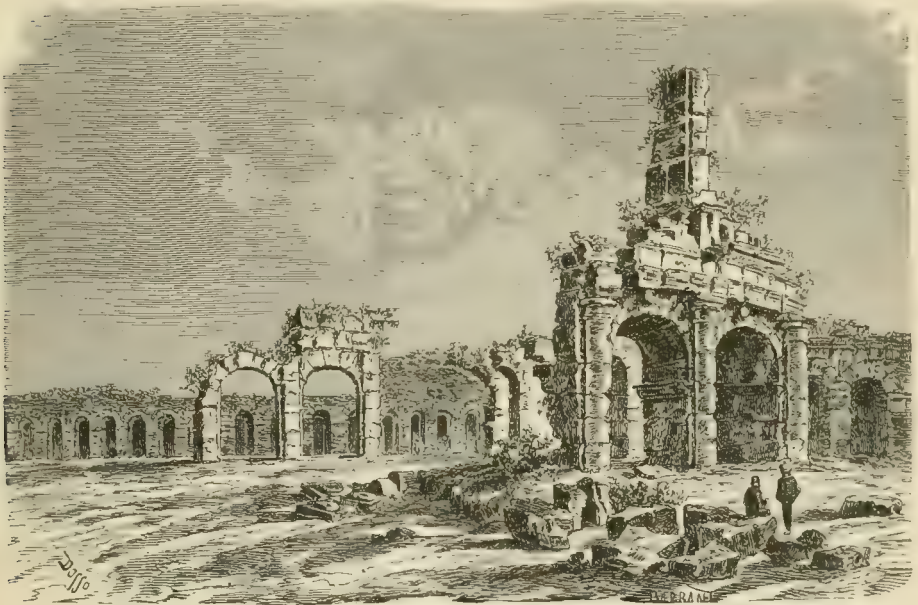
LOWER PART OF THE AMPHITHEATRE AT CAPUA.²

One of the most respected men of Capua, Decius Magius, pointed out, but in vain, to his fellow citizens that Hannibal would deal with them as Pyrrhus had dealt with the Tarentines, and that, notwithstanding all his promises, their liberty was gone for ever. When the Carthaginian garrison arrived, he even tried to have the gates closed against them. Hannibal, rendered uneasy

¹ Livy, xxiii. 7-10. *Brevi caput Italiae omni Capuam fore* (*ibid.*, 10). Livy adds (xxiii. 6) that according to several writers the Capuans before going over to Hannibal had asked at Rome to share in the consulate.

² The amphitheatre at Capua was one of the largest in Italy; it is well known that Hadrian restored it, but the date of its original construction cannot be fixed.

by this conduct on the part of Magius, summoned him to his camp. "Your master," the Capuan replied to the messengers, "has no authority over the senator of a free city;" and he refused to go. Then the Carthaginian announced that he should visit Capua in person. By order of the magistrates all the people in gala attire went forth to meet the hero, whom no man had so far been able to defeat. Magius let the crowd go past, rushing into slavery. He himself remained in his house for a time; then, lest he should be accused of cowardice, walked forth calmly into the market-place, accompanied by his son and some of his clients.



RUINS OF THE AMPHITHEATRE AT CAPUA.

Hannibal desired the Senate to assemble at once and try Magius; but the people implored him not to sadden this festal day by an act of severity; and, not to refuse the first request they had made him, he agreed to wait till the morrow. Meantime, he visited the city, famed as the most beautiful in Italy, and went to supper at the house of Pacuvius, the leader of the party favorable to Carthage.

Pacuvius had a son, Perolla, who was in sympathy with Magius. Invited to the feast, he went armed with a dagger, wherewith to reconcile Rome and Capua by murdering the con-

querer of Cammae. But, not daring to strike under his father's eye, he drew the latter aside, and revealed to him his design, that Pacuvius might withdraw from the scene where Hannibal was about to perish. Pacuvius implored, threatened, and, as magistrate and father, commanded the murderer to renounce his design. "If you persist," he says, "it is I against whom your blow will be directed; for I shall protect with my body the man who is now my guest." And the son, conquered by paternal authority, cast away his weapon.

On the following day the Senate assembled, and Hannibal demanded that Magius should be delivered up to him. The senators, concealing their cowardice under a semblance of justice,



CAMPANIAN HORSEMEN.¹

directed the magistrate to take his seat and listen to the defence of the accused. Magius, dragged into his presence, refused to answer to the accusation, and protested against so speedy a violation of the treaty. He was loaded with chains; and while a licitor was leading him away to the Carthaginian camp, he cried aloud to the people: "Behold your much-desired liberty! In the open forum, in full daylight, I, who am second to no man in Capua, am torn from my family and dragged away to death.

¹ These two bronzes were found near Capua. (*Inst. Arch., Atlas*, vol. v. pl. 25.)

What worse could you have suffered, had Capua been taken by assault? Come, therefore, and witness Hannibal's triumph over one of your fellow citizens." The people were much excited by this appeal, and the guard who had charge of Magius covered his head to prevent his speaking. At the camp, however, Hannibal dared not put his prisoner to death, but he despatched him in a vessel to Carthage, where no doubt a cruel fate awaited him, had not a fortunate shipwreck set him free upon the coast of the Cyrenaica. Here Magius fled for refuge to a statue of King Ptolemy, and the King, being informed of the whole matter, welcomed to the Egyptian court the bold defender of his country's liberties.

Hannibal being thus established in the heart of Campania, and having a great city as his base of operations, could await reinforcements from Carthage. After Cannae he had sent Mago thither, and the latter poured out in the presence of the Senate a bushel of gold rings taken from the Roman knights slain on the field of battle. Hanno still kept up his distrust. "If Hannibal is victorious," he said, "he has no need of reinforcements; if he is defeated, he deceives us, and deserves none." But the Barcine faction triumphed. It was decreed that four thousand Numidians and forty elephants should be sent into Italy; a senator was despatched to Spain with money to raise a force of twenty thousand infantry and four thousand horse; and Hasdrubal received orders to cross the Pyrenees. But these measures were slowly or badly carried out;¹ and in a great battle near the unknown city of Ibera, the Scipios destroyed the army of Hasdrubal, who was obliged to retire into the south of Spain (216).

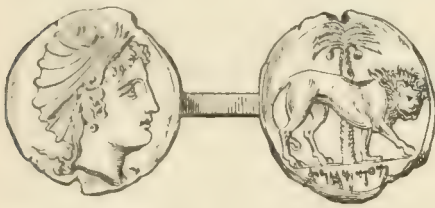
For his communications with Carthage Hannibal had need of a seaport. He attempted to seize Naples; but the Greeks of Campania were devoted to Rome, and Naples resisted. He failed also before Cumae and before Nola, where the nobles had called to their



GOLD RING OF A ROMAN KNIGHT.

¹ *Segniter otioseque gesta.* (Livy, xxiii. 14.)

aid Marcellus. The latter, in a sortie, killed more than two thousand Africans, and this unlooked-for success was celebrated as a great victory; but it did not prevent Hannibal from destroying Nuceria and Acerræ, and closely blockading Casilinum. The siege of this little place, traversed by the Volturnus, is interesting in more than one aspect. The garrison was composed of only two cohorts, one from Perugia, the other from Praeneste, and a few Latins, who, on the news of Varro's disaster, had thrown themselves into the city. They defended it bravely, as well against Hannibal's offers as against his attacks; and we may conclude that in this part of the peninsula the Carthaginians were regarded as the mortal enemies of Italy. The garrison of Casilinum, indeed, cut themselves off from all hope of safety in case the city should be taken by storm. Suspecting the inhabitants of being favorable to Hannibal, they fell upon them and murdered them all



COIN STRUCK FOR THE PAY OF THE
CARTHAGINIAN MERCENARIES.¹

in their houses. Although this massacre reduced the number of mouths to feed, want soon began to make itself felt in the place. They were reduced to eat unclean animals, and even the leather of their bucklers. The Romans encamped in the neighborhood

did indeed send during the night a few casks filled with grain, which the current of the river floated down into the town; also they threw nuts into the Volturnus, which the besieged caught by screens. But the abundant rains having caused an overflow of the banks, this stratagem was discovered, and the river watched. At last the garrison was forced to surrender, and Hannibal made terms with them. The leader of the Praenestines had been a scribe. Justly proud of the defence of Casilinum, he caused his own statue to be set up in the forum of Praeneste, covered with a cuirass and clad in a toga, with this inscription, which Livy mentions that he had read: "The vow of M. Amicius for the soldiers who defended Casilinum."² A decree of the Senate gave to the

¹ This piece of Greek workmanship (*moneta castrensis*) bears a Punic legend signifying "of the people of the camp." (Note by M. de Sauley.)

² Livy, xxiii. 17-20.

survivors of the siege double pay, with exemption for five years from military duty. But when the right of Roman citizenship was offered them, they declined, preferring to remain Praenestines. Love of their native city and generous devotion to the city of their adoption were the sentiments which prompted so many great deeds among the Italians of that epoch.

II. SIEGE OF CAPUA ; PATRIOTISM AND CONSTANCY OF THE ROMANS.

At the close of the year 216 the following was the position of the two parties : Junius Pera, posted at Teanum with twenty-five thousand soldiers, covered the line of the Liris and protected Latium ; Marcellus at Nola defended the cities of Southern Campania ; between them Hannibal was encamped at Capua, whence he continued the blockade of Casilinum, which detained him six months ; meanwhile, one of his lieutenants, Himilco, stirred up insurrection in Bruttium, where he stormed Petelia and Consentia. The defection of Locri furnished Hannibal with an excellent harbor, and that of Crotona, whence the nobles had been driven out, gave him an important city. In all this region one single town remained in alliance with the Romans, — Rhegium ; but this was the most important to them of all, for it was the key of the Straits.



VASE OF NOLA.¹

¹ Vase with two handles, made at Nola. The vase presents two subjects, one of which only is represented here : first, Neptune standing, trident in one hand, a fish in the other ; second, Aymone, also standing, turning her head towards Neptune, who comes to save her from the pursuit of a satyr. Red on a black ground. *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,329.

Varro held Apulia with an army which rested upon the great stronghold of Luceria. Etruria, Umbria, and almost all Central Italy remained faithful, and the Cisalpine nations, despite their recent victory, made no hostile demonstrations; the Senate put off till a more propitious moment the vengeance due them, and directed against Hannibal all the available strength of Rome, under



VENUS OF CAPUA.²

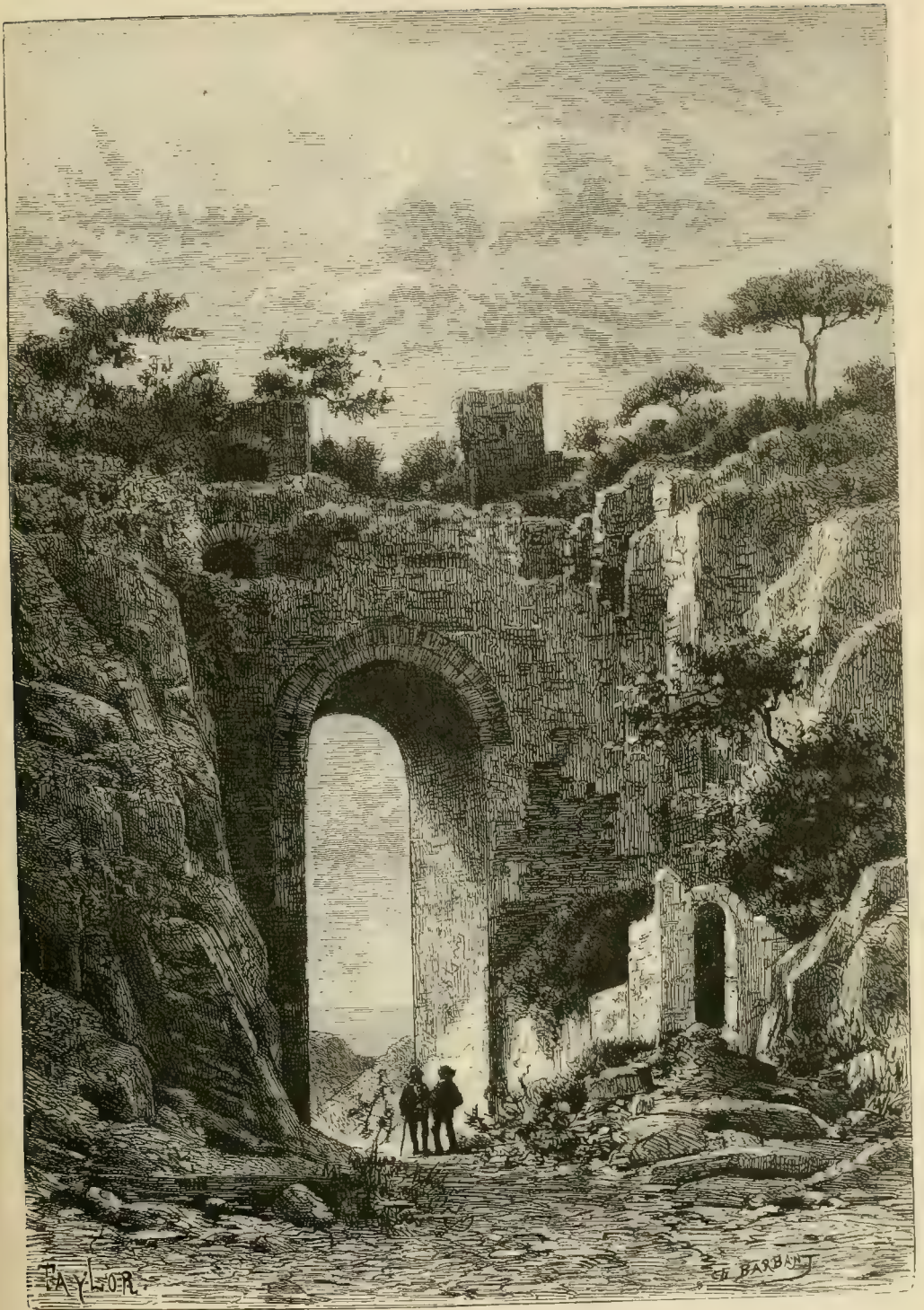
command of Fabius, the best of her generals, now consul for the third time. The first act of Fabius showed him faithful to his old policy: he ordered that all the grain throughout Campania should be brought in to the fortified cities before the kalends of June, under penalty, to him who should fail, of seeing his fields ravaged, his slaves sold, and his buildings burned.¹

In the spring of 215 Fabius took command of the legions at Teanum. Sempronius Gracchus, with twenty-five thousand troops of the allies and all the slaves who had been enrolled, took up a position at Sinuessa, his left resting upon the extreme right of Fabius. When he had ascertained that the marshes formed by the Volturnus at its mouth were on that side a sure protection, he established himself at Liternum, near Cumae, that he

might thus defend all the ports of the Bay of Naples, and make sure that no succors should arrive by sea. Marcellus remained

¹ Livy, xxiii. 32.

² This superb statue, found at Capua, is now in the Museum at Naples. Its attitude recalls that of the Venus of Melos, and has given rise to the theory that she is admiring herself in the buckler of Mars.



GATE OF CUMAE.

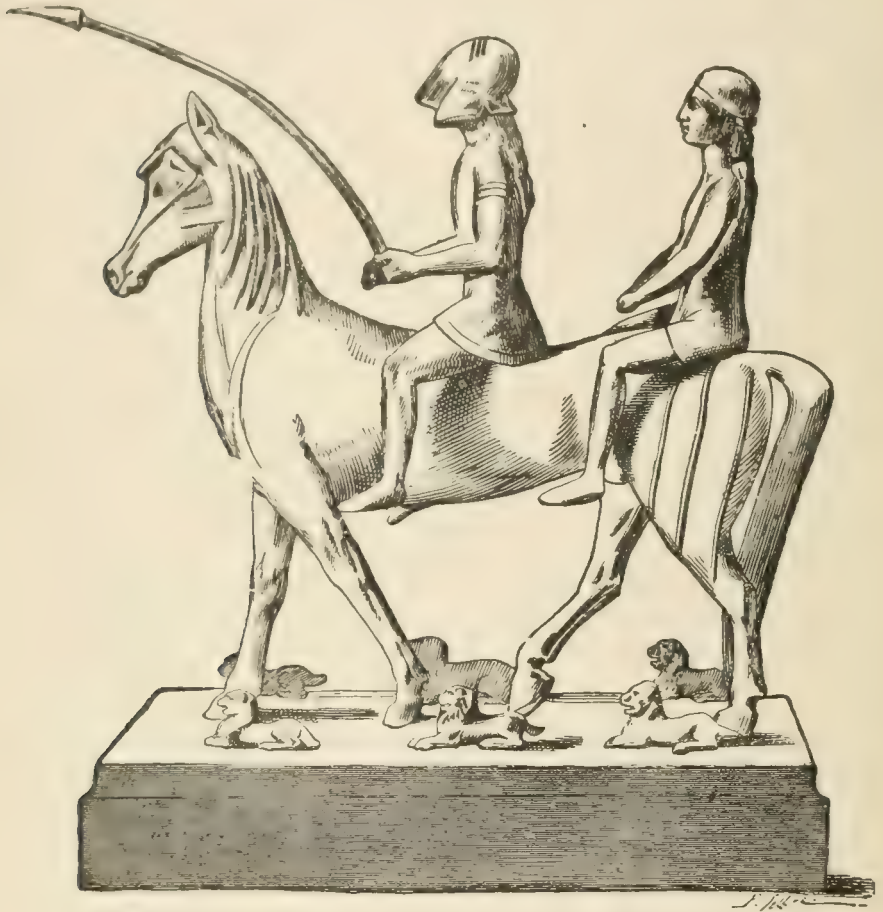
in front of Nola, threatening Capua from the south, as Fabius and Sempronius threatened it from the north and west. The garrison at Beneventum on the east completed the investment of the Campanian territory, and was in communication with the garrison at Luceria, composed of the legion of Apulia. Varro was employed in organizing a fifth army in Picenum; Pomponius had another in Gaul. The survivors of Cannae, with other troops, defended Sicily, and three fleets guarded respectively the coasts of this island, Calabria, and Latium. Including the forces under the Scipios and the praetor of Sardinia, the Senate had now nine armies and four fleets, or about two hundred and twenty thousand men, of whom ninety thousand were to besiege Capua and Hannibal.

The African general found in his Italian allies little eagerness to range themselves under his banner; and the successful operations of the Scipios, together with the bad policy of the Carthaginian Senate, which sent to Spain and to Sardinia a strong reinforcement, prepared by Mago for his brother, left the latter alone against Rome. But during that winter passed by Hannibal at Capua, according to Livy,¹ so fatal to his troops, he sent out secret emissaries in every direction; and suddenly it was known at Rome that Sardinia threatened revolt, and that in Sicily Gelon, notwithstanding his aged father, was seeking to bring Syracuse into alliance with Carthage; that finally, Philip of Macedon had recently concluded an agreement with Hannibal to the effect that he would cross over to the Italian coast with two hundred vessels.² Fortunately Gelon suddenly died; the praetor

¹ Montesquieu destroys with a word the lengthy argument of Livy: "Would not Hannibal's soldiers, becoming rich by so many victories, have found Capua everywhere?"

² This treaty is reported by Polybius and by Livy in very different terms: according to the former it was rather a defensive alliance, according to the latter an offensive alliance. But the text in Polybius states at the end: 'Εάν δὲ δοκῇ ἡμῖν ἀφελεῖν ἢ προσθεῖναι πρὸς τόνδε τὸν ὄρκον, ἀφελούμεν, and above, Βοηθήσετε δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς ἂν χρεία ᾖ καὶ ὡς ἂν συμφωνήσωμεν (vii. 9). The text of Livy specifying the nature of the assistance promised by Philip gives possibly this addition. The text of Polybius being an isolated fragment, we are not justified in saying that according to this writer there were no other agreements between Philip and Hannibal. By this treaty all the booty was to belong to Hannibal, Rome and Italy to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. If the name of Carthage is there, it is evidently only for form's sake. In regard to Philip, the Carthaginians were afterward to aid him against all his enemies, and the conquests they should jointly make in Greece and the islands were to belong to him. (Livy, xxiii. 33.)

Mamilius destroyed or took prisoners all the Carthaginian army in Sardinia, and Philip was so slow with his preparations that the Senate had time to forestall him in Greece.



WARRIOR MOUNTED, WITH A MAN ON THE CRUPPER BEHIND HIM.¹

To expand and break through this circle of iron which was closing in about him, Hannibal was constrained to make a war of sieges, in which he lost all the advantages of his genius. At the present day, means of attack are superior to means of defence; in

¹ A very ugly but curious bronze, found at Grumentum in Lucania. (Atlas of the *Institut archéologique*, vol. v., pl. 50.) Is this a souvenir of the Roman method before Capua, of cavalry corps where every trooper had a foot-soldier behind him, represented here by way of an *ex-voto*? Did Hannibal also imitate this organization? The armor, or at least the helmet, of the first man is not unlike the Carthaginian panoply, represented Vol. I. no. 8, p. 543. See also Vol. I. p. 542, note 3, what is said in respect to this panoply.

ancient times it was otherwise. Hannibal failed before Cumae, which was defended by Gracchus, and was twice repulsed at Nola; in one of these engagements Marcellus killed five thousand of the Carthaginian army. At the same time Fabius crossed the Vulturnus, and, advancing slowly but surely, took three cities near Capua; Sempronius Longus defeated Hanno at Grumentum, and drove him back from Lucania into Bruttium; Valerius Laevinus captured the towns belonging to the Hirpini, and the authors of the revolt were all put to death; finally, from Nola, Marcellus sent out a portion of his troops to ravage the country of the Caudine Samnites.

Shut up amid the Roman armies of Campania, driven back wherever he made an attempt upon a fortified town, Hannibal was defeated without battles, by means of this skilfully conceived and firmly executed plan. The Lucanian and Apulian legions were approaching, and dissatisfaction broke out among his troops. In the siege of Nola, twelve hundred and sixty-two Numidian and Spanish horsemen had deserted; Hannibal therefore made haste to escape before all egress was cut off, and retreated as far as Arpi, near the Adriatic Sea; he was also influenced by the desire of going to meet Philip. This flight left Capua exposed to Roman vengeance. The siege at once began, and Fabius ravaged the adjacent country, keeping his forces encamped about three leagues from the city.

From Spain also nothing but good news arrived at Rome. The year 215 was therefore fortunate in its events; but new perils were in store for the following year: Syracuse had proved unfaithful, and Philip was at last on his way.

The Senate equipped a fleet of a hundred and fifty vessels, and kept on foot eighteen legions, without counting the army of Spain. Eight were threatening Hannibal, three held the Cisalpines in subjection, one was at Brundisium, ready to cross the Adriatic against Philip, two were in Sardinia, two more in Sicily, and two at Rome. This comprised a third part of all the able-bodied population of the countries subject to the legionary recruiting. Notwithstanding its victories, the army of Spain lacked everything, and the others were in a state of great destitution. The Scipios pressed their demands for money, corn, clothing for the

soldiers, rigging for the ships. But the treasury was empty, although taxation had been doubled,¹ and the weight of the *as* had been reduced by a decree that the denarius should be worth sixteen, instead of ten, of the smaller coin, and the generals in Central Italy had coined a debased currency wherewith to pay their troops and commissaries.² The Senate appealed to patriotism, and all ranks vied in a noble emulation. The guardians of widows and orphans carried to the temples the money of their wards, confiding this sacred deposit to the public credit; and three companies, with the sole condition that they should be the first to be reimbursed on the cessation of hostilities, undertook to supply food to the Spanish army. Sailors were needed for the fleet, and every senator furnished eight, with a year's pay; other citizens offered seven, six, or three, according to their means. In the land army the knights and the centurions relinquished to the state their pay; and when, after the victory at Beneventum, Sempr. Gracchus declared all the enrolled slaves in his army free, their masters refused to receive compensation until the war should be over.³ On the same conditions contractors furnished the means of keeping public buildings in repair, of purchasing horses for the magistrates, etc.; and, to reserve the precious metals for the public use, the Oppian law forbade women to wear by way of ornament above a half ounce of gold. Some young men had attempted to evade military duty; these the censors sought for, and they were sent away into Sicily to join the fugitives of Cannae.

One common spirit of patriotic devotion animated the whole great body of Roman people. The soldiers were worthy of their chiefs; the courage of the former responded to the sagacity of the latter. Silus Sergius, one of the ancestors of Catiline, had received twenty-three wounds, and had lost his right arm; in this condition he made four more campaigns. The filial piety of his son has been much applauded, who caused a medal to be struck, representing Sergius on horseback, holding in the left hand an enemy's head, which he has just cut off. The Romans of that time were truly sons of Bellona, the divinity who gives martial ardor. To

¹ Livy, xxiii. 31.

² Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, i. 227.

³ Livy, xxiv. 11, 18.

approach her altar, a man must wound himself in the thigh, and drink the blood which flows thence.¹ Like the Bretons of mediaeval history, they are ready to cry: "Drink thy blood, Beaumanoir!"

Rome gave, as we see on every hand, only the noblest examples. In the year 214 the people proposed to raise to the consulship two citizens not renowned for military services. One, Otacilius, was the nephew of the Cunctator. The first century named him. Fabius, president of the comitiae, at once caused the election to be suspended; he reproached the people and the candidates, and pointed out to them what consuls the circumstances demand. Otacilius objecting to this, Fabius orders his lictors to advance. "Take care," he says, "we are yet in the Campus Martius; I am not within the city, the axes are yet among the rods;" and he sends the multitude to the poll. All the centuries then elected Fabius and Marcellus,—one, as was said, the shield, the other the sword, of Rome. The people, notwithstanding their instinctive jealousy of the great aristocratic leader, had recognized the fact that desire for the public weal, and no barren ambition, animated this old man, already laden with so many honors.³ At another election Manlius Torquatus refused the consulship; again the century of the *juniors* desire before voting to confer with the *seniores*, and name as their candidates those whom the old men recommend to them.⁴ We have no means of knowing what went on in Carthage at this time; but it seems certain that there was neither that disinterestedness on the part of the nobles, nor that wisdom among the common people, which existed at Rome.

To this picture we must hold up, in contrast, the avidity of some and the disorderly conduct of others. Thus a certain



COIN OF SILUS SERGIUS.²

¹ Tertull, *Apol.* 9.

² The obverse, ROMA, EX. S. C., that is to say, struck by order of the Senate. Head of Rome or of Pallas, with the mark of the denarius. The reverse, the legend M. SERGI SILVS with a monetary symbol, and a horseman at full gallop bearing a human head. Silver denarius of the Sergian family.

³ Livy, xxiv. 7, 8, 9.

⁴ Livy, xxvi. 22.

Postumius of Pyrgi scuttled at sea some old empty vessels, and obtained pay for them as new and loaded with munitions; in Bruttium, one Pomponius Veientanus formed bands of slaves and



COIN OF ARPI.²

adventurers, and carried on a predatory warfare.¹ But these evils are those of all periods; they are engendered necessarily by prolonged wars: we must, however, mark their appearance in Roman history, for the exactions of

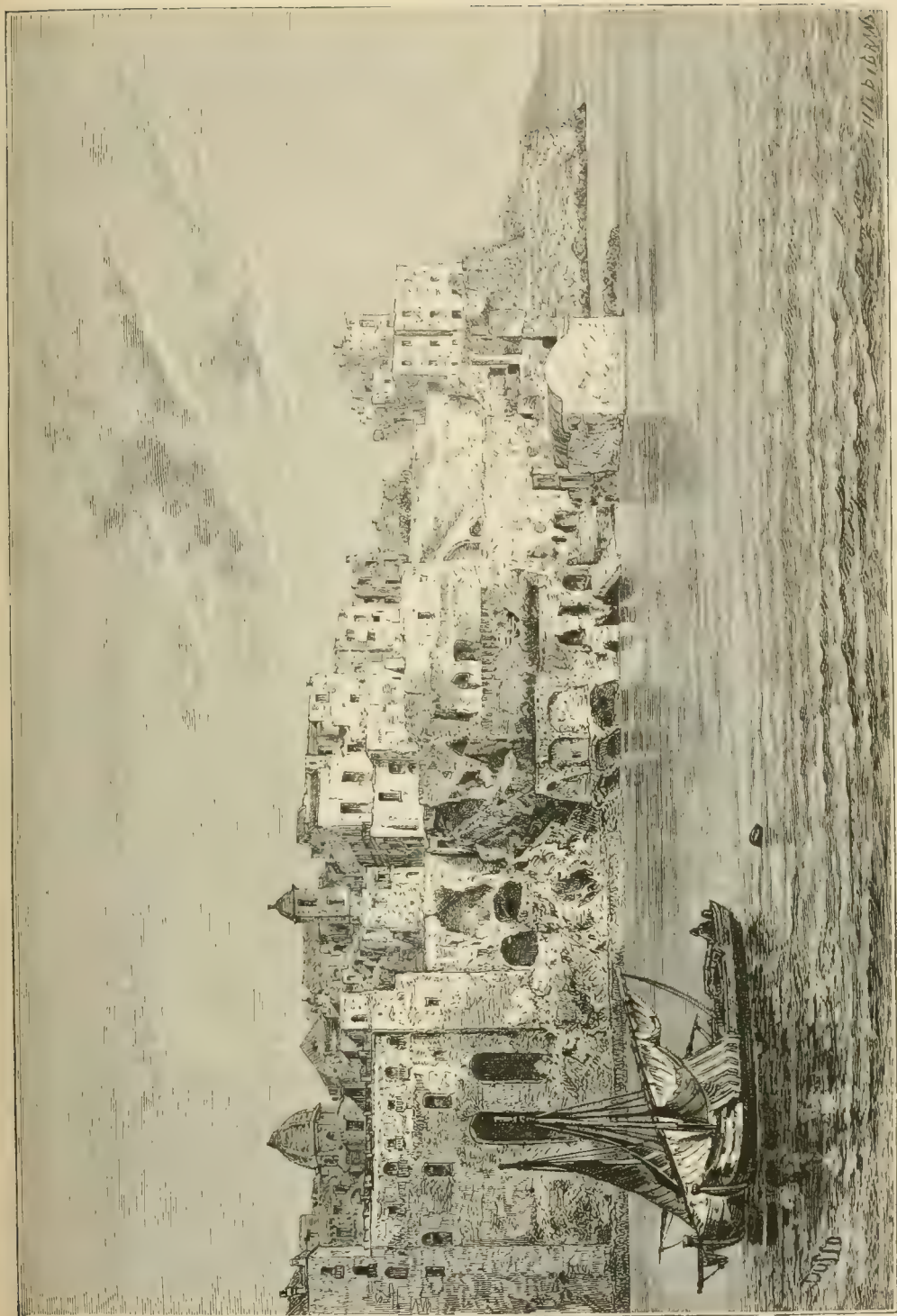
the tax-gatherers will later render the Empire necessary, while the deterioration of the old military discipline will at the same time facilitate its establishment.

In pursuit of Hannibal, Gracchus moved into Apulia. During the winter many skirmishes with the Carthaginians encamped around Arpi kept his troops alert. But Hannibal remained quite at liberty in respect to his own movements. Implored by Capua, which the two consular armies are pressing close, he boldly advances again into Campania, outwits the Roman generals and their heavy legions, overruns the enemy's country, keeping out of the way of the strongholds and camps that cover it, attacks Pozzuoli, Naples and Nola, where Marcellus again defeats him in a skirmish; then, weary of dashing himself against these unshaken legions, — these ramparts before which he always leaves some of his troops, — he hurries towards Tarentum, in the hope of drawing after him at least the impetuous Marcellus. But no one follows: Marcellus rejoins Fabius at the siege of Casilinum, which they now carry on together; and Tarentum, where Hannibal has been maintaining spies, where he feels sure of ultimate success, and promises himself to welcome the fleets of Philip and of Carthage, a port which for four years he has been trying to seize, — Tarentum, guarded by the Romans, eludes him still.

While Hannibal was before Nola, the consuls recalled Gracchus and his two legions of slaves from Luceria, to make one more effort to surround the Carthaginian army. At Beneventum

¹ Livy, xxv. 1, 3.

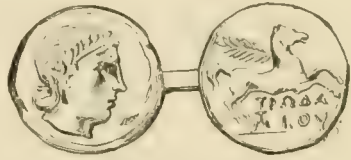
² ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ. Head of Ceres; reverse, ΔΑΙΟΥ, first letters of a magistrate's name. Unbridled horse galloping, and a star. Silver coin. Arpi was situated in the Apulian plain, between Luceria and Sipontum.



VIEW OF POZZUOLI.

Gracchus encountered Hanno; before the battle he promised liberty to his slaves in case of victory, and Hanno escaped from the field with but two thousand men left. This success, the most brilliant gained by the Romans since the beginning of the war, drove the enemy out of the Samnite country, whose cities Fabius now retook one after the other.

Hannibal at this time held only a few fortified towns in Apulia; he went into winter quarters around



COIN OF SALAPIA.¹

Salapia, within reach of Arpi, his outpost towards the centre of the peninsula, and facing the Epirote coasts, where events of importance were now going on. The defeat at Beneventum had thrown back his lieutenant, Hanno, into Bruttium. The territory held by the two opponents might at this time (the close of the year 214) be marked off by a line drawn from Mount Garganus to the mouth of the Laüs, which falls into the Gulf of Policastro. This line, resting on the side towards Rome upon fortified towns or entrenched camps, was defended in Lucania by the army of Gracchus; in Apulia, by that of the praetor Fabius. In the rear of Hannibal and Hanno, the Romans still held Calabria, Tarentum, and Rhegium. Capua remained blockaded by the camp of Suessula and the garrison of Casilinum.²

The campaign had ended disastrously for Hannibal. But in requiring the Senate to keep in Italy, against himself alone, fourteen legions, he gave his allies and Carthage time and opportunity to make most important diversions, and to come to his assistance. Did they profit by this?

¹ A laurelled head. On the reverse, ΤΡΩΔΑΜ, a monogram, and three other letters; a free horse and a palm-branch. Bronze coin of Salapia, an Apulian city on the coast of the Adriatic, but separated from the sea by a lagoon, *lago di Salpi*; although the port might, in case of need, serve for small vessels, it did not furnish Hannibal with the safe and easy communication he required on this coast to receive the galleys sent by Philip. However, according to M. de Sauley, it is not certain that this coin belongs to Salapia; all the coinage of that city bears the name, which is not upon this piece. It may be that the monogram, MT, conceals the name of the town to which this coin belongs.

² A few Samnite cities still held out for Hannibal, among them Maronea and Aternum, belonging to the Marrucini. (Livy, xxiv. 47.)

III. HANNIBAL CREATES DISTURBANCES IN MACEDON AND SYRACUSE.

POLYBIUS relates that in the year 217 Philip was in Argos, witnessing the celebration of the Nemean games, when a courier, arriving from Macedon, brought him news that the Romans had lost a great battle, and that Hannibal was master of the Italian lowlands. The King showed this letter to Demetrius of Pharos, who urged him to attack the Illyrians at once, and thence to pass over into Italy. Demetrius represented that Greece, already submissive to Philip, would continue obedient; that his enemies, the



PHILIP V., KING OF
MACEDON.¹

Aetolians, were about to lay down their arms; that, finally, if he wished to make himself master of united Greece, a noble ambition, he must now cross the Adriatic and overthrow the Romans, already crippled by Hannibal. And the historian adds: "These words were charming to a king, young, brave, hitherto successful in his enterprises, and born of a race always aspiring to universal sway." These

had been the dreams of Alexander the Molossian and of Pyrrhus, whose example the Illyrian now strove to impress on the weak heir of the throne of Macedon. Neither the prince nor his counsellor was dismayed at feeling the earth shaken beneath them by the shock of Rome and Carthage hurled against each other, and into the book of destiny, written by prudence and courage, they sought to carry their chimerical hopes. And yet all sagacious Greeks at this time were aware of the storm gathering in the west; and one with prophetic voice had cried; "Let Greece unite her forces; let her consider these immense armies now contending on the battle-fields of Italy. That war will soon end; Rome or else Carthage will have conquered. Whoever is conqueror will then come to seek us out in our homes. Be mindful, O Greeks, and thou, Philip, most of all! Let us put an end to our discords, and labor unitedly to avert this peril!"

¹ From a silver coin.

Vain words! Each state kept up its own rancors; and when, after the battle of Cannae, Philip concluded with Hannibal that imprudent treaty which laid upon him the burdens of the present for the sake of a very uncertain future, he found himself incapable of fulfilling its conditions.

Before going over into Italy according to agreement. Philip made an attempt to destroy the influence and power of Rome in Illyria. With a hundred and twenty galleys he attacked and took Oricum, at the mouth of the Aous; then, ascending the river, besieged Apollonia, an old and flourishing colony of Corinth. This ill-managed attack left time for Valerius Laevinus, the praetor, to bring over a legion from Brundisium. He easily recaptured Oricum, and by night surprised the Macedonian camp: whence Philip fled, half naked, and took refuge on board one of his vessels. The Romans, anchored all across the mouth of the river, barred the passage; and Philip, obliged to burn his fleet, fled overland to Macedon, while Laevinus established his winter quarters at Oricum. One campaign and one legion dispelled all the fears which that war had inspired.

The praetor had believed that he was about to contend with a powerful monarch; and he found as his opponent only an irresolute prince, who wearied Greece, Macedon, and himself with his ever changing schemes. To keep in check for three years this King of Macedon, the Roman general needed but a few thousand men; skilful emissaries, however, were also useful to him, by degrees alienating from Philip the King of Illyria, Athens, the Aetolians,¹ Sparta, Elis, and Messene; later, even Attalus of Pergamus, Rhodes, the Dardanians, and the Thracians. From this time the Romans fought with Philip rather by means of their allies than by their own troops. His forces were successively driven out of all the positions they had occupied in Greece, while the Senate, with a little money and much craft, called down incessantly upon Macedon predatory incursions of the wild mountaineers of Dardania. In 205 Philip solicited peace; and this diversion, which might have determined the result of the strife between Rome and Hannibal, reduced by only a few troops the effective force of the legions of Italy.

¹ The treaty with the Aetolians gave to them all the cities that should be taken, and to the Romans all the plunder.

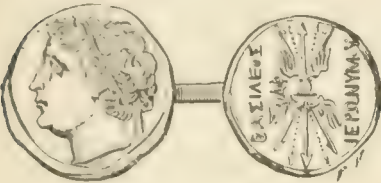
The defection of Syracuse for some time caused much more serious difficulties. Hiero, to his last



COIN OF GELON.²

day, had remained faithful to Rome, and his son Gelon, whom he had associated with himself in power, shared his sentiments;¹ but Gelon died before his father, and when the latter died,

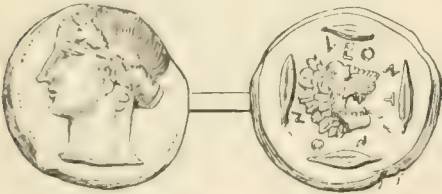
in 216, he was succeeded by his grandson, Hieronymus. Fifty years of tranquillity, and steadfastness to the same alliance, proved



COIN OF HIERONYMUS.³

too much for turbulent Syracuse. As soon as the strong and gentle hand of Hiero had ceased to restrain his people, they fell under the power of a thousand contradictory desires; and disturbances, plots, and murders multiplied. Hieronymus, the young

King, spoiled by power, as so often happens to those who inherit it in extreme youth, lost it by cruelty and debauchery;⁴ this tyrant of fifteen was murdered by conspirators, and his



COIN OF LEONTINI.⁵

murderers proclaimed liberty in Syracuse. They appointed praetors and a Senate, without, however, being able to give them authority. They desired to preserve the Roman alliance; but two emissaries of Hannibal born

at Carthage of a Syracusan mother, Hippocrates and Epicydes, threw them into war with Rome. These two foreigners had gained the confidence of the numerous mercenaries of the late King. Exiled from Syracuse, they intrigued with the army and with the inhabitants

¹ Livy and Polybius differ [completely] on this point, and we follow the opinion of Polybius.

² Head of Gelon, crowned. On the reverse, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΒΑ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ. Victory in a biga, at a gallop. Silver didrachm.

³ Head of Hieronymus, crowned. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΥ and a monetary mark. Winged thunderbolt. A silver didrachm.

⁴ Here we meet with Polybius again (vii. 2): he is less severe upon Hieronymus than is Livy.

⁵ A woman's head. On the reverse, ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ (in archaic Greek). Lion's head in the centre, four grains of barley around it. Tetradrachm of Leontini.

of Leontini, accusing the praetors of a design to surrender the army to the Roman sword. The praetors were murdered, and Syracuse declared for her old enemy, Carthage.

The tumult, which affected the whole island, decided the Senate to send thither Marcellus, who, at the age of fifty, still showed the ardor of early years. He began by bringing over to the Roman party the inhabitants of Tauromenium; and at the news that Epicydes had excited the Syracusans, he seized upon Leontini, whose territory, renowned for its extreme fertility, would afford support to his troops. From Tauromenium he kept watch on the Ionian Sea; and Leontini was really an outpost of Syracuse, which city lay exposed by its loss, and was readily besieged by the Romans (214).

Syracuse occupied, upon the eastern coast of Sicily, a position admirable both for commerce and war. The central chain of the Sicilian mountains sinks here into two promontories which enclose an extensive marshy area, traversed by the little river Anapus. This marsh, a lagoon partially filled up by alluvial deposits, over which broods incessant malaria, ends in the great harbor which the sea makes between the promontory at the south, Plemmyrium, and that at the north, Achradina, or the quarter of wild pear-trees. The harbor, oval in shape, and about six miles in circumference, was excellently adapted for vessels; even to this day it remains one of the best in Sicily. An island, Ortygia, lay across the entrance, which was about 1,200 yards broad, and could be in part commanded by the *balistae* and catapults of this fortress. A lesser harbor, sufficient, however, for an ancient navy, separated Ortygia from the mainland, and over the narrow channel, which terminated it at the west, a bridge had been constructed. A third harbor, Portus Trogilus, opened to the north, at the base of the cliffs of H  xapylon, so that vessels could enter at Syracuse in almost any winds.

The city occupied the northern promontory,—a large triangle, of which Achradina was the base, and Epipolae the vertex. Like Ortygia, Achradina had its own fortifications separating it from the lower quarters, Neapolis, Temenitis, and Tyche; and an important work, Fort Euryalus, crowned the extreme point of the heights of Epipolae.

Marcellus established his magazines and reserves on the spot

where the Carthaginians had so often encamped, upon a hill bearing a temple to Olympian Zeus. There he was defended by the marshes of the Anapus, and was in communication with his



fleet, which, mistress of the great harbor, threatened Achradina. The real attack, however, was made on the other side of the city, near Hexapylon, where the road from Leontini and Megara comes in.

The city, by its position on a promontory guarded by marshes

and the sea, by its lofty walls founded on the rock or rising from the water, by the constant solicitude of Hiero to keep his granaries, his arsenals, and his magazines well filled, was, apparently, impregnable; and to all this was added the presence of Archimedes. For the sake of his native city this great geometer consented to leave the heights of abstract thought, and descend to practice. He covered the walls with newly-invented machines, which flung huge masses of rock to a great distance. As often as a Roman vessel ventured near the walls, an iron hand seized it, lifted it into the air and dropped it upon the rocks to be shattered to pieces. If the ships remained in the open sea, mirrors skilfully disposed set them on fire.¹

Carthage, moreover, now showed a politic zeal in seconding Hannibal's designs. As soon as he proposed to reconquer the much-regretted island, she sent thither thirty thousand men, who took Agrigentum, Heracleia, Morgantia, where Marcus had established his



HEADLESS VENUS FOUND IN ACHRADINA IN 1814.²

magazines, and caused the defection of sixty-five cities. The Romans preserved only the sea-coast towns and Enna, the latter the price of treachery.

¹ Plutarch, *Marcel.* 13-28. Neither Polybius nor Livy mentions these mirrors. Buffon, in the last century, repeated this experiment.

² Saverio Cavallari, *Monumenti della Sicilia*, Pt. I. pl. 19.

But the fall or the deliverance of Syracuse could alone decide the fate of Sicily. All the strength of both parties met at this point.

Archimedes had constrained Marcellus to change the siege into a blockade, and the Carthaginian fleets re-victualled the place continually. Despite privations and extreme fatigue, despite a plague which decimated his troops, despite the provocations of Himilco and Hippocrates, the proconsul waited, with a patience worthy of Fabius,



COIN OF ENNA.¹

until some treason, inevitable in a city containing so many factions and so many foreigners, should deliver it over into his hands. More than once such an opportunity occurred, but was made unavailing by the promptness of Epicydes. At last, some deserters came in with the story that on the morrow the people were to celebrate with noisy orgies the feast of Diana. A soldier had counted the bricks in the wall adjacent to Trogilus, and estimated in this way its height. Ladders constructed accordingly served for a nocturnal attempt; of the five fortified quarters, two, the Hexapylum and the Epipolae, were seized without resistance under cover of the disorder of this night of revelry. Neapolis and Tyche opened their gates; and the Fort Euryalus, the key to Syracuse, was surrendered by its commandant. But Epicydes still held out in Achradina and the Island of Ortygia. Carthage sent armies, which the plague destroyed, and fleets that dared not attack the Roman galleys. For many months Marcellus was, as it were, besieged in the half-conquered city. Finally, Epicydes, despairing, fled to Agrigentum; a Spanish mercenary opened one of the gates of Achradina, and the whole Roman army rushed in.² Archimedes, notwithstanding the orders of Marcellus, was killed by a soldier. Absorbed in his own meditations, he had not heeded

¹ On the obverse, a veiled head of Ceres, and the legend, M. CESTIVS MVNATIVS. On the reverse, Pluto carrying off Proserpine. Bronze coin struck by the *municipium*, MVN HENNAE.

² These Spanish mercenaries were rewarded by the gift of a city, Morgantia, and its territory. (Livy, xxvi. 21.) All captured deserters were decapitated.

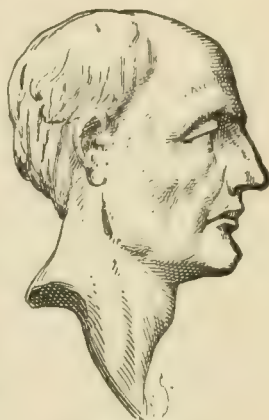
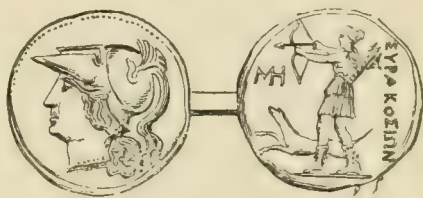
the order of the legionary to follow him into the presence of the Roman general. Among the trophies brought to Rome by Marcellus was the sphere of this great geometer.

Livy extols the humanity of Marcellus;¹ according to more credible accounts, Syracuse was given over to the soldiers, and the inhabitants, despoiled of their lands, had reason to envy their own slaves. It was forbidden, as it had been in the time of Dionysius the Elder, to reside in the Island of Ortygia, whence the rest of the city could be commanded (212).²

Syracuse having fallen, Carthage limited her efforts in Sicily to the defence of those places which had declared against Rome. Mutines, a Liby-Phoenician who had been trained under Hannibal, inflicted two severe checks upon Marcellus. He was shortly after superseded by Hanno, who at once suffered defeat.

Irritated by renewed injuries, Mutines delivered up to the consul Laevinus the stronghold of Agrigentum. The principal citizens of the town were put to death and the remainder sold; and the Carthaginians, who now retained but a few unimportant places, abandoned the island finally. Laevinus disarmed the Sicilians, recompensed the partisans of Rome, cruelly punished those adhering to Carthage, and required all now to turn their attention to agriculture, in order to furnish food for starving Rome (210).⁵

In Sicily, as in Greece, Hannibal's plans had failed; in Sardinia the Carthaginians had disappeared; in Spain Hasdrubal and

MARCELLUS.³COIN OF SYRACUSE.⁴

¹ Livy, xxv. 40. He says, however: *Urbs diripienda militi data.* (*Ibid*, 31.)

² Cicero, II. in *Verr.* v. 32, 38.

³ Visconti, *Iconog. romaine.*

⁴ Head of Minerva. On the reverse, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, and a monogram. Diana, the huntress, and her dog. Silver coin of Syracuse.

⁵ Want was so great at Rome, that the measure of corn was worth 15 drachmas, and the Senate sent as far as Egypt to obtain food. (Polybius, ix. 18.)

Mago could not get as far as the Pyrenees; in Italy the Gauls were forgetting the Punic War, and Capua, still blockaded, was shortly to expiate her treason. Himself withdrawn into Apulia, Hannibal had nothing to hope except from the exhaustion and lassitude of Rome. But Rome was a prodigy of skill and endurance: to the alliance of Hannibal with Philip and with Syracuse she had opposed for her part an alliance with the Celtiberians,



THE OLD WALLS OF AGRIGENTUM.

with Syphax, the King of Numidia, with Ptolemy, and with some of the Greek states. In the year 213 she had twenty legions under arms: in 212 and 211 she had twenty-three. By the taking of Arpi, where a thousand men of that precious cavalry which made the strength of the Carthaginian general passed over to the Romans, by the loss of many places in Lucania and Bruttium, Hannibal found himself so closely shut in that the Senate ventured to recall the two consular armies for the purpose of sending them against Capua. The Romans had not been willing to attack this

city seriously until their strength was such as to insure a conspicuous vengeance.

Hannibal seemed crushed; suddenly he emerges from his inactivity, and reappears more threatening, more formidable than before. He strikes repeated blows, surprises Tarentum,¹ brings back to his alliance the larger proportion of the people of Lucania and Bruttium, and what he dared not do after Thrasimene or after Cannae, he is now about to attempt.



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR AND POLLUX AT AGRIGENTUM (RESTORED WITH THE ACTUAL FRAGMENTS OF THE TEMPLE).

From the height of their walls the Romans will soon see him encamped within 40 stadia of the city. This he does to save his best allies, and that he may profit by the self-confidence of the Roman generals.

The Senate had required hostages of Tarentum, and these persons were kept shut up at Rome in the *atrium* of the Temple of

¹ Livy, xxv. 17.

Liberty. Gaining over two of their keepers, they fled, but were retaken before they had gone beyond Terracina. The Roman people, at this moment struck by superstitious terrors, were not inclined to mercy. The temples consecrated to Fortune and to Hope had just been burned, and threatening prodigies were reported on every hand. Moreover, this escape of the hostages, which had been planned by a Tarentine ambassador, was the token of an approaching defection; the hostages were beaten with rods, and then thrown from the Tarpeian rock. They belonged to the best families of their city, and the plan was at once formed of avenging them. Thirteen young nobles of Tarentum, led by Philemenus and Nico, leagued themselves to deliver Tarentum into the hands of the Carthaginians, who were encamped in the vicinity. Carrying boar-spears and nets, and accompanied by dogs, they left the city under pretext of a hunt, and at once sought Hannibal's camp and revealed to him their design. Many times they repeated this device; as they always came back with much game, which Hannibal had caused to be collected for them along their road, no suspicion was awakened, and they had time to decide upon all the conditions of their treaty, which were as follows: Tarentum should retain her own laws, her property, and her liberty, with exemption from all tribute; she should not be forced to receive a Carthaginian garrison, but she should give up the Roman garrison.

The arrangements being finally completed, the young men, on their return one night, murdered the guards who admitted them, and opened the gates to Hannibal and his army. All the Romans who had not time to take refuge in the citadel were massacred. This citadel, built upon a rocky promontory, nearly surrounded by the sea, was extremely strong, and a wall with a broad deep moat separated it from the city. To take it, a formal siege would have been required, and a considerable length of time, which Hannibal could not spare, for the cries for help from *Campania* were now many and urgent (212).

Capua had derived no advantage from her alliance with Hannibal. Hemmed in by the neighboring cities, which had remained faithful to Rome, threatened by the legions which were posted not far away, she saw her commerce destroyed, her agriculture ruined, and, in the midst of the most fertile fields of Italy, she was

reduced to beg food from the Carthaginians. Hannibal, detained by the siege of the citadel of Tarentum, charged Hanno, one of his lieutenants, to revictual Capua. But the colonists of Beneventum gave information of Hanno's march to the consul Fulvius, encamped near by at Bovianum, and Hanno, suddenly attacked, lost thirteen thousand men and all his convoy.¹ The bad effect of this defeat it was necessary at once to counteract; Hannibal himself set out for Capua, and no man dared bar his way. Two thousand horse preceded him, and drove the Roman foragers away from the neighborhood of the city; at the mere report of his approach the consuls fell back, one retreating towards Cumae, the other into Apulia. He goes in pursuit of the latter, and, not able to reach him, takes his revenge upon Centenius, to whom 15,000 men had been intrusted, not one of whom escaped, and upon Fulvius, the praetor, who loses 16,000 men near Herdonea.² Shortly before this, Gracchus, drawn by a Lucanian into an ambuscade, had perished, and his army of slaves had been dispersed.³ A few months before, the Scipios had been defeated and slain in Spain. The capture of Syracuse, it will be seen, did not compensate for so many losses.

The Romans hastened to resume the prudent policy of Fabius; but, with their habitual tenacity, they re-commenced the blockade of Capua. As soon as Hannibal had quitted Campania, the two consuls and a praetor, with a large army, made their plans to put an end to this city which had dared to give the signal for defections; and, not to be disturbed while engaged upon their revenge, they shut themselves in as in a fortress, building a double wall and digging a moat to shelter the camp against sorties and attacks from without. The supplies of this entrenched camp were secured by means of vessels from Sardinia and Etruria, provisions landed at Puteoli or at the mouth of the Volturnus being transported by the river as far as the strong town of Casilinum, where were established the magazines of the army.

The Roman Senate had yet in Capua some faithful friends;

¹ [It seems that the Capuans neglected to meet Hanno's convoy according to his directions: it was the second attempt which Fulvius found out and defeated. — *Ed.*]

² [These two complete victories are seldom mentioned in the list of Hannibal's triumphs. — *Ed.*]

³ App., vii. 35. See in Livy (xxv. 17) the honors paid him by Hannibal, — the dancing, in Spanish fashion, around the funeral pyre, etc.

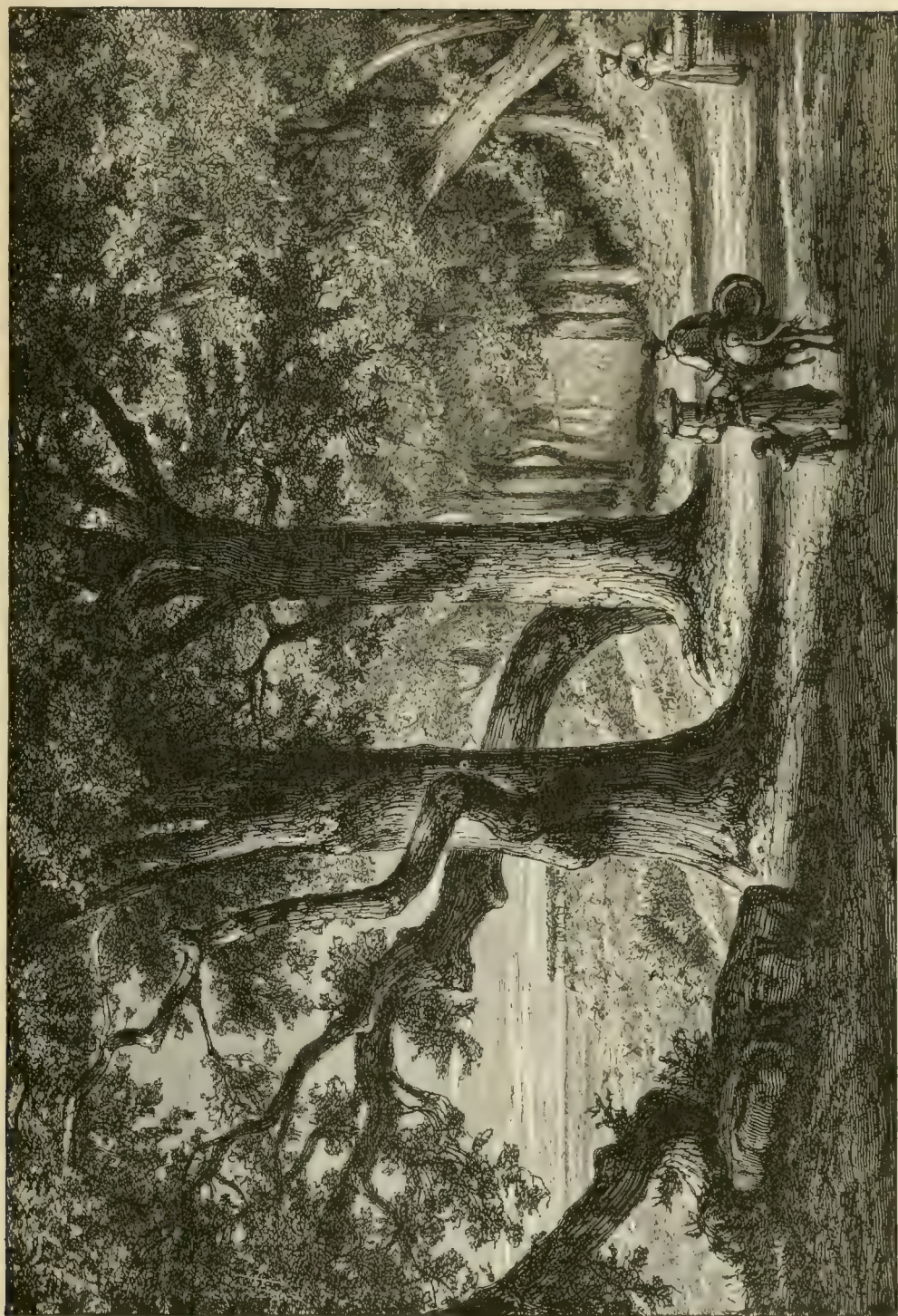
in 213 as many as a hundred and twelve of the young nobility had come over into the Roman lines; it was hoped that others might be incited to desert in the present year (211). The siege works were not yet completed, when a herald was sent to the Capuans with this declaration: "All those who before the ides of March shall come out from the city shall save their liberty and their possessions."

This was but another way of indicating the fate reserved for the rest. They knew it well; and the leaders of the popular party, who were the masters of Capua, had no hope that Rome would pass over their treason. They organized, therefore, a system of intimidation, and put at the head of affairs, as *meddix tuticus*, a man of low birth, adored by the populace for his harangues against the wealth and treachery of the great. No man dared respond to the Senate's last appeal.

These skirmishes around Capua gave rise to a military novelty. The centurion Q. Novius devised the plan of sending out foot-soldiers, selected from the most athletic and active, to fight among the cavalry. Armed with a short buckler and seven javelins, they were seated behind the trooper on horseback, and on encountering the enemy were to leap to the ground and fight on foot. Thus the Campanians had to contend at once with foot-soldiers, whose swift darts wounded or killed many men and horses, and cavalry who drove home the attack upon their disordered ranks. "From this time," adds Livy, "the Roman cavalry had the advantage over that of Capua."¹

Hannibal meanwhile had returned to Tarentum to urge the siege of the citadel; but as he knew no better than did the Romans that method which the Greeks had already so successfully employed of storming a fortified place, it still held out against him. The Carthaginian general, therefore, endeavored to compensate himself by taking Brundisium, which would have given him a useful harbor upon the Adriatic; but the attempt was unsuccessful. About this time, being informed by some Numidians who had escaped from Capua that the city was about to surrender to the

¹ Livy, xxvi. 4. I do not believe, as Livy seems to say, that the corps of *velites* was then for the first time formed: I think that a portion of them were selected for a new service. The legions could not have done without light infantry until so late as this (211).



CASTEL GANDOLFO.

Romans, he hastened thither; the inhabitants, seeing his troops upon the heights of Mount Tifata, adjacent to the town, believed themselves safe again. But in vain did Hannibal fling himself against the Roman entrenchments. He had thirty-three elephants; some of these, killed under the walls, filled up the moat with their bodies; it made a bridge, and a Spanish cohort succeeded in crossing upon it; but the assailants were driven back, while a sortie of the besieged at the same moment was repulsed. Upon this, Hannibal now finding himself unable to live in this wasted country, and consequently unable to take up a position before this impregnable camp, conceived the audacious project of relieving Capua by making a sudden attack upon Rome. For five days he had been in the neighborhood of the legions; scarcely had the sixth night wrapped the two camps in its darkness, when he silently moves away, leaving all his camp-fires burning.

Preceded by his Numidians, who serve as scouts and detain all couriers, he advances by rapid marches through Samnium.¹ The Appian and the Latin roads are shorter, but more frequented, and he is anxious to arrive before it is known that he has set out for Rome. Either the city, defenceless, will fall into his hands, or Appius, recalled from Capua to the succor of the Capitol, will be defeated on the road; should Appius bring up but half of his troops in order not to raise the siege, Hannibal can the more easily crush the succoring force, or else will let it pass and break up the camp. In any case, Capua should be delivered. In this plan everything had been reckoned on, except the invincible firmness of the Romans [and the cowardice of the Capuans]. When Hannibal appeared,² the Senate recalled not one single cohort; the whole population rushed to defend the walls,³ and two new legions drilling in the city came out boldly to meet the enemy.

¹ Here, as usual, I follow Polybius (ix. 2) rather than Livy; the latter says that Hannibal, marching upon Rome, went by the Latin road. But he has mastered only half of Hannibal's plan. On his return, he must have taken this route. Moreover, Livy is aware that the old historian Caelius Antipater says that Hannibal went from Campania into Samnium; and he adds (xxvi. 14) that it is uncertain whether it was going or returning that he took this road.

² At three leagues from Rome, on the banks of the Anio. Once he pushed forward as far as the Esquiline Gate. Silius Italicus describes him contemplating the vast city from the top of a hill: *lentus celsis adstans in collibus intrat urbem oculis*. (xii. 488.)

³ Shortly before this commissioners had been appointed to repair the walls and towers.

We should like to believe what Livy adds, that the same day a corps of cavalry was sent off to the army in Spain, and that the ground where the Carthaginians were encamped, being put up at auction in the Forum, found a purchaser at the usual valuation; but the departure of cavalry would have been an imprudence, and the sale a bravado, for which the Romans were not at this time in the mood.



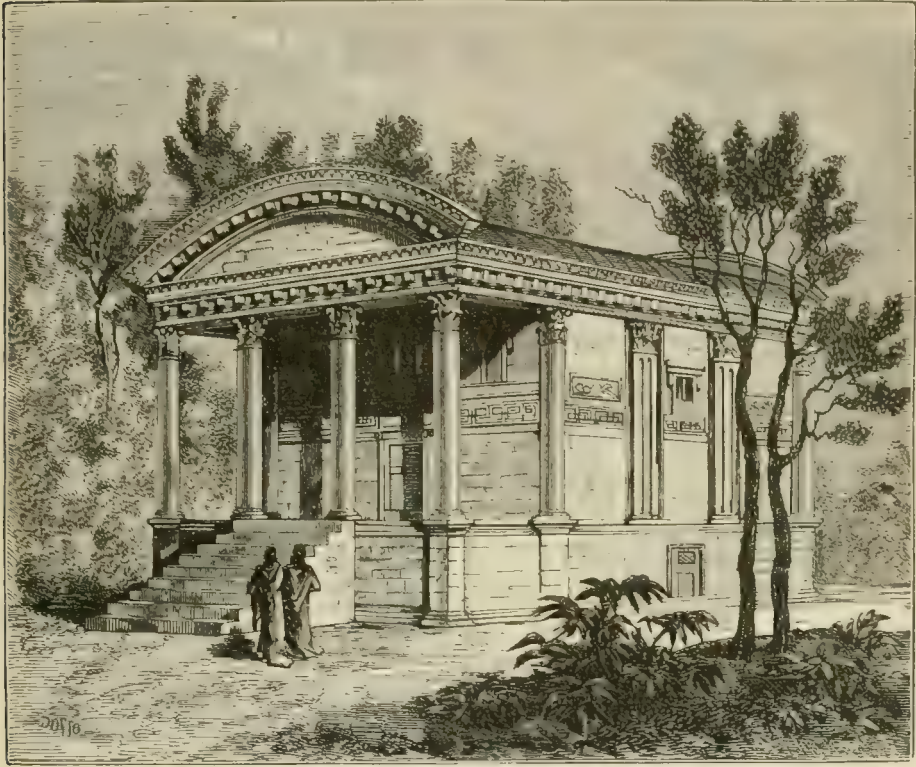
REGION CALLED THE CAMP OF HANNIBAL, AT ROCCA DI PAPA.¹

For Hannibal, the dash upon Rome had failed; 'but he did not doubt that Appius was coming, and he waited for him five days, spreading frightful devastation all around the city. When, according to his calculations, Appius was half way towards Rome, the Carthaginian general hastened his return to Capua by the shortest route (the *Via Latina*), leaving the consuls and their recruits to believe that he fled before them. But the Romans had never let go their prey; Appius had remained in his entrench-

¹ From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale* at Paris.

ments! Thus Hannibal only took vengeance upon the Roman force that had followed him: one night he fell upon their camp and slew a large number; and finally he retreated towards Rhegium, not to hear the despairing cries for help that came from the city he had not been able to save.

When the descendants of the Romans of the heroic age sought in the environs of their city the place where the formidable Car-



TEMPLE OF THE GOD REDICULUS.¹

thaginian had stopped, they found no more suitable site for his camp than that Alban Mount, whose volcanoes had once shaken all Italy; and a wide field sloping towards the crater of the Monte Albano below Rocca di Papa became, and has remained, "the camp of Hannibal." From these heights (Castel Gandolfo), covered with trees centuries old, whose predecessors doubtless sheltered the hero, he was able to view at his feet the Latin

¹ From a restoration by M. Thomas, *École des Beaux-Arts*.

plain, the seven hills, and the strong wall of Servius which sheltered this indomitable people from his attack.¹

Festus asserts that the Romans, proud that Hannibal should have fallen back so far after having dared so much, built in front of the *Porta Capena* a temple to Ridicule. There still exist in the neighborhood of the circus of Caracalla some ruins bearing that name. But the *deus Ridiculus* was originally only the god who brings back (*redire*);² the Romans did not laugh at Hannibal.³

Capua opened her gates (211). The chastisement was terrible. Before the entry of the Romans, thirty senators gathered at the house of one of their number. Vibius Virrius had caused a banquet

to be prepared with what was left of Falernian wine and the provisions of the siege. At the close, they bade one another adieu; the last cup was a poisoned draught. Others counted on the generosity of the Romans; and Livy asserts that the Senate had decided to pardon them, but that the proconsul, forestalling the messenger who brought the good news, ordered their execution before reading the despatch. We must make due allowance for the Roman severity and the manners of the time; the Capuans were to suffer



FAUNUS AND TUTANUS (DEUS
REDICULUS).⁴

what their enemies would have suffered had the case been reversed.

¹ [According to other accounts, he approached within 3 leagues of the city.—*Ed.*]

² This god, an old Pelasgic divinity, was also called Tutanus (Varro, *ap. Nonnius*, 33), or the Protector; under the title of Fascinum he turned away spells and dangers. Faunus was also a protecting divinity.

³ [This is the very improbable account of Polybius, probably invented by Roman vanity. According to Livy (XXXVI. 8), the proconsul, Q. Fulvius, who is the hero of the hour, brought up 16,000 men just in time to the *porta Capena*, and saved Rome from a panic which left an indelible remembrance for centuries to come. He was put in command of all the city forces, over the consuls. Appian adds that it was owing to his watchfulness that the Roman army pursuing Hannibal was saved from annihilation in his night attack. Cf. Neumann, *op. cit.* pp. 440-442.—*Ed.*]

⁴ Double Hermes, bearing united the head of Faunus, crowned with ivy, and of Mutunus Tutanus, winged and crowned. *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,277.

Seventy senators were beheaded. When the execution was ended, a Campanian, Jubellius Taurea, approached Fulvius, relates the historian, and cried out to him, "Since thou art so thirsty for our blood, why not strike me thyself, that thou mayest boast of having killed a braver man than thou?" "I should like well to do it," Fulvius rejoined; "but a decree of the Senate forbids." "Well, then," rejoined Jubellius, "I will show thee something that thou wouldst not have the courage to do;" whereupon he killed his wife, his children, and lastly himself.¹ Three hundred nobles were condemned to chains, all the people sold, and the city and its territory declared Roman property. Some senators are said even to have proposed effacing to the last vestige the city which had dreamed of being mistress of Italy. Atella and Calatia had the same fate. For years these fertile regions were to be inhabited only by poor laborers or by farmers and gangs of slaves belonging to the Roman nobility; and where once rose flourishing cities there never again was known the pride and delight of the ancients,—municipal life. No more *curia*, no more magistrates, no more public assemblies; the rich and splendid Capua was reduced to be only a haunt of laborers, *receptaculum aratorum*, a depot for harvests, *locus condendis fructibus*. Year by year a praetor brought thither the law and will of Rome.² Such was the terrible practice of war in ancient times; it made many victims, but it produced also the indomitable resistance and the fierce, ardent patriotism of a Jubellius Taurea.

The sons of some of the senators slain at Capua essayed to avenge their fathers and their country. The evening before a festival of Minerva they set fire to Rome at several parts of the Forum. All night and the following day fire raged in the city, and Rome would have been entirely consumed, had not a slave given information of the plot, and caused the arrest of the incendiaries. Entrance into the city was at once forbidden to all Campanians.

The following year (210) the levies were made with difficulty; three years earlier it had been necessary to send commissioners among the allies to enroll the young men before the age of military service. This time they were able to collect only twenty-one legions; and to equip the fleet of Laevinus, destined for Sicily, the

¹ Val. Max. III. ii. 24, 1.

² Cicero, *de Leg. agr.* 32, 33; Livy, xxvi. 16.

senators brought into the treasury all the gold, silver, and bronze that they possessed. One of the new consuls was Marcellus. On his return from Sicily with the spoils of Syracuse, he had asked for a triumph; but only an ovation was granted him. He hoped this year for more distinguished success. "He who has been able to conquer the Carthaginians after Cannæ," he wrote to the Senate, "will not let this man long exult over his last victory." He began well by the recapture of Salapia, whose Carthaginian garrison, five hundred Numidians, were put to the sword. At this very moment Hannibal, in the neighborhood of Herdonea, was destroying a prætor and thirteen thousand legionaries,—the second victory obtained by him near that city. It seemed that he would have respected this scene of his two victories. But the inhabitants had called in Fulvius, and Hannibal, for his part, desired to give a sharp lesson to those who proved unfaithful: the partisans of Rome were put to death, the city destroyed, and the surviving inhabitants transported to Thurium and Metapontum. Marcellus hastened to meet him, and a battle took place at Numistro; but notwithstanding the promises made by Marcellus, the combat remained indecisive; the Romans, however, were able to hold the field and to burn their dead, which gave them reason to speak of this engagement as a victory. A later writer, less occupied than Livy with the glory of Roman families and the honor of Marcellus, says that Hannibal skilfully posted himself between two sunken pathways which protected his flanks, and that he forced the consul to fall back.¹ A squadron attempting to revictual the citadel of Tarentum was destroyed about this time; but the brave garrison still continued their heroic resistance, and by successful sorties kept the effeminate city in perpetual alarm. The situation remained the same. Meanwhile Rome rallied slowly; nothing had made amends to Hannibal for the loss of Capua and of Sicily: Scipio in Spain was reorganizing the Roman army; the Carthaginians, driven out of Samnium and Campania, had not a single great city upon which to rest, and their formidable chief had no other defence outside of his camp than the terror with which he inspired his adversaries.

The year 209 brought back Fabius, the Cunctator, to the con-

¹ Frontinus, *Strategemata*, ii. 2, 6.

sular office. While his colleague, Fulvius, guarded Campania and Samnium from his position at Beneventum; while the garrison at Rhegium was keeping the attention of Hannibal's lieutenants fixed upon the extremity of Bruttium; and while Marcellus detained the Carthaginian leader at Canusium with three engagements upon three successive days, — Fabius advanced rapidly upon Tarentum, and crowned his brilliant military career by the recapture of that city. Tarentum was treated as Capua had been: thirty thousand of her citizens were sold,¹ and Fabius poured 3,000 talents into the treasury at Rome. The same year Scipio entered Carthagera.

The Senate were already practising the policy summed up by the poet: . . . *parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos*. Tarentum and Capua were roughly handled on account of their importance; but the same Fabius who so sternly carried out the Senate's decrees against Capua, received kindly the Hirpini, the Lucanians, and the Volcentes, only gently blaming them for the misconduct of which they were now repenting. This was done to encourage treachery towards the Carthaginians; these nations had given up the Carthaginian garrisons posted in their towns.² By such judicious moderation, Fabius well nigh gained the whole of Bruttium.³

The following year (208), Marcellus, being again consul, and his colleague Crispinus thought they could deal Hannibal a crushing blow, since the Carthaginian had not one fortified place left to him in Apulia. But upon the opening of the campaign, Marcellus fell into an ambuscade while reconnoitring imprudently, and was slain with the principal officers of his army. "A brave soldier," Hannibal said, on viewing his dead body, "but a poor general." However, he made a stately funeral for him, and placed upon the urn containing his ashes, a golden wreath, which was afterward sent to the son of the dead general.⁴ Crispinus, though severely wounded, had time to inform the adjacent cities

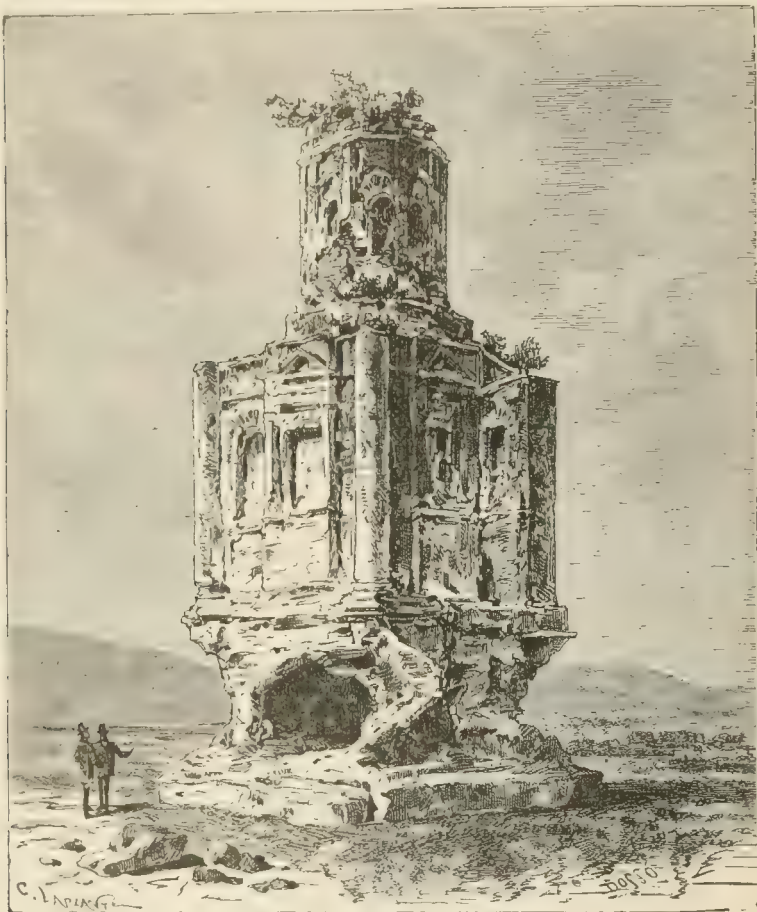
¹ Polybius, x. 1; Livy, xxvii. 16; Plut., *Fab.* 21, *seq.*; Zonaras, ix. 8.

² In pursuance of this plan, the Senate had granted the right of citizenship to Mutines the Libyan, and to Mericus, the Spaniard who had betrayed Achradina. Mutines appears later in command of the Numidian cavalry and the elephants in the army of the Scipios against Antiochus in 190. (Livy, xxxviii. 41.)

³ Livy, xxvii. 15.

⁴ The Museum of the Capitol contains a statue said to be of Marcellus; but the head does not seem to resemble that on the coins.

that Hannibal, being in possession of the signet ring of Marcellus, would probably seek to surprise them; and this precaution succeeded. In an attempt upon Salapia, the stratagem being detected, he was repulsed with a loss of six hundred men. He succeeded, however, in raising the siege of Locri, which the Romans had this time begun with engines of war supplied by the Greeks in Sicily.



ANCIENT TOMB CALLED DELLA CANNOCHIA, NEAR CAPUA.¹

Meanwhile, the allies of Rome were growing very weary of this murderous war. For eleven years Hannibal had been in Italy manœuvring with his scanty force amidst fourteen legions, outwitting the most experienced consuls, and as free in his movements, amid so many armies and fortified towns, as if the Romans had

¹ *Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris), cabinet of engravings.

remained shut up behind their own walls. His victories had not been able to raise Italy in arms against them, nor to triumph over their firm resolve; but the courage of the allies was beginning to give way. The warlike peoples of Central Italy did not yet murmur, but in the north the Etruscans and Umbrians threatened defection. It became necessary to make sure of the Senate of Arretium, and to send an army to keep these nations under control.¹

At Rome, the number of citizens had been reduced from 270,000 to 137,000.² Money was required for the fleet and for the army. Once more there was a general rivalry in patriotic devotion, and the Senate resolved to employ the treasure kept for moments of extreme necessity. The *aurum vicesimarium*, which was the twentieth part of the price of enfranchised slaves, had produced, since the decree of 357 which had established that tax, the sum of 4,000 pounds of gold, which to-day would be worth nearly \$860,000, and at that time was a very much more important sum. To all the political and military qualities which caused the triumph of Rome, we must add that far-reaching sagacity of the greatest administrative nation of antiquity, which had prepared so long in advance this resource against evil days. Twelve colonies made reply that they had neither soldiers nor money; and the Senate, powerless against them, took care to keep the matter quiet. Fortunately, eighteen others gave all that was required. "This devotion," says Livy, "saved Rome once more."

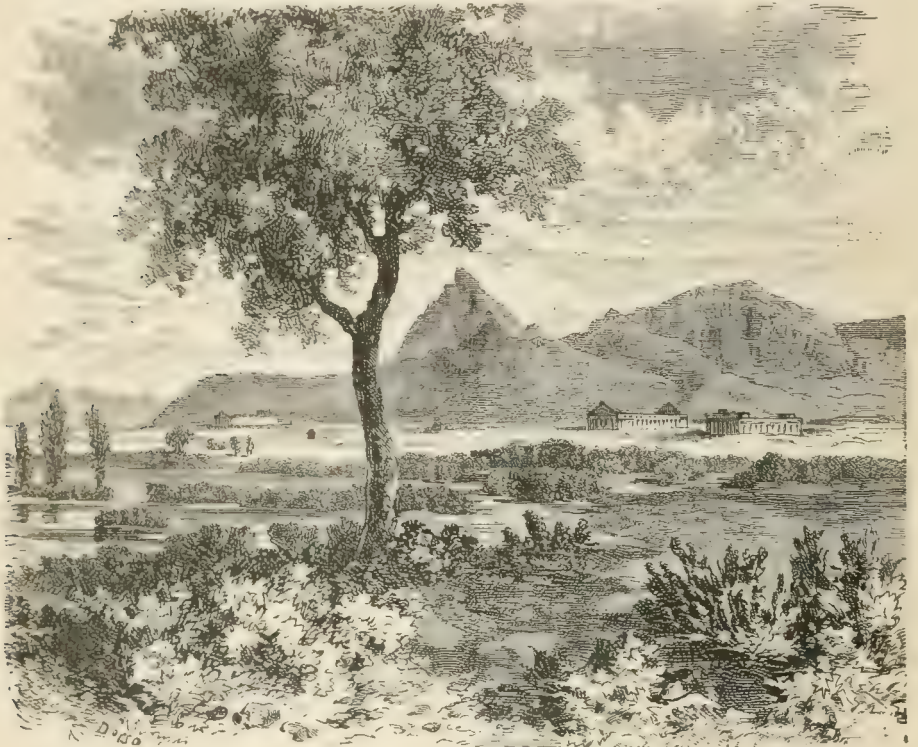
Their names should have been honored, and Rome would have done well to engrave them in letters of gold upon the walls of her Capitol. The cities were in general those which, having suffered most from the evils of war, were most desirous to bring it to an end, — Signia, Norba, Saticula, and Fregellae in the south of Latium; Cosa, Paestum, and Pontia upon the Tyrrhenian Sea; Luceria and Venusia in Apulia; Beneventum, Aesernia, Spoleto in Samnium; Brundisium, Adria, Firmum, and Ariminum, which, situated on the Adriatic, had reason to fear Carthaginian pirates;

¹ Varro, the general vanquished at Cannae, was in command. (Livy, xxvii. 24.)

² This estimate is very probably incorrect, for the next censors found 214,000 citizens. (Livy, xxix. 37.) Populations diminish less during great wars than is believed. In 1791 the population of France was 26,343,074, according to the Committee of the Constituent Assembly. In 1815, after twenty-four years of battles, it had increased three millions, and by official report had attained the number of 29,226,000.

and lastly the colonies on the River Po, Cremona and Placentia, whose existence could only be secured by Rome. Those which had refused their assistance were nearly all of them much nearer Rome, — Nepete, Sutrium, Carseoli, and Narnia on the north, Alba, Ardea, Sorci, Circei, Interamna, Setia, and Cales on the south.

At the moment when threatening signs of fatigue were mani-



RUINS OF PAESTUM.¹

fest among the Latin allies. Rome was exposed to greater dangers than she had ever before incurred. P. Scipio, who had been successful in Spain, had now suffered Hasdrubal to escape him; and the latter was advancing upon the Alps with an army increased upon the way by Gallic mercenaries. Notified by public rumor, Hannibal collected all his garrisons scattered throughout Bruttium, and set out through Apulia to meet his brother.

At Rome, in order to prepare against this new peril, the

¹ This general view of Paestum, clearly showing the situation of her three temples, represents the ruins as they appeared in 1750, at which time they were brought to the notice of the artistic and scientific world. Engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris).

Senate annulled the exemption enjoyed by the maritime colonies, called in the disbanded volunteers (*colones*), and called home several corps of picked men. Scipio sent ten thousand men and a thousand cavalry; the praetor of Sicily four thousand archers and slingers. In taxing to the utmost all their resources, the consuls were able



CASCADE OF THE LIRIS BELOW SORA, AFTER ITS JUNCTION WITH THE FIBRENUS.¹

to collect a hundred thousand legionaries. Besides this, a fortified camp outside of Narnia defended the road through Umbria to Rome (207).

Of the two consuls, one, C. Claudius Nero, had not up to this time signalized himself by any brilliant exploits. He had served under Marcellus, and had the fiery courage of that leader, together with an audacity akin to rashness. The other consul, Livius, condemned eight years before on retiring from the consulate [for

¹ From the *Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris). Cicero had a villa on an island in the Fibrenus, near by, where he wrote his treatise, *De Legibus*. See the charming description he gives of the place in this treatise (ii. 1, 3).

peculation of booty in the second Illyrian war] by one of those decisions of the people which the spirit of faction inspires, had quitted Rome and lived in the country, an embittered hermit, suffering in all the woes of his ungrateful country, but refusing the succor of his strength and experience. The consuls Marcellus and Laevinus triumphed at last over this persistent grief. They



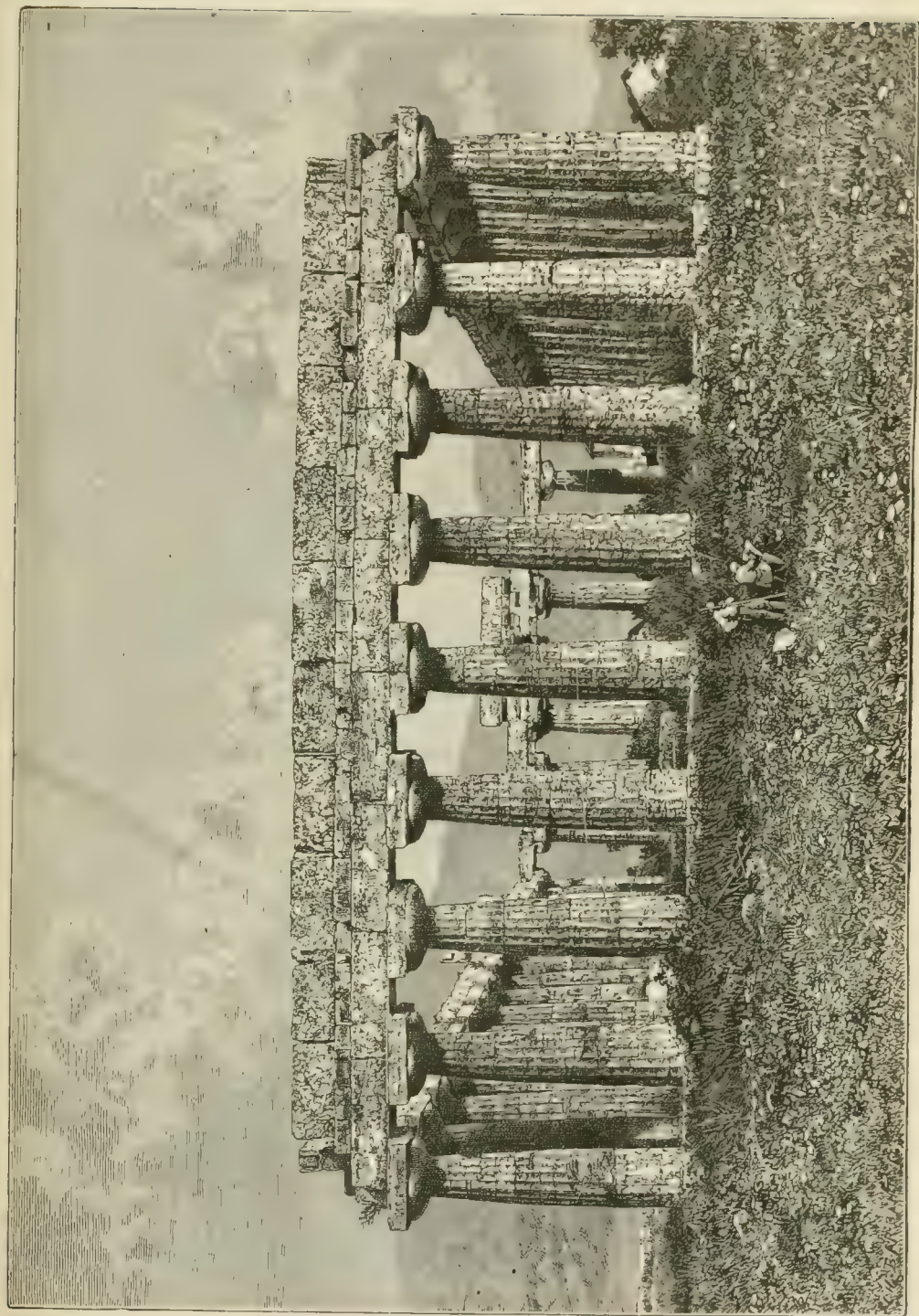
APOLLO OF THE VATICAN.¹

god; the Lake of Volsinia flowed with blood; stones fell from heaven; thunderbolts smote the temples of the gods and the walls and gates of the city.

To meet these dangers, and as if a breath from Greece had

compelled him to shave and to lay aside his mourning, and to return to his place among the senators, who laid upon him for the second time the duties of the consulship. Nero and Livius had been enemies; but the public peril and the appeals of the Senate re-united them. Upon the approach of those great events which the year 207 was to witness, disastrous presages multiplied on every hand. At Caere a vulture flew into the temple of Jupiter; at Cumae rats gnawed the golden ornaments of the statue of the

¹ Statue in the Museo Pio-Clementino.



ONE OF THE RUINS AT PAESTUM, PROBABLY NOT A TEMPLE.

reached Rome, choirs of young girls, chanting through the city verses composed by the poet Andronicus, accomplished the expiations. "After a pure, chaste sacrifice offered by matrons, a procession set out from the temple of Apollo. Two white heifers came first: behind them were borne two cypress-wood statues of Juno Regina. Then came twenty-seven young girls in trailing garments singing hymns in honor of the goddess. The decemvirs,¹ crowned with laurel and clad in the praetexta, followed the chorus of maidens. From the Porta Carmentalis the procession marched to the Forum, where the young girls performed sacred dances, singing in cadence." (Livy.)

Meantime Hannibal was seeking to break through the three Roman armies, which from Capua, from Venusia, and from Tarentum barred his way into Upper Italy. Nero had frequently commanded the cavalry of a consular army; he knew how to send out scouting parties and to lay ambushes; near Grumentum he prepared an ambush for the Carthaginians, into which their leader fell, as far as Hannibal could fall; it was a success for the Romans, but not a victory. Falling back as far as Metapontum, Hannibal took up a position in the neighborhood of Canusium, near the scene of his most brilliant victory, and awaited in an entrenched camp the arrival of messengers from his brother.³

The latter had crossed the Alps prosperously, and was now in the Cisalpine at the head of fifty-two thousand fighting men, to whom eight thousand Ligurians had lately been added. Instead of hastening his march to bring his brother this reinforcement of 60,000 men, he stopped to besiege Placentia; and when, recognizing his error and the impossibility of taking the city, he finally set forward into



PONTIFEX VEILED
AND LAUREL-
CROWNED.²



COIN OF
CANUSIUM.⁴

¹ *Decemviri sacris faciundis*. They had charge of the Sibylline books.

² Bronze figure in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,062 of the Chabouillet catalogue.

³ [On the contrary, Nero had conducted the campaign with great ill-success, and had allowed Hannibal, with a weaker army, to out-manœuvre him, and force him up all the way from Bruttium to the Aufidus. — *Ed.*]

⁴ Two vases and a lyre. Silver coin.

Umbria, it was too late. Livius barred the way, and Nero was encamped before Hannibal. Hasdrubal had intrusted six Numidian and Gallic horsemen with letters for his brother; but [after passing all through Italy] they fell in with the outposts of Nero. So much had been conceded to prudence hitherto, that Nero was now tempted to seek for victory from audacity; he therefore took the boldest resolution of the war; namely, to leave his camp before Hannibal, and to bring 7,000 of his best troops to his colleague.¹ The plan was not so rash as it seemed. Hannibal, after two defeats, had just been executing between the Gulf of Tarentum and the banks of the Aufidus a series of marches and counter-marches, during which he had never been able to get the advantage by any neglect or error on the part of his adversary. He, therefore, in turn was condemned to prudence. A Roman camp was not easily to be taken by storm. The Carthaginians, skilful as they were in the open country, did not know how to carry by main strength a strongly fortified position. Nero felt sure that his camp, even deprived of the best of the legionaries, could hold out until his return. He left there, besides soldiers who had seen Hannibal retreat, also arms and munitions in plenty, and great hopes for the future. To reach the other army he had first to cross the plain which extends from the Aufidus to the Frento, between the Apennine chain and the huge bulk of Mount Garganus:² this was the difficult point of the enterprise. But midway stood the fortified town of Luceria, where the expedition could find support in case of need; beyond, they would come into a friendly country, from which, since Cannae, the Carthaginians had been excluded. It was only necessary, therefore, to conceal from the enemy a day's march or two, and the outgoing expedition would be safe, as well as the camp they left behind them.

Nero announced to the Senate his design; he gave orders to the two legions in the city to march out and occupy the strong position of Narnia, which closes the Valley of the Tiber; to the legion at Campania to return to Rome; and to the people of the

¹ Frontinus, *Strateg.* I. i. 9. Livy (xxvii. 43) says six thousand infantry and a thousand horse; but he adds that Nero's force was increased upon the road by many veterans and volunteers. [This is only the Roman account. — *Ed.*]

² The illustration represents the site at the foot of Mount Garganus where stood in ancient times the city of Merinum, five miles from the modern city of Vietri.

country through which he should pass to have ready along the way provisions and transports. The rumor that a fresh and formidable African army was to bring fire and sword and slavery once more into their land had struck terror to the hearts of all. The orders of the consul were obeyed with promptness. The inhabitants ran eagerly to meet these soldiers whom they held to be the saviors of Italy, and every man brought what he had for men and horses, so that nothing detained the march; in six days,¹ they had made more than 260 miles,² and Nero came up with his colleague on the banks of the Metaurus. Not to give the alarm to the enemy, he entered the camp by night, and made no addition to its extent, his soldiers being received into the tents of their comrades. But in the morning the trumpeters sounded twice, and by this Hasdrubal became aware that the two consuls were there together; his pickets also reported that there were to be seen in the enemy's camp old bucklers, lean horses, and faces sun-burned as by recent marching. He believed his brother defeated, possibly killed, and all the forces of Rome gathered against himself. He retreated, his guides led him astray and abandoned him, and he was overtaken by the consuls. Being obliged to fight, Hasdrubal drew up his forces, with the Gauls on the left, protected by a hill and a ravine, and the Ligurians in the centre; while he himself with his Spanish troops held the right. Facing him, on the Roman left, the consul Livius was in command; the praetor, Porcius, with the light troops, was in the centre; and Nero, on the Roman right, was opposite the Gauls. The battle opened with a furious conflict between Livius and Hasdrubal, during which the troops of Nero were

ROMAN TRUMPETER.³

¹ Possibly seven; for Nero was six days in returning, and Livy says that he marched more rapidly on the return, — *citatiore quam inde venerat agmine* (xxvii. 50).

² The distance between the Metaurus and Canusium is 285 Roman miles, or 422 kilometres, which gives about 70 kilometres, or 45 miles, for each of the six days' marches.

³ Statuette of bronze in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,065.

not engaged, being unable to reach the Gauls. Chafing at this enforced inactivity, Nero suddenly shifted to his left, behind the entire Roman army, and came out upon the flank and rear of Hasdrubal, still hotly engaged with the troops of Livius. The movement was as much a surprise to the Romans as to the enemy, and turned the fortune of the day. The Spaniards and Ligurians, thus surrounded, were cut to pieces; and at last the slaughter reached even to the Gauls, who made but little resistance. Hasdrubal's conduct was most gallant, and his efforts extraordinary to retrieve the disaster. At last, finding that all was lost, he rushed upon a Roman cohort, "and fell fighting," says Livy, "as was worthy the son of Hamilear and the brother of Hannibal." Fifty-six thousand of the enemy were slain, and fifty-four hundred made prisoners; and the battle has been justly considered by Roman historians as the reprisals of Cannae.¹

Nero immediately set out on his return, and reached his camp after an absence of but thirteen or fourteen days. The head of Hasdrubal, thrown into the Carthaginian lines, told Hannibal of this destruction of his last hope. "It is the destiny of Carthage," he is said to have exclaimed bitterly. More justly, however, he might have blamed his own lack of vigilance.

Meanwhile Rome had been a prey to the most cruel anxiety. Every day since news had been received that the consul had left his camp, the senators had remained from sunrise till sunset in the Curia, and the people in the Forum; while the matrons, hastening from temple to temple, wearied the gods with their supplications. A vague report of success, coming two days after the battle, is scarcely credited; then follows a letter with more authentic information, and public excitement is at the highest pitch. Finally is announced the approach of three consular envoys who have been present at the battle. The crowd hastens to meet them as far as the Milvian bridge. They are followed to the Forum, to the Curia, and, mounting the rostra, they relate all the details of the great event.

¹ *Reddita aqua Cannensi clades . . . videtur.* (Livy, xxvii. 49.) Polybius (xi. 5) says only: ἀπέθανον . . . οἱ ἐλάττους μυρίων. From the sale of the prisoners more than three hundred talents were obtained. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* IV. iv. 4:—

*Carthagini jam non ego nuntios
Mittam superbos: occidit, occidit,
Spes omnis et fortuna nostri
Nominis Hasdrubale interempto.*



THE MONTE GARGANO.

When they tell how many enemies have fallen, how the leader is slain, and how Nero is carrying his head to Hannibal, a great shout answers them back. Then a part of the crowd hastens to the temples to thank the gods; others rush to their homes to relate to the women and children and the old men, to all who have not heard the good news, that Rome is saved, and the Carthaginian general overthrown.

Sheltered in Bruttium, he, however, remained in Italy four years longer, till Scipio dislodged him from that impregnable retreat by himself laying siege to Carthage.

To understand how Hannibal was able to defend himself so long in this region, we must notice its conformation. "The Calabrian peninsula is mountainous and very rugged. . . . The Apennines rise in abrupt escarpments above the zone of forest-trees. Monte Pollino, overlooking the two seas, is higher than the Matese and all the other peaks in the Neapolitan territory; the group of which it is the centre bars the peninsula from one sea to the other, and extends along the shore of the western waters in a wall of rocks more abrupt even than those of Liguria, and much more inaccessible by reason of the complete absence of roads. . . . The deep valley of the Crathis limits on the south and east this first mountain mass, and separates it from a second, less lofty, but more extended at its base; this is the Sila, whose schist and granite cliffs, of much more ancient origin than the Apennines, still keep the gloomy grandeur of their vast forests. South of the Sila rises a third mountain group, well named the Aspromonte, an enormous ridge, scarcely divided into distinct summits, but streaked over its entire extent with reddish ravines, which in winter are the beds of furious torrents. 'The rough mountain,' still thickly wooded, spreads broadly out into the Ionian Sea its promontories, plumed with palm-trees, and finally sinks beneath its waters at a point designated by sailors as the Parting of the Winds (*Spartivento*)."¹

¹ Élisée Reclus, *Nouvelle géographie universelle*, i. 485-486.

CHAPTER XXV.

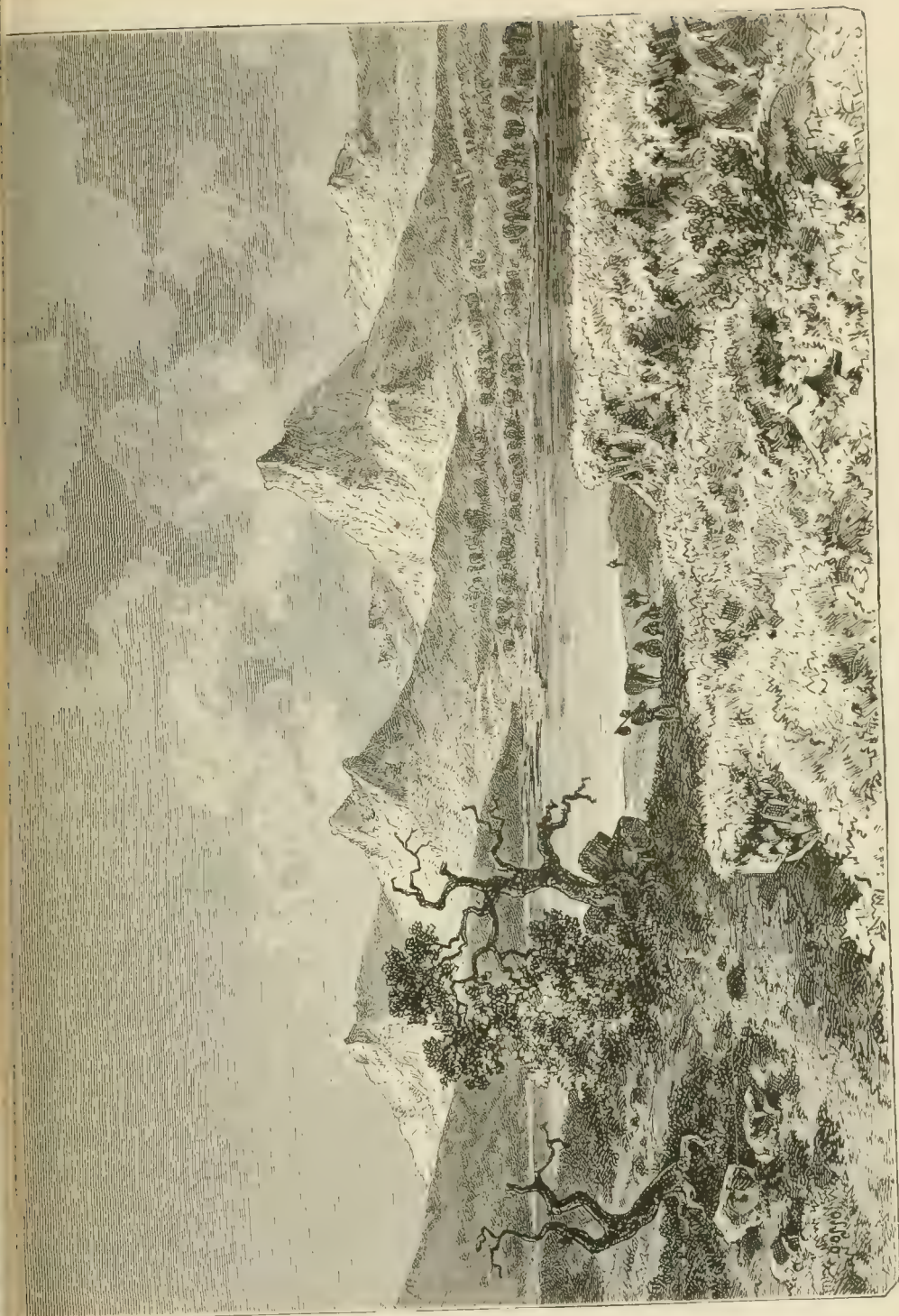
END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR; THE SCIPIOS.

I. OPERATIONS IN SPAIN (218–205).

THAT which Hannibal had attempted in Italy, the three Scipios had accomplished in Spain. In 207 the Romans were almost masters of this peninsula. But we must return to a period a few years earlier.

When Cornelius Scipio had found himself forestalled by Hannibal at the passage of the Rhone, he intrusted to his brother Cnaeus his two legions, that the latter might occupy the country between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, — a region which, recently subject to Rome, and formerly in alliance with her, would doubtless show a friendly disposition. Marseilles, which had covered this coast with her trading-posts, seconded Scipio with all her strength, and the skill of her pilots rendered him at once master of the sea. A single battle gained near Cissa threw the Carthaginians back across the Ebro; and the destruction of Hasdrubal's fleet at the mouth of that river permitted the Romans to ravage all the coast as far as the Straits. These first successes brought defections all over the country; a hundred and twenty cities joined themselves to the Romans, and the Celtiberians, the bravest and most numerous tribe in Spain, fighting alone, defeated Hasdrubal twice. As far as Baetica there were revolts, especially when the Romans, having seized the Spanish hostages detained in Saguntum, sent them away with honor to their own cities.

His term as consul having expired, Cornelius returned to join his brother in Spain with eight thousand men and thirty vessels. Strong in their united skill, they drove Hasdrubal back from the Ebro at the time when Hannibal, after Cannae, called his brother into Italy. Four victories, with the capture of Castulo and of



MONTE POLLINO AND THE VALLEY OF THE CRATHIS.



Saguntum, confirmed these earlier successes (215); and the offer of pay to the Celtiberian youth brought numerous auxiliaries to their banners (214). But in Spain, as in Italy, the nature of the country, bristling with mountains and with strongholds, made the war endless. The Scipios, weary with their rapid marches from



TOMB OF THE SCIPIOS (SO CALLED), NEAR TARRAGONA.¹

the Ebro to the Baetis, formed the plan of raising dissensions in Africa to prevent the sending of succor to their adversaries. Three centurions sent to Syphax, king of Western Numidia, gained him to the Roman alliance, disciplined his troops, and caused him to gain a victory over the Carthaginians (213). But this success

¹ De Laborde, *Voyage en Espagne*. The ruin is Roman, but could not have been the tomb of those whose name it bears.

turned against them: Carthage, seeing herself menaced, took alarm. A numerous army, led by Masinissa, son of another Numidian king, defeated Syphax, drove him from his kingdom, and then crossed over into Spain, whence the danger had come. The Scipios, threatened by three armies, now saw the Suessetoni and the Celtiberians turn against them. The better to oppose so many adversaries, the two brothers now separated. This was the cause of their ruin: attacked successively and by forces superior to their own, they perished (212). They deserve to share with Fabius the glory of having saved their country, and Rome preserved a grateful memory of their career. Cicero speaks of them as the thunderbolts of war.

Spain seemed to be lost: but Carthage had too many generals to be able to act with unity and decision. The fragments of the two Roman armies, gathered behind the Elbro by a young knight, Marcius by name, had time to recover their courage. Being attacked by Hasdrubal and by Mago, Marcius defeated them both in succession, and followed them across the Elbro;¹ and when in the summer of 211 Nero, after the fall of Capua, came with 13,000 men to take the command, which the Senate was not willing to leave in the hands of a man elected by the soldiers,² Hasdrubal was already driven back into Baetica.³ Shut up in a defile, he deluded Nero by negotiations, and made his escape. But a new general arrived, Publius Scipio, son of Cornelius.

With the lapse of time the life of the conqueror of Hasdrubal has become a marvellous legend. His birth, they say, like that of Alexander, was attended by prodigies: and he himself gave color to these vague stories of a divine origin by passing long hours in the temple of Jupiter. All his words were serious, all his actions seemed to be under the guidance of the gods. No man received so many revelations by visions of the night or inspirations from on high. For him the oracles spoke. At the Trebia he is believed to have saved his father's life; after Cannae

¹ [These defeats are probably much exaggerated by the Roman historians. — *Ed.*]

² Marcius in his letters had taken the title of pro-prætor, and the example was a dangerous one.

³ Polybius, who ranks very high the merits of Hasdrubal, accounts for his defeats by the confusion and difficulties produced by the sending of other generals from Carthage.

he is said to have constrained at the dagger's point one Metellus and other young nobles to swear that they would not abandon Italy. When he presented himself as a candidate for the office of aedile, the tribunes objected that he had not attained the required age. "I am old enough," he said, "if the Romans choose to elect me." This patrician was a *grand seigneur*, who never abased himself to flatter the people, yet was able to obtain from them, even while he defied them, all that he desired. As no other man sought the command of the army in Spain, he asked for it and obtained it, although he was but twenty-four years of age, and had not as yet filled any of the great public offices. In fact, the command in Spain had come to be regarded as a sort of hereditary right both at Rome and at Carthage,—in Rome, falling to the Scipios; in Carthage, to the Barcine family.

Polybius, who believes neither in chance nor in the assistance of the gods, but has great faith in human reason, treats with contempt the superstitious legends current about Scipio. He received from Laelius, the friend and comrade in arms of the hero of Zama, the most intimate details about him, and regards him as a wise man, who made all things, even popular credulity, serve his purpose. "His ingenuity," he says, "in representing his designs as inspired by the gods, gave his army confidence in undertaking the most difficult tasks."²

Upon arriving in Spain, Scipio gained the goodwill of the army by loading with honors and praises their former leader, Marcius; and in order to begin brilliantly, meditated an enterprise which should draw all eyes upon him. Without revealing his design to any one but Laelius, commander of his fleet, he set out from the banks of the Ebro with twenty-four thousand infantry

SCIPIO AFRICANUS.¹

¹ From one of the two busts in green basalt in the *Cabinet de France*, Nos. 3,290 and 3,291, which reproduce the scars of wounds received by Scipio.

² Polybius, x. 2.

and twenty-five hundred horse, and after seven days' march he pointed out to his army the towers of New Carthage, the arsenal and storehouse of the Barcas. Defended on the one side by the citadel and lofty walls, and on the other by the sea and a lagoon, the place was deemed impregnable. Scipio took it in broad day at the first assault. Some fishermen at Tarragona had informed him that at low tide, especially when the wind blew from the north, the lagoon was fordable.¹ While a sharp attack drew the besieged towards the walls which defended the city on the land side, the hour of low tide came, the water in the lagoon sank away, and five hundred men easily crossed it and scaled the wall beyond. The north wind began to blow just at the moment, and the whole army regarded this as a miracle; Boreas and Neptune, they said, had fought with them (210).²

The soldiers from the fleet rivalled the legionaries in courage: a centurion and a marine disputed the honor of having been the first to scale the wall. They each received a mural crown in presence of the whole army. The rest received large rewards. To Laelius, his friend, who had commanded the fleet, Scipio gave a golden wreath and thirty oxen, with which a banquet was made on board the vessels. But he did not suffer the soldiers to forget their duty in the midst of victory. Every day he drilled them; the fleet had a sham fight, or the galleys had races; the land force fought together with blunt javelins; and Polybius describes at great length the difficult manœuvres which were required of the cavalry in order to secure to man and horse the best use of the strength of each, and to the whole squadron rapidity of evolution and power of united action.

The Spanish hostages in the hands of the Carthaginians were detained in the city of Carthagera; Scipio treated them kindly and gave presents to all of them, even to the children; to the boys swords, and bracelets to the girls; then he sent them

¹ At certain points of the Mediterranean coast the tide is very marked, and on the flatness of the shore and the direction of the wind depend the height to which it may rise. In the Adriatic [at Venice] and on the western coast of Sicily it rises from three to nine feet.

² Polybius (x. 2) had himself visited Carthagera; and Laelius had related to him, among other details, that during the assault Scipio went everywhere, accompanied by three soldiers who shielded him with their bucklers against the arrows shot from the wall, and thus the general, seeing everything, could act upon each emergency without delay.

away to their own people. "Some of the soldiers," says Polybius, "who knew their general's weakness, had brought to him a young girl of remarkable beauty." Livy here interposes a love story, —



GREAT DISC OF MASSIVE SILVER, CALLED SCIPIO'S BUCKLER.¹

a graceful interlude in the midst of this stern history, where the public man conceals so entirely the private man, that the passions of the individual remain hidden under the *paludamentum*

¹ This discus, one of the treasures of the *Cabinet de France*, weighs over ten kilograms, and was long famous as Scipio's buckler. It does not, however, represent that general restoring his betrothed to Allucius. The subject, taken from the *Iliad*, is the restitution of Briseis to Achilles by Agamemnon, who, placed in the midst of the three porticos, and bearing the sceptre of the king of kings, is the main figure of the scene. Ulysses harangues the son of Peleus, who makes a gesture of assent; Nestor leaning on his staff, and Diomedes listening to the King of Ithaca. A table bears the gifts offered to the hero by Agamemnon, and weapons are scattered before Achilles. No. 2,875 of the Chabouillet catalogue.

of the soldier or the senatorial toga. "Scipio, having inquired in respect to the country and family of the young captive," says the historian, "was informed that she was betrothed to Allucius, chief of the Celtiberians. He sent for Allucius, and said to him: 'I present this captive to you,—a gift worthy of us both,—on the sole condition that you become the friend of the Romans. Know well that there exists upon earth to-day no people whose hatred should be more dreaded by you and yours, or whose friendship should be more desired.' The young chief, overwhelmed with joy, swore by all the gods to pay his debt of gratitude. The father and mother of the young girl wished to constrain Scipio to accept a considerable sum as ransom. He had the money laid at his feet; then said to Allucius: 'Besides the dowry that you receive from your father-in-law, accept this from me.'"

I do not know that the details of this story are authentic; but the fact of the restitution of the hostages certainly is so, and for history that suffices. Allucius, returning to his own country, extolled to his companions the virtues of Scipio, "a man like the immortal gods, who has come into Spain to subjugate all men by his arms and by his clemency." He gathered together his dependants, and a few days later, at the head of 1,400 picked horsemen, returned to join the army of Scipio.¹

The conduct of Scipio was politic, and honorable, which is also a form of good policy; moreover, this favorite of the gods desired to show himself superior to human weaknesses, and to serve his country's interests by this contrast with the arrogance, the exactions, and the outrages of the Carthaginian generals.² As a result, the principal Spanish chiefs, Edeco, Mandonius, and Indibilis brought him their troops, and, in their admiration, they gave him the title of King.

Still Scipio hesitated; the three armies, the three generals, who had conquered and killed his father and his uncle, might again unite. The one nearest to him, Hasdrubal, was encamped between Baccula and Castulo, in the Valley of the Baetis (Guadalquivir); he remained there an entire year without calling to him his colleagues, and without making any movement to prevent

¹ Livy, xxvi. 50.

² Polybius, ix. 11.

defections, which multiplied daily. Scipio marched against him in the summer of the year 209, and defeated him in a battle which cost the Carthaginians more than 20,000 men killed or taken prisoners. Notwithstanding this, Hasdrubal traversed the whole of Spain, and, deprived of his army, he accomplished that which as a conqueror he had not been able to do, he crossed the Pyrenees. Scipio no longer disputing with him the way. According to Polybius, Hasdrubal had for a long time been preparing this expedition: before his defeat was entire he made his escape with his elephants, his treasure, and a few soldiers,¹ made a *détour* through the Valley of the Tagus, in order to mislead Scipio's pursuit, and by the western Pyrenees came down into Gaul, where he remained in concealment for more than a year.² Scipio and Rome forgot him. But the storm gathered slowly; and when in 207 Hasdrubal came over the Alps with 52,000 fighting men, Scipio was accused of having let loose upon Rome a danger which he had not dared himself to encounter. The assertion was a calumny, for he had reason to believe that he had provided for everything in guarding, by means of an army of 8,000 men, strongly encamped at Sucro, the eastern passes of the Pyrenees,—that is to say, the only road which appeared practicable for an army seeking to advance upon Italy. He had, moreover, lost track of the fugitive of Baecula only by going in pursuit of adversaries who for the moment seemed more dangerous. It will be always laid to his charge, however, that he was neither able to penetrate nor to prevent the designs of Hasdrubal; but the laurels of Zama have hidden this fault.

Facing him remained, then, three other generals, Masinissa, Mago, and Hasdrubal Gisco. A fourth was on the way, Hanno; but this general was surprised and defeated by Silanus, Scipio's lieutenant. This success, the taking of Oringis by Lucius Scipio, and Scipio's own victory at Ilipa over 70,000 Carthaginians, reduced the Punic possessions in Spain to the city of Gades only

¹ x. 39, 7 and 8; cf. Livy, xxvii. 19. The battle of Baecula, in this case, must have been fought to deceive Scipio [and no doubt the Punic losses are greatly exaggerated. —*Ed.*].

² According to Polybius (xi. 1) he must have crossed the Pyrenees at the end of the summer of 209, and he did not arrive in Italy until the spring of 207. Livy speaks of his celerity of movement, but also of expeditions of Roman and Massaliot emissaries into the interior of Gaul to observe him.

(206); and Scipio now began to think of Africa. Numidia, adjacent to the Carthaginian territory, was divided between two rival princes, Masinissa and Syphax. The former, who was serving in Spain with the Carthaginians, felt his fidelity give way under so many heavy reverses, and opened negotiations secretly with Scipio. Syphax, on the contrary, had already fought for Rome; but his misfortunes rendered him circumspect. For the sake of deciding the two kings and uniting them against Carthage, Scipio did not hesitate to go over himself into Africa. At the court of the barbarian King he met Hasdrubal, who had come on the same errand, and he was able to get the better of him by his address and persuasive eloquence. Returning into Spain, he made haste to bring the war to an end; he took what towns remained in the enemy's power, and Gades, being abandoned by Mago, whom Carthage sent into Liguria to renew the attempt made by Hasdrubal, opened to him her gates.

At this juncture is placed an event which was of no importance as regards the war, but of very great consequence in the history of Rome,—a military sedition. We have already noticed the case of a tribune whom Regulus was forced to threaten with rods because he refused after Ecnomus to go into Africa. In 253 it had been necessary to degrade 400 knights on account of their insubordination; and a little before this a legion in Rhegium had revolted. This time it was part of the army in Spain, the 8,000 men in camp at Sucro, guarding the country between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, who upon a rumor of Scipio's death broke out in revolt. They drove their tribunes out of the camp and gave the rods of office to common soldiers; they believed that Spain was about to fall into disorder, and promised themselves an opportunity for plunder. A delay in respect to their pay served as a pretext; but Scipio was not dead, and the rumor of his restoration to health was enough to stop the insurrections upon which the revolting troops depended. He sent to the camp seven tribunes with no message of anger whatever: perhaps, the tribunes were to say to the rebels, their services had not been sufficiently recompensed, and it was certain that money was due them; the general was collecting it among the allies; the army treasury at Carthage had already received large amounts of tribute-money; if

the troops would go to Carthagera, they should be paid. Hither they came, confident in their numbers and re-assured against any severity by the rumor that the rest of the troops were to be sent away under Silanus for an expedition against the Laletani. Upon their approach the army at Carthagera did indeed march out, but at the gates they stopped; and while the rebels, convoked on the morrow, unarmed, in the market-place, find Scipio seated on his tribunal, the army returns; they close all means of egress, and noiselessly surround the Forum. Scipio addresses the mutineers at considerable length, to allow the troops to make their dispositions: first in the tone of a friend reproaching them; then with the displeasure of a chief whose confidence has been betrayed, finally with the severity of the pro-consul and the indignation of the patrician who has seen the gods, the auspices, the majesty of the law, the sacred rights of country violated. "There must be blood to expiate crimes like these!" At these words a great clash of arms is heard, the shock of the swords and bucklers in the army of Silanus, and the herald announces that a council condemns thirty-five of the guilty. Enticed the night before to houses where they had been stupefied with liquor, they are seized without difficulty. Dragged naked into the midst, they are bound and scourged, and then put to death. After this, the dead bodies being removed and the place purified by the priests, each soldier is required to renew his oath before the military tribunes, and there receives the arrears of his pay. Not a cry nor a murmur rises from the affrighted cohorts.¹ The sedition is at an end; but this outbreak reveals the change that is going on in military manners, and constant war will accelerate this transformation of the citizen-soldier, who defended his country, into the mercenary soldier, who will presently sell her.

Scipio was then free to return to Rome, and to solicit, or rather to accept, the consulship (206). But before quitting Spain he founded, for his veterans in Baetica, that colony of Italica whence came the two most distinguished emperors of Rome, Trajan and Hadrian.

He also conceived the idea of making a public impression

¹ Livy, xxviii. 24-29.

by a funeral ceremony in honor of his father and uncle. He announced that he would give a gladiatorial display at Carthagera. "At these combats there were seen no athletes of servile condition, nor any of those mercenaries who sell their blood. All were voluntary and unpaid combatants: some sent by the princes of the country, wishing to prove the native valor of their nations; others who were eager to descend into the arena to gain their general's favor; others still, for the mere pleasure of the strife. Some, already engaged in disputes, agreed to leave the matter to be then decided by the sword. Nor were these obscure men, but noble and illustrious personages, among others Corbis and Orsua, cousins, who disputed for the sovereignty of a city named Ibses, and who agreed to settle their quarrel in the lists. Corbis was the elder, but Orsua was the son of the late king. Scipio attempted to reconcile them; but they replied that they would have no other judge than the God Mars. Corbis was proud of his strength, Orsua of his youth; each preferred to die fighting rather than to submit to the authority of a rival. The elder by his skill triumphed easily over the fiery impetuosity of the younger."¹

II. CONSULSHIP OF SCIPIO (205); BATTLE OF ZAMA (202).

With the battle of Metaurus ended in Italy the Second Punic War. Hannibal had relied upon Syracuse, and it was taken; upon Philip, and he had been defeated;² upon the Gauls, and they had remained indifferent; upon Spain, and it had been conquered; upon Hasdrubal, and he was dead. His allies in Italy failed him also, for the prestige of his fame was fading away, while every day increased his necessities. Bruttium, so poor a country, was becoming exhausted in supplying his mercenaries, and everywhere, as at Locri, defections were planned. He felt himself surrounded by enemies, and hoped to control them by cruelty. The African blood showed itself. At Arpi he had caused the wife and children of a chief who had gone back to the Romans to be put to death

¹ Livy, xxviii. 21.

² This very year (205) Philip sued for peace.

by fire. At Herdonea, at Terina, at Nuceria, he had driven out the people and burned the city. He did the same with all places that he could not keep. Remaining motionless in his camp, the Hannibal of earlier years could only be recognized by the prudence and anxiety of the Roman consuls and the discipline that he knew how to maintain, despite his reverses, in an army which only the hope of plunder seemed able to render united and obedient.

Meanwhile Carthage herself was menaced. The Romans had closed against her successively all the countries whence she had been accustomed to recruit her soldiers: Gaul, whose coasts were defended by Marseilles; Spain and Sicily, whence her armies had been driven out; Numidia, whose alliance had been gained by Scipio. Every spring the Roman fleet of Lilybaeum ravaged Africa. In 207 the territory of Utica had been ravaged, and a Carthaginian fleet destroyed. Finally, Scipio turned against Carthage the two Numidian kings. The time for reprisals had come, and Cannae was to be avenged. Scipio said as much publicly: "We must go over into Africa; Hannibal, driven into a corner in Bruttium, protected by mountains and impassable forests, will make a resistance there, the limits of which we cannot foresee; an attack upon Carthage will give him an honorable pretext, which perhaps he desires, to quit Italy."¹ But Fabius was determined that *his* method should have the honor of the final victory; and the young consul was sent into Sicily without fleet or army.

The common people often see and understand that which their wise men do not see and do not understand. With that admirable instinct which is only good sense applied to simple and great things, they had recognized the conqueror of Hannibal, and applauded his designs. What the Senate denied him, the allies gave. Etruria,² once of doubtful fidelity, offered an entire fleet, an immense quantity of arms, iron, cordage, and provisions; Umbria, the country of the Sabines, the Marsi, the Peligni, the Marrucini, promised soldiers; and the singular spectacle was seen of a fleet

¹ *Jam hoc ipsum praesagiens animo praeparaverat ante naves.* (Livy, xxx. 20.)

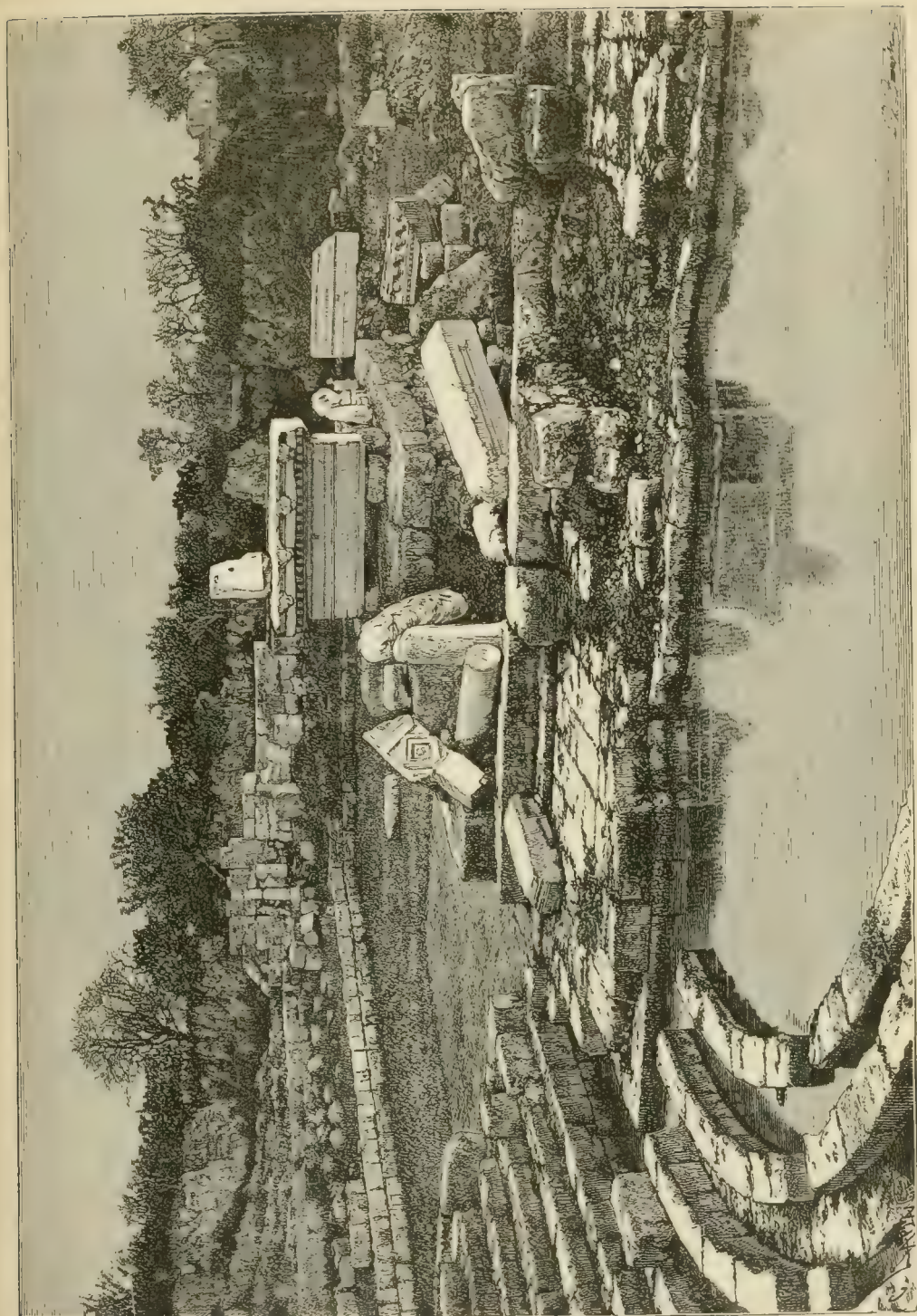
² It appears that at the approach of Mago there were yet some disturbances in Etruria. (See Livy, xxx. 3.) Such was the zeal of the allies, that forty days sufficed to cut down the trees and construct the vessels. (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 39.)

and an army furnished spontaneously by the subjects of Rome, when Rome herself gave to her consul not a single soldier nor a single ship.

This unfriendliness of the Senate followed Scipio into Sicily. Having found an opportunity to take Locri from Hannibal, he left Pleminius there as governor. The length of the war had, as was the case in France at the close of the First Empire, inspired the soldiers of the regular army with the utmost contempt for the peaceful dwellers in cities. The garrison at Locri, and Pleminius with them, disgraced themselves by a thousand excesses. The enemies of Scipio accused him of connivance. At Syracuse, they said, surrounded by philosophers and rhetoricians, he was forgetting Hannibal and the army. In this Greek, shod with sandals and wearing the chlamys, who could recognize the Roman consul? A commission was appointed to examine into his conduct, and two tribunes were sent with them to arrest him in the name of the people if these rumors should prove well founded. At Locri it was decided that Pleminius alone was guilty; at Syracuse Scipio exhibited the fleet, the magazines, the immense preparations for a descent upon the African coast, and sent away his judges full of admiration and hope.¹ At the same time Rome had sent deputies to Delphi to make an offering to Apollo, and the Pythia, speaking in the interest of Rome, had said: "An important victory awaits the Roman people."

All Sicily gathered at Lilybaeum on the day of the departure (204). Scipio, on the deck of the praetorian vessel, and overlooking thence his fleet and the immense crowd in the harbor, offered a solemn sacrifice, ending it, amidst silence of all, with this prayer: "Gods and goddesses of land and sea, I pray you, I implore you, let my command be fortunate for me, for the Roman people, for the allies, for my soldiers. Grant that our plans succeed, and bring us back to our firesides in health, in strength, and as victors." Then he cast into the sea the entrails of the sacrifice, and gave orders for departure. A favorable wind filled the sails; by noon the land was lost to sight. Four hundred transports

¹ In presence of the great events then preparing, the scandal caused by the conduct of Livius Salinator during his censorship is forgotten. (Livy, xxix. 37.) Moreover, historians seem to have singularly exaggerated this character. His reply to Fabius before the battle of Metaurus cannot be historical. (Livy, xxviii. 40.)



REMAINS OF THE GREEK THEATRE AT SYRACUSE.



carried provisions for forty-five days and thirty thousand soldiers, among them the veterans of Canuæ; only forty war-ships escorted them. Upon the voyage they met not one Carthaginian vessel; and yet, after Zama, Carthage surrendered 500 vessels of war! Where were they when this [helpless] fleet advanced, bringing her destruction?

Before embarking, Scipio had received news of the defection of Syphax, whom Hasdrubal had gained over by giving him in marriage Sophonisba, his daughter, and of the defeat of Masinissa, driven out by Syphax from his hereditary kingdom. The adventures of this gallant Numidian show us ancient Africa, the same then that we see it to-day. Tracked upon a mountain by Bocchar, an officer of Syphax, Masinissa escapes him. Again, shut in a valley where Bocchar guards the egress, he flees across the precipices and gains the plains of Clypea, whither Bocchar pursues him, overtakes, and surrounds him. Masinissa is wounded, but escapes with four horsemen; Bocchar, however, has recognized him, despatches all his force in pursuit, cuts off his route to the desert, and brings him to bay on the bank of a deep torrent. The fugitives dash into the water; two are carried away by the rapid flood, and Bocchar, who believes the prince has perished, returns to claim his reward from Syphax. In the meanwhile, Masinissa, hidden in a cavern, is recovering from his wounds, while his two companions forage for his support; and as soon as he can again mount his horse, quits his retreat boldly, reappears among the Mas-sylians, incites them to revolt, and once more a king, attacks at once Carthage and his rival. A new defeat drives him again to the desert. He now flees, escaping from the hot pursuit of Vermina, son of Syphax, until his enemy, wearied out, gives up the chase; then Masinissa reaches the Lesser Syrtis, and there awaits the arrival of the Romans (204).

Scipio had just landed at the Pulchrum Promontorium, when he perceived a group of dusky horsemen riding up. It was Masinissa, who had crossed the whole of the Carthaginian territory to join him. Scipio had expected the assistance of two kings; but one was unfriendly, and the other a fugitive from his kingdom. This fugitive, however, was the best horseman in Africa, and the two Numidias resounded with the fame of his brilliant courage;

Scipio welcomed him with respect, counting upon his services to make an important diversion. Two cavalry engagements, the ravaging of the country, and the blockade of Utica, inaugurated with but little *félicité* this expedition into Africa, which was not strengthened, as had been the case in the time of Regulus, by the defection of the allies of Carthage to the Roman allegiance, — a change in their sentiments doubtless arising from a change of conduct towards them on the part of the Carthaginian Senate. The following year was more fruitful (203). Hasdrubal and Syphax had gathered fifty thousand men.¹ Under cover of negotiations Scipio reconnoitred their camps, which were huts of reeds and straw; during the night he set fire to them, while his legions surrounded the encampment; three thousand men only escaped;² a new army of thirty thousand Carthaginians and Numidians were destroyed in another engagement. The time had come for employing Masinissa; Scipio sent him with Laelius in pursuit of Syphax, already twice defeated. The Massyli hastened to join their prince, who challenged his rival to single combat, and the Roman infantry had but to show themselves to put to flight the enemy, already weakened by the furious onslaught of the Massyli. Syphax, his capital city Cirta, with Sophonisba and all his treasure, fell into the power of Masinissa. The latter had formerly been a suitor to Hasdrubal's daughter, and he now hoped that he might shield her from Roman displeasure by making her his wife. But Scipio remembered that it was she who had detached Syphax from the Roman alliance, and he sternly demanded that she should be given up to him. Whereupon the Numidian King sent her a cup of poison. How much of truth is there in this romantic story, which Livy places amid his recitals of a pitiless war? The Numidian King was ambitious to add to the number of his wives her whom Carthage might have called "the daughter of the Republic;" and once having entered the royal harem, there was no other exit for Sophonisba but death.

This important expedition secured to Scipio the support of all the Numidians. In vain would Hannibal return to Africa;

¹ Livy says 93,000 men; but taking the number of dead, of prisoners, and of fugitives, we find but 50,000.

² According to Appian, only the camp of Hasdrubal was burned.

this cavalry, to which he owed his victories, was now turned against him. The Carthaginian Senate had in fact recalled him; while to gain time and to delay Scipio, already master of Tunis, it gave up a few prisoners, and despatched an embassy to Rome.¹ The Carthaginians had also another general in Italy at this time, Mago, who, sent thither in 205, but with a very insufficient force, had occupied two years in attempts to unite the Ligurian and Gaulish tribes against Rome. An order to return was sent to this general, reaching him just after his defeat in a great battle with the Romans near Milan (203): he at once obeyed, embarking with the remnant of his army, but died on the voyage, from a wound received in the recent engagement.

For five years Hannibal had not attempted one of those bold enterprises which had so often disconcerted the Romans, and he allowed the consuls to boast of the retaking of several small cities as if they had been so many victories. But woe to him who should venture to molest the Carthaginian in his lair! The hero turned and struck a blow, and then fell back into inaction. Sad and gloomy, he felt himself conquered by something mightier than his own genius, the institutions and virtues of Rome. Over armies, over generals, he had been victorious; but this people had something of the power of the ocean. In vain had he driven it back; like the sea, returning slowly, invincibly, it had rallied. Already he had not room to stand; the rising tide threatened him; and, mounting higher and higher, reached the walls of Carthage and assailed its gates.



THE LACINIAN
JUNO.³

In leaving Italy Hannibal left behind him cruel and insulting farewells. In the sanctuary of the Lacinian Juno he erected a tablet, on which was inscribed in Greek and in Punic the story of his victories, which was read by Polybius; and around the temple he put to death all the Italian mercenaries who refused to follow him. Tradition relates also that he had the design of

¹ Livy accuses the Carthaginians of having violated the truce by intercepting a convoy of three hundred vessels, and also allowing three envoys of Scipio to be insulted and almost slain by the populace.

² [This brilliant leader has received but scanty justice in history. — *Ed.*]

³ Head of Lacinian Juno on a coin of Crotona.

carrying off the golden statue of the goddess, whose angry countenance arrested the sacrilege.¹ For some time his vessels had awaited him; and he now sailed towards the Lesser Syrtis. Scipio had landed at Pulchrum Promontorium, — a name of good augury; the first object beheld by Hannibal upon the African coast was a ruined tomb. People and soldiers alike read the future in these presages (203).

Scipio was eager to finish the war, for he feared that each spring might bring out to him a successor. No one had been envious of his command in Spain; it was not long since his hopes had been esteemed idle: but Fabius was now dead, and the new consuls wearied the Senate and the tribunes with their importunities for the province of Africa. With that equity which the people show in important circumstances, the thirty-five Roman tribes would have no other general in Africa but the man who had reconquered Spain and forced Hannibal to leave Italy.²

Before the battle which was to decide the destinies of the world, Hannibal, in a conference with Scipio, desired peace. But peace without a defeat of the great Carthaginian would have been inglorious and of brief duration: Scipio refused, and hastened to fight, to take advantage of the 4,000 cavalry which Masinissa had just brought to him, as well as to anticipate the arrival of succor promised by Vermina to Hannibal.³

The two armies were of equal strength in respect to infantry; but Scipio's cavalry was more numerous than that of Hannibal. All the art of war and all the results of experience on either side were brought into play (Oct. 19, 202).⁴ On Hannibal's part there were no more of those stratagems which had deceived so many consuls; but his arrangements were admirable. His cavalry were placed upon the wings; in the van, a formidable

¹ Cic., *de Div.* i. 24.

² Cf. in Livy (xxx. *passim*) the efforts of the consuls Claudius and Lentulus to obtain Africa; the Senate always referred the affair to the people.

³ Appian says (*Libyca*, viii. 34) that Hannibal massacred 4,000 Massyli, who had come over to him, on suspicion of their treason, and Livy (xxx. 36) relates that a few days after the battle of Zama, Vermina ventured to attack Scipio, who killed 16,000 of his men.

⁴ On that day, according to Zonaras, there was an eclipse of the sun, which astronomical calculations prove to have been visible in the north of Africa. Livy (xxx. 29) places Hannibal at Zama and Scipio near the city of Naraggara. According to Appian (*Libyca*, viii. 36) there was at Zama some days earlier a cavalry engagement favorable to the Romans.

line of eighty elephants, the largest number he had ever employed; behind them, the Gallic and Ligurian auxiliaries to meet the first onset, and serve at least to blunt the Roman swords; in the second line, the Carthaginian and African troops, with a legion of Macedonians; and lastly, after a space of about two hundred yards, the bands that he had brought back with him from Bruttium. The battle began with the advance of the elephants; but the shower of arrows and javelins with which they were received, and more especially the shouting of the Romans, so terrified them that they became unmanageable, and, seeking to escape, brought both wings of the Carthaginian army into confusion, which was increased by the charge and pursuit of the Italian and Numidian cavalry under Laelius and Masinissa. Meantime the infantry engagement of the centre was very hot and murderous. Both sides suffered much; but, after a while, Scipio, withdrawing his troops, reformed them, and hurled them in good order, a second time, upon the shattered ranks of the enemy. "Thus," says Livy, "a fresh and renewed battle commenced, inasmuch as the Romans had now penetrated to their real antagonists,—men equal to themselves in the nature of their arms, in their experience of war, in the fame of their achievements, and in the greatness of their hopes and fears." Victory was already inclining towards the Roman side, when Laelius and Masinissa, returning from their pursuit of the cavalry, fell upon the Carthaginian rear, and decided the event. Hannibal, accompanied by a few horsemen, escaped from the field, where twenty thousand of his troops lay dead, and took shelter at Hadrumetum. Thence he returned to Carthage, after thirty-six years of absence, a fugitive, bringing back, as the fruit of so many wars and victories and conquests, only a humiliating peace. As might have been expected, the defeated general was bitterly assailed by the opposite faction; but he had still so strong a hold upon the people that he was at once raised to the chief magistracy of the republic.

The veterans of Cannae had brilliantly restored the honor of the Roman arms. From Zama, Scipio returned to Tunis, and here he met and destroyed an army which Vermina, the son of Syphax, was bringing to the aid of Hannibal. In Scipio's council there were some officers who talked of not leaving Africa till the

name of Carthage should be effaced from the list of nations. But the enterprise was long and difficult; others later would profit by their achievements; already one of the consuls of the year 202, Tiberius Claudius Nero, was preparing to strike a last blow at the hereditary enemy. Scipio resolved to treat. Perhaps also noble thoughts may have occupied this great soul. Since Carthage was no longer formidable, she at once became useful. While Hannibal and Carthage survived, Rome could not give way to the dangerous intoxication of victory. She must needs keep her Roman virtues, her discipline, her courage, against this peril ever liable to spring up again. This policy was, according to Appian,¹ the favorite one of the Scipios, and they doubtless owed it to the head of their house.

Scipio at first concluded an armistice of three months, with the payment by Carthage of 25,000 pounds of silver; she engaged, moreover, to furnish, as long as the truce should last, pay and subsistence for the Roman army. At Rome the people compelled the Senate to allow to the conqueror of Zama the honor of bringing this war to an end, and ten commissioners were associated with him to aid him with their counsels. He did not require the extradition of Hannibal, and made the following terms: Carthage should retain her own laws and her possessions in Africa; she should deliver up all prisoners and deserters, all her ships except ten, all her elephants, and should never train any in future; she should not make war even in Africa without the permission of Rome, and should not again employ mercenaries; the sum of 10,000 talents should be paid to Rome in fifty years; a hundred hostages should be given up, aged from fourteen years to thirty; she should indemnify Masinissa, and receive him as an ally.²

At Carthage one of the senators dared to complain of these conditions; Hannibal dragged him from the platform. When the assembly murmured, "I have always lived in camps," the rude soldier said, "and I do not understand your city manners." Then he proved the necessity of submitting. The ambassadors set off

¹ *Libyca*, viii. 69.

² Polybius, xv. 18; Livy, xxx. 36. When they brought to Rome the first instalment of the tribute, they attempted to pass debased coinage; their pieces had a fourth of alloy. (Livy, xxxii. 2.)

for Rome. The Senate accepted the conditions to which Scipio had agreed, and sent two heralds to Africa with the sacred stones, the vervains, and the consecrated plant which grows at the Capitol.¹ Scipio received 4,000 prisoners and a large number of deserters; the latter were put to death by the axe or by crucifixion, — a punishment at that time unknown at Rome, but habitual at Carthage and in the East. Five hundred vessels were delivered over to him, which he burned at sea, in sight of Carthage, — thus indicating that Rome did not desire for herself that maritime power of which she had just deprived her rival. The tribute came last. On seeing the grief of the Carthaginians at parting with their gold, Hannibal began to laugh. “When they took our ships and our arms it was time to weep,” he said; “the loss which costs you the most regret is the least of your misfortunes.” Carthage was disarmed; and that she might never recover herself, Scipio fixed at her side an indefatigable enemy, Masinissa, to whom, in presence of his troops, he gave the title of king, with the territory of his ancestors, the strong city of Cirta, and a part of the kingdom of Syphax, — the rest however, being given to Vermina, that the presence of that mortal enemy might in turn insure Masinissa’s fidelity.

All things being thus settled in Africa, Scipio returned to Lilybaeum. Thence he sent his army to Rome on board of the fleet, he himself returning by land, traversing the whole length of Italy, in the midst of an immense concourse of the Italian peoples, as if to efface the shame of so many battle-fields, by exhibiting him to whom the genius of Hannibal had at last been obliged to succumb. His entry into Rome was the most splendid triumph. He brought home for the treasury 123,000 pounds of silver, and each soldier had received 400 ases. Syphax followed the chariot.² He was the first king condemned to this shame. But soon Perseus and Jugurtha were to tread this *via dolorosa*, which was for Rome the triumphal path; later Vercingetorix the Gaul, Juba, the daughter of the Ptolemies, and the Queen of Palmyra. Duillius had only an inscription upon a rostral

¹ Livy, xxx. 43.

² According to Livy, contradicted, however, by Polybius, who must be the better informed, Syphax had died in prison before the triumph. Polybius says he died at Tibur, five years later. The veterans of Scipio received lands in Lucania and Apulia.

column: Scipio received the name of Africanus, and a *plebiscitum* decreed that his statue, placed in the temple of Jupiter with the triumphal robe and laurel crown, should be brought forth every year for a new triumph on the anniversary of the day. To these almost divine honors it was desired to add power; and in the delirium of her gratitude Rome offered to Scipio the consulship and dictatorship for life.¹

But this people was unjust towards itself. It was the people who was the real conqueror in this terrible strife. Very early in the war her gods deserted Rome, and we shall see later that of this there remained a bitter recollection. But Rome never failed to herself; she was her own providence, and secured her salvation by wisdom in council, by discipline in action, and by constancy in sacrifice; and these virile virtues made her greater than Hannibal, more fortunate than Scipio. The crowd, however, feels the need of personifying its fortune in human form. To honor him who had conquered at the last hour, Rome forgot her laws; she offered to Scipio that which later she allowed Caesar to take; and it was a grave symptom of a new condition of minds, presaging interior revolutions. It is not enough to say that the victory of Zama finished the Second Punic War: it began the conquest of the world.

¹ Livy, xxxviii. 56: . . . *perpetuum consulem et dictatorem*.

² Winged Victory crowning a warrior, who is preceded by another. From an ancient intaglio in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,545 of the Chabouillet catalogue.



VICTORY CROWNING A WARRIOR.²

FIFTH PERIOD.

CONQUEST OF THE WORLD (201-133).

CHAPTER XXVI.

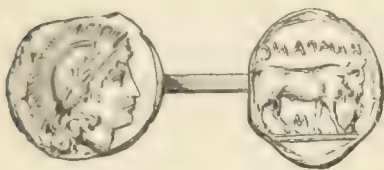
CONDITION OF THE ANCIENT WORLD ABOUT THE YEAR 200 B. C.

I. ITALY. — AFRICA. — SYRIA. — EGYPT.

“IT is as delightful to me,” says the historian, “to have come to the end of the Punic War, as if I myself had borne a share of the toil and danger. But my spirit quails before what is to come. . . . I am like those who, tempted by the shallows near the shore, walk into the sea: the farther I advance, the more I see before me vast depths and bottomless abysses.”¹ Beyond Hannibal, Livy discerned Philip, Antiochus, Viriathus, the kings of Pontus and of Numidia, and the great and noble figure of Vercingetorix the Gaul. Beyond the Second Punic War, so simple in its history, yet so majestic in its plan and its results, he saw a century and a half of battles, of disgraceful intrigues, of reverses and of successes, upon the three continents, and he regretted leaving the fair days of the republic to enter upon these endless wars, which were to exhaust her military population, to render the great tyrannical, the lowly servile, and to make of liberty a lie.

¹ Livy, xxxi. 1.

Sixteen years of devastations and of murderous conflicts had impoverished and decimated the peninsula.¹ But the wounds made by war heal quickly in the victorious nation. As early as the year 206, after the battle of the Metaurus, the Senate had sent back the laboring population into the fields, reducing the standing army for the sake of leaving more hands for agriculture. Colonies sent into Campania and Bruttium, and the distribution of lands in Lucania and Apulia among Scipio's veterans,² had re-peopled the wastes made by war;³ territory also distributed among the creditors



SILVER CAMPANIAN COIN ⁵

of the state had cleared off the debt of the Second Punic War, and left free for new enterprises all the resources of the exchequer.⁴ With the return of peace Italy was destined to see her prosperity revive, and her mercantile cities

inherit the commerce of Carthage. The sea was free to her. As far as the Pillars of Hercules there were only conquered nations or allied peoples, and the Illyrian and Macedonian wars had opened Greek waters to the Italian traders.⁶

No danger seemed to threaten the future; the Roman dominion had emerged all the stronger from the fearful trial of the Second Punic War, and all nations turned their anxious gaze towards this formidable Power. "Think you that Carthage or that Rome will be content, after the victory, with Italy and Sicily?" said a Greek

¹ Appian, *Libya*, 134. Ἀντίξου τετρακόσια ἐμπρήσαντος ἄστη καὶ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν τριάκοιτα ἐν μόναις μάχαϊς ἀνελόντος.

² Two acres for each year of service in Spain or Africa; it is said, also, that other grants were made to veterans of the Spanish, Sicilian, and Sardinian wars. (Livy, xxxii. 21.)

³ These colonies were made at the expense of Hannibal's allies. The Bruttians, the Lucanians, and the Picentines were henceforward employed only as servants, couriers, or messengers. (Aul. Gell., x. 12 and 13; Strabo, v. 251.) Galba, a dictator, passed the whole period of his office in travelling through Italy, determining the fate of the cities.

⁴ A rent of one *as* was levied upon these lands, in token that they belonged to the public domain, and could be redeemed by the state.

⁵ Head of Minerva, with the laurel-wreathed helmet. On the reverse, KAMPIANO, written from right to left, a bull with human face, and a stork.

⁶ I have already spoken repeatedly of the importance of Italian commerce: I will here add that the hundred thousand Romans put to death by Mithridates in Asia Minor were not tourists, but speculators. I will also remind the reader that it was these very Roman merchants who by their influence at Rome made Marius consul. Commerce and banking created the equestrian order. We shall recur to this subject again.

orator, while the struggle was yet undecided. These fears were well founded; for the ambition of Rome was vast, and she had ample means to gratify it. Her generals, trained in the school of Hannibal to war on a large scale, her soldiers, whose discipline and courage we have so often extolled, were without rivals; and no assembly equalled her Senate in political sagacity. But more than her armies, and more than her leaders, it was the weakness of other nations that made the power of Rome.

In Africa, she need only let the jealous hatred of Masinissa have its way, and Carthage would never recover from the defeat of Zama.

In Spain, the legions were soon to fight against their former allies, but this war with races owing their strength to the soil which bore and sheltered them, proved for three-quarters of a century nothing more than a rough schooling for the soldiery, a road to fortune for the generals, and to the Senate a useful pretext for keeping the republic on a war footing, for distributing lucrative appointments, and for keeping on foreign service the more turbulent of the plebeians. In no case—whatever may have been said of Numantia and Viriathus—was it a serious danger.

In the case of Gaul, Rome remembered too well former perils to risk her fortune in that fierce and dangerous chaos. In that direction she maintained for a century and a half a prudently defensive attitude.

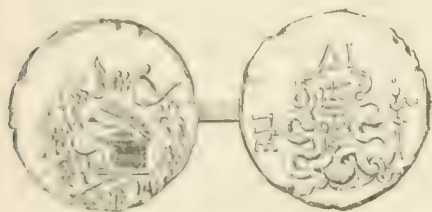
Germany was not yet discovered; the Alps were still an effective barrier even to the Romans. But the Cisalpine remained a serious danger, though exaggerated by Roman anxiety, causing wars laborious and unprofitable, destructive to consuls and armies, never affording decisive blows, brilliant victories, or a chance of those ambitious surnames which Roman generals were now so eagerly coveting.¹ South of Italy, as in the west and north, there was for a long time nothing of importance to accomplish. The Senate, therefore, directed their attention towards the East, where were vast but weak monarchies, and immense wealth almost defenceless.

The whole East was strewn with the *débris* of Alexander's empire. In Asia, ten kingdoms had been set up at the expense

¹ Scipio is the first Roman general who took the name of the conquered country.

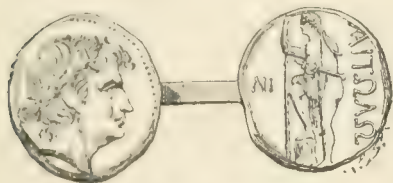
of the Seleucidae: in Thrace, the native rulers had been restored; Cyrene had separated herself from the still prosperous Egypt of the Ptolemies: lastly, the Greek cities, scattered along the coasts,

were divided among these various kings, or else maintained against them a profitless liberty.



DIDRACHM (EUSEBIUS) OF PERGAMUS.¹

along its frontier, defended neither by rivers nor mountains, there were enemies: on the south, the kings of Egypt; on the north



AETOLIAN DRACHMA.²

The kingdom of the Seleucidae still extended over an immense area, from the Indus to the Aegean Sea. But within there was no cohesion, and all and east, the Bactrians and the Parthians, former subjects, now revolted, and on that account all the more formidable. In Asia Minor the Galatians were dangerous neighbors, and if the kings of Pergamus possessed but insignificant

forces, the support of Rome rendered them dangerous enemies. Two of these kings, Attalus and Eumenes, were to play the same part



PTOLEMY IV., PHILOPATOR, 222 - 205.³

for the Senate as the Aetolians did in Greece, Masinissa in Africa, and Marseilles in Gaul. Notwithstanding this belt of enemies, notwithstanding the serious disadvantages of the geographical position of this Seleucid empire — a long and narrow strip that might be cut in twenty places, nothing had been done to attach the different subject races to the cause of their masters.

Quite recently one Satrap, Molon, had been able to detach from the empire the provinces beyond the Tigris, while another, Achaeus, had made himself independent in Asia Minor, and the Ptolemies

¹ Mystic cistus whence emerges a serpent into a crown of vine-branches and ivy. On the reverse, ΠΕΡ, first letters of the name Pergamus, ΔΙ, a monogram, two serpents, and a thyrsus.

² Head of a young man. On the reverse, ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ, and the two letters ΝΙ, beginning of a magistrate's title. Young man leaning on a gnarled stick, holding a sword under the left arm, and having one foot upon a rock. Weight 10.54 gr., imitated from Milesian coinage.

³ From a tetrastater in the *Cabinet de France*.

had effected the conquest of Syria. Antiochus III., however, had conquered Molon and Achæus, driven the Egyptians back beyond Pelusium, subjugated Smyrna, struck terror into the Arabs, and had brought back from his expedition into Bactria and India a hundred and forty war elephants. He was now menacing Thrace, and had combined with Philip of Macedon to divide the rich inheritance left by Ptolemy Philopator to a child; dazzled by these various successes, he had arrogated to himself the title of Antiochus the Great.

But what weakness beneath this borrowed splendor! At Magnesia it did not cost the Romans four hundred men to drive before them like chaff the immense army of Antiochus. The reason was that, unfaithful to Alexander's idea, all his successors remained foreigners to the Asiatic races. Antiochus himself insulted their gods by his sacrilegious acts, their customs and modes of speech by his manners and his language, the just ambition of their national chiefs by his predilection for Greek adventurers. At that time Greece furnished mercenaries for the armies of all nations; ministers, generals, and courtiers for all princes. There could not be found among the satraps of Antiochus a Mede or a Persian, and the natives were only employed in those light-armed corps which uselessly swelled the numbers of Asiatic armies. Greeks and descendants of Macedonians furnished the phalanx; but it is well known how readily men of European descent become enervated by an Eastern climate. Besides, the phalanx, although it had succeeded once, was none the less a military mistake in Asia.¹

To all these causes of weakness was added yet another, that there could not be union between the two great portions of the empire, the eastern and the western. The conquests of Alexander and of Rome had disturbed the world's balance. Formerly civilization and power were in Asia; at that time, Babylon, Ecbatana, and Persepolis were at the centre, and ruled with ease from the Mediterranean to the Indus. Now that Europe had emerged from barbarism and become the heir of oriental civilization, the regions

¹ [Alexander knew this perfectly well, and never tried to win a battle with the phalanx, which was Philip's invention to meet Greek infantry armies. Alexander won his battles with his heavy cavalry, making the phalanx his defensive wing, and at his death he was in the act of breaking it up into lighter corps. Nevertheless, against the Roman legion, and on even ground, it proved a very dangerous form of tactics. — *Ed.*]

to the west of the Euphrates, covered with new cities, with the language, manners, and ideas of Greece, had entered into the sphere of European action, while eastward of the Tigris all things remained Asiatic. The Tigris and Euphrates, therefore, separated two worlds, two civilizations. The Seleucidæ sought to re-unite them, and perished in the attempt. The oriental provinces went back to the Parthians, and later, to the Persians. The western provinces were united to the empire of Rome, later to that of Constantinople, and the separation has lasted to our own times.

Egypt had more unity, and apparently more strength, at least to defend herself. Together with the tomb of Alexander, the Ptolemies had kept some of his ideas; in the hope of making Egypt the great commercial power of the world, they had annexed to it, on the south, the countries lying along the Red Sea; on the north, Cyprus, Palestine, and Syria, the perpetual and legitimate object of ambition to all the intelligent rulers of Egypt; and besides, many cities of the coast of Asia Minor, of Thrace, and of the islands of the Aegean Sea. Unfortunately the Ptolemies, remaining Greek upon the banks of the Nile, as the Seleucidæ had done upon the Euphrates, did not strive to create for themselves a power from the national feeling. They abandoned the provinces, they neglected the old capitals, Thebes and Memphis,¹ and all the power and life which this Hellenized Egypt possessed concentrated itself in Alexandria, a new city situated almost outside of the country. Thence the Ptolemies could better keep watch upon the affairs of Asia and of Greece. After every victory Alexander was accustomed to ask: "And what do the Athenians say?" His generals could not feel that Greece was a foreign country to them. They had so easily conquered the East, that in their eyes there was no strength anywhere but in Greece, and they cared more to establish in her cities their influence or their authority than to gain provinces elsewhere. Aratus and Cleomenes had both accepted Egyptian gold as the price of their assistance against Macedonian

¹ This must be understood only in a political [and very restricted] sense, for the Ptolemies built many temples [did their best to fuse the nations], but the native population escaped entirely the influence of their rulers. Thus in his *Histoire d'Égypte*, Champollion-Figeac could say (p. 401): "In this country nothing was Greek, neither language, religion, manners, opinions, nor prejudices [except the Greek part of Alexandria]. In all these respects Egypt remained free from the Macedonian rule." And it was for this reason the more feeble.

schemes. Having confidence also in no courage save that of the Greek soldiers, the Ptolemies confided their armies and even their lives to mercenaries always ready to betray them, as, for instance, to the Aetolian Theodotus, who sold Coele-Syria to Antiochus III., and the Cretan Bolis, who, sent by Ptolemy IV. into Asia Minor to save Achaeos, gave him up instead to the king of Syria. All Egypt was in Alexandria, and Alexandria, like her kings, lay at the mercy of those whom Polybius calls the Macedonians.¹ "In respect to the state of this country," adds the same writer, "we can only say with Homer: 'To traverse Egypt the way is long and difficult.'"

The importance that the Ptolemies attached to these transmarine possessions, their rivalry with the kings of Macedon and Syria, and possibly the fear of Carthage, whose competition as a commercial power was dreaded at Alexandria, made them enter early into an alliance with Rome. In the year 273, Philadelphos concluded a treaty with the republic, which was maintained by

his successors, and during the second Punic war

Ptolemy IV. sent corn to Rome. Such was, in 201, the intimacy of the relations established between the two governments that, to put an end to the dis-

turbances of the kingdom, the guardianship of

Ptolemy Epiphanes, then but ten years of age, was offered to the Roman Senate, and Lepidus, a senator, resided for some time at Alexandria as tutor to the young king.



PTOLEMY V., EPIPHANES (205-181).²



COIN OF LEPIDUS.³

¹ See in Strabo (xvii. 12) the sad picture which Polybius, who visited Alexandria in the year 143, has drawn of that city, and all that Polybius himself (xv. 25) has said. Cleomenes, the king of Sparta, said to Sosibius, minister of Philopator, that there were in Alexandria 3,000 mercenaries from the Peloponnesus, and 1,000 Cretans, and that with these troops there was nothing to fear. At the battle of Raphia, Ptolemy had Thracians, Cretans, Gauls, Africans, Aetolians, Peloponnesians, and, for his entire fleet, only thirty decked vessels. (Polybius, v. 16.)

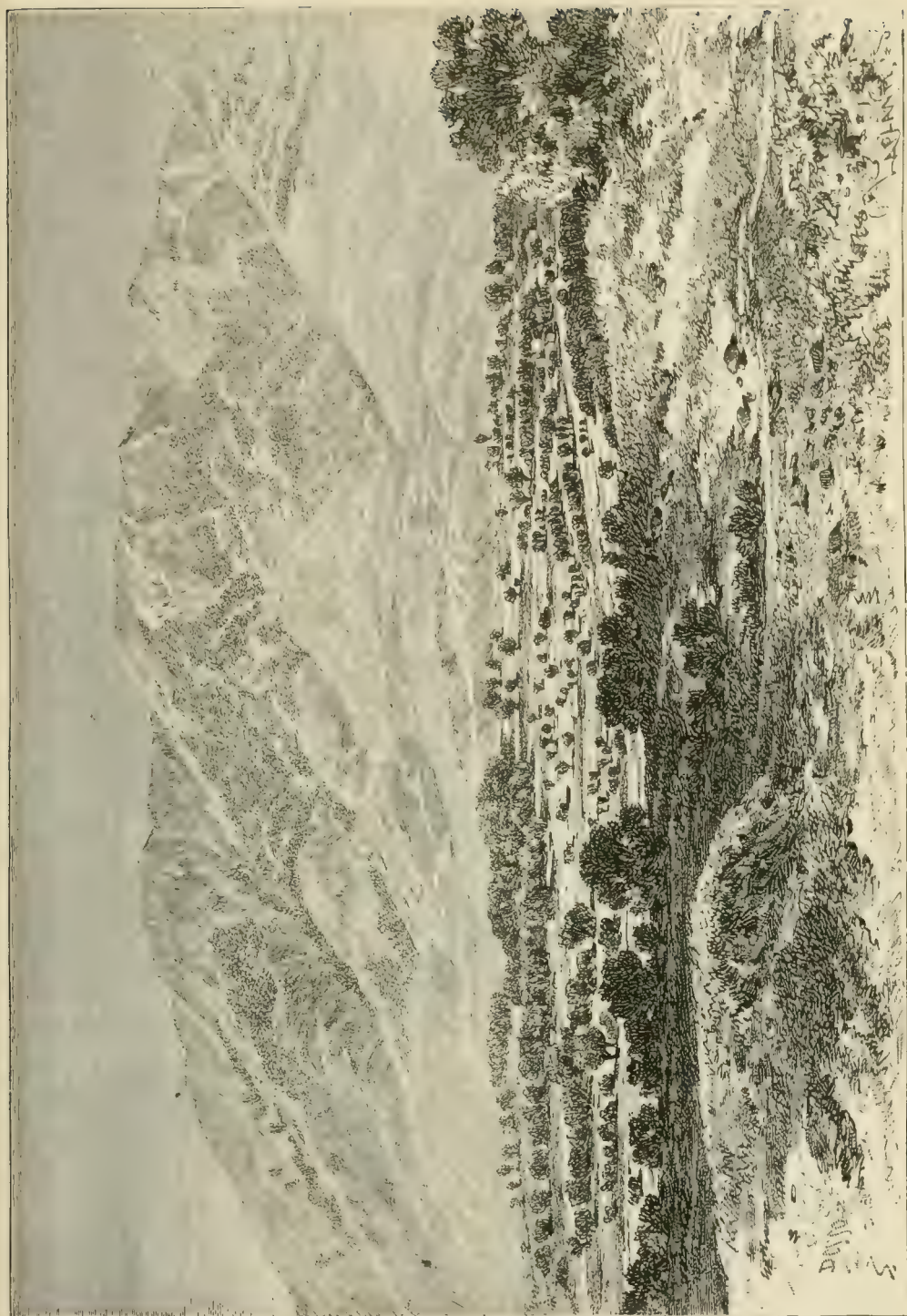
² Octodrachm (27.85 gr.).

³ A woman's head, representing Alexandria. On the reverse, Lepidus placing the crown on the head of Ptolemy. The legend, his name with the words: *Tutor regis*. All the Greek Orient came forward to welcome the Roman dominion. As early as the year 195, Smyrna erected a temple to the divinity of Rome.

II. GREECE.

SINCE the war with Pyrrhus, the Senate had carefully watched the revolutions in Greece. This beautiful country had long been without strength and deprived of liberty. Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, which had by turns ruled it, had exhausted themselves in sustaining a fortune too great for them, and their power had passed into the hands of semi-barbarous races. By its union with Macedonia, Greece appeared formidable, and that which democracy, so strong in resistance, but so feeble in attack, had not been able to do, royalty accomplished: the Persian empire, scarcely shaken by Cimon and Agesilaus, fell into the hands of Alexander. The rivalries and wars of his successors gave back to the Greek cities their independence, but not their former vitality. During these few years of subjection they had lost all energy, and even their respect for their past glory. "When the gods make a man a slave," said Homer, "they take from him half his virtue." This might have been said of States as well as of individuals; for servitude, like hot summer weather drying up the failing rivers, dries up the springs of life in republican States. At Chaeronea the Athenians still fought bravely, and Demosthenes, some years later, might have repeated to the Thebans, upon the ruins of their city, his splendid consolations: "No, no, you have not failed in rushing on death for the salvation of Greece." But what had become of these two republics under the Macedonian rule? The one only astonished the world by its servility, the other, by its degradation.

The disturbances in Macedon, the fall of the great cities, the political torpor of Corinth and Argos, left a clear field in Greece. Two new peoples appeared there: the Aetolians and the Achaeans, who till now had lived unknown among their mountains or on the sterile shores of the Morea. And so, before her political existence came at last to an end, Greece called to the front the most obscure of her children. But the lustre which they spread over her last days was as fleeting as their own power. Now enemies, now united again to oppose Macedon, they but



PLAIN OF APOCHORI AT THE FOOT OF MOUNT TOMARUS (WHERE ARE THE REMAINS OF DODONA).

increased the confusion in which perished the last remnants of patriotism.¹

Aetolia was inhabited by a race of men at strife with all their neighbors, and living only by pillage. Wherever war had broken out thither they hastened, like birds of prey drawn by the smell of blood, and ready to plunder enemies and friends alike. And when they were called upon to renounce this savage custom, "We could sooner take Aetolia from Aetolia," they said, "than prevent our warriors from carrying off spoils from the spoiled."² They were worse than wreckers, plying their cruel trade far into the Peloponnesus, into Thessaly, and Epirus. In 218, their leader, Dorimachus, plundered and destroyed the most famous sanctuary in all Greece (except Delphi), the temple of Dodona, which never recovered from the disaster.³

The portrait which Polybius draws of this people is by no means flattering; but the excellent Polybius was an Achæan, and of the aristocratic party, that is to say, the mortal enemy of the Aetolians, who were of the popular faction. We may therefore believe that without actually calumniating them, he has sketched them with adverse pencil. They had one virtue, certainly, then rare in Greece; they were brave, for they dared to resist Macedon, and Rome, and the Gauls; and they knew how to attain power. The Aetolian league, more solidly organized than any other ever was in Greece, subordinated the cities to the general assembly, and thus held the confederates united by a close tie; hence the league attained great foreign influence, for its action was more prompt, and its plans were more consistently carried out. Its confederates were numerous; some in Peloponnesus, some even as far away as the coasts of Thrace and of Asia Minor, such as Lysimachia, Chalcedon and Chios.

In central Greece they held Thermopylae, Locris, Phocis, and

¹ [The whole history of this most interesting phase of Greek liberty, which lasted nearly three generations, and which seems much underrated in the text, has been exhaustively treated by Mr. Freeman in his admirable volume on the *History of Federal Government*. — *Ed.*]

² Λάφυρον ἀπὸ λαφύρου. (Polybius, xvii. (xviii.) 3.)

³ Dodona was at the foot of Mount Tomarus, which, over 6,000 feet in height, is, next to Pindus, the highest mountain in Lower Epirus. (Cf. Carapanos, *Dodona and its Ruins*.) Our illustration is copied from that admirable work. It is to this author that is due the very recent discovery of the ruins of Dodona.

the south of Thessaly. But this power, instead of being helpful to Greek liberty, turned against it, for it was not possible that the Aetolian league, with its principles of government and its rules of conduct, should ever become the nucleus of a general confederation. What Sparta had been for the Peloponnesus, that Aetolia was for all Greece, namely, a continual menace, and to complete the resemblance, the Aetolian strategus Scopas proposed, as the revolutionary king of Sparta, Cleomenes, had done, to abolish debts and establish new laws favorable to the poor.¹ For fear of Sparta, Aratus delivered over the Peloponnesus to the Macedonians, and when Philip declared himself the enemy of Rome, the latter found in the Aetolians most useful auxiliaries.



ACHAEAN COIN.²

They laid open to her central Greece, and it is possible that their cavalry secured for Flaminius the victory at Cynoscephalae.

Among the Achaeans public morality was of a higher tone, and their chiefs, Aratus, Philopoemen, Lycortas, the father of Polybius, truly desired the welfare of Greece. Instead of seeking this end by an absolute supremacy, as Athens, Sparta, and Macedon had done, they hoped to attain it by a federation, like the early Hellenic amphyctyonies, in its principle, viz., in the equality of all the associated States. The Achaean league, which secured equal rights to every one of its members, which respected the individuality of the different States, and yet called upon them to act in common, seemed likely to make an united Greece, stronger and more formidable than she had ever been before. In 229, almost all the cities of the Peloponnesus and a part of central Greece had become members of the Achaean confederation.

But institutions alone cannot save nations. Of this league we have only the charming picture that Polybius has drawn of its government; we forget its intestine rivalries and its general feebleness. No doubt if the Spartans had cordially joined the league, if the Aetolians had been less unfriendly, and the neighboring

¹ Polybius, xiii. 1; Livy, xlii. 5.

² Obverse, a head of Jupiter. On the reverse, a dolphin, the symbol of Dyme, placed under the monogram X with ΘΕΣΕ, the initials of two magistrates. Triobol.

kings less jealous ; if, in a word, the body of Greek nations having Macedon for its head, and wielding with its thousand arms the sword of Marathon and Thermopylae, had held itself ready to defend the sacred soil against all invasion, no doubt it would have been necessary for Rome to send more than two legions to Cynoscephalae. "I see," said a deputy from Naupactus, in the presence of the assembled Greeks,¹ "I see a stormy cloud arising in the west ; let us hasten to terminate our puerile disagreements before it bursts over our heads." But union and peace were not possible between the aristocratic tendencies of the Achaeans and the revolutionary spirit of Lacedaemon, between the peaceful Corinthian traders and the Klephts of Aetolia, between all these republics and the ambitious kings of Macedon. Dissensions existed even within the cities, and the more deep-rooted because the strife was not for power but for wealth. Each city had its party of rich and poor, the latter always ready to take arms against the former, those who had nothing, to attack those who were in possession of property. Hence arose violent hatreds, from which the Senate knew how to derive advantage. Continually threatened with a social revolution, the rich turned their hopes towards Rome, and as soon as the legions appeared, there was a Roman party in Greece.²

To bring these nations into fraternal union, then, it would have been needful to begin by obliterating the memory of their past, and their inveterate hatreds ; also it would have been needful to prevent contact with that rich and corrupt East, which constantly drew away into the schools of Alexandria and Pergamus all the poets and scholars who yet remained to Greece, and into the courts of the Ptolemies and Seleucids all her men of talent and courage. These oriental rulers had not a minister, a general, a governor of a city, who was not of Hellenic birth. Greece was giving her best blood and receiving vices in exchange. "Everywhere in this country," says Polybius, "high offices are bought at small cost ;³ entrust a talent to those who have the management of the public funds, take ten securities, as many promises, and twice as many

¹ In 217. (Polybius, v. 21.)

² Legal interest in Athens was 18 per cent. (Dareste, *Bull. de corresp. hellén.*, July, 1878, p. 486.) At this rate debts increased with extreme rapidity, and it is easy to see how they became the scourge of the Greek cities as they were at Rome in early times.

³ iv. 9.

witnesses: never will you see your money again.”¹ Elsewhere he cites that Dicaearchos, the worthy friend of Scopas, who, when sent by Philip to plunder the Cyclades contrary to his sworn engagement, built, wherever he landed, two altars, one to Impiety, the other to Injustice.²

This thirst for gold had produced a moral degradation which destroyed all devotion to public interests. Hence, what torpor in most of the cities! Athens, the alert and intelligent city which once took the initiative in the most glorious measures, now refuses



COIN OF ATHENS.⁴

to unite her destinies with those of Greece,³ and by the sacrilegious honors she pays to all kings, those *Divine Saviours*, as she calls them, to whom she raises altars and offers sacrifices, proves how ready she herself is for servi-

tude.⁵ Aratus sets her free from the Macedonian garrison in the Piraeus, and restores Salamis to her, without moving her from her apathetic indifference. It only remained for her to forbid by public decree her citizens from ever concerning themselves in the general affairs of Greece, as the Boeotians had done, who, not to be disturbed in their pleasures, had declared patriotism to be a crime against the State.⁶

“Thebes,” says Polybius, “died with Epaminondas. It is the custom there to leave one’s money, not to one’s child, but to one’s boon companions, on condition that it be spent in orgies; many men, therefore, are under obligation to give more feasts in

¹ vi. 56, and xviii. 2. The Greeks could not believe that Flaminius did not sell peace to Philip . . . τῆς δωροδοκίας ἐπιπολαζούσης καὶ τοῦ μηδὲνα μηδὲν δωρεὰν πράττειν.

² Polybius, xviii. 37: τὸν μὲν Ἀσεβείας, τὸν δὲ Παρανομίας.

³ Τὸν μὲν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν πράξεων οὐδ’ ὅποιας μετείχον . . . εἰς πάντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐξέκείχοντο. (Ol. cxi. 3; Polybius, v. 106.) Athens, he says, has always been like a vessel without a captain; after escaping the most furious tempests, she goes to pieces in calm weather upon shoals full in sight.

⁴ Head of Athene. Reverse, first three letters of the name Athens, ΑΘΕ, and three names of magistrates. The owl consecrated to this goddess, standing upon a vase; a caduceus, and a monetary mark, ΣΦ. Athenian tetradrachm. (Cf. Beulé, *Monnaies d’Athènes*, p. 362.)

⁵ Plut., *Dem.*, 10; Livy, xxxi. 14–15. Later on we shall see her degrading prayer “to the god Demetrius.”

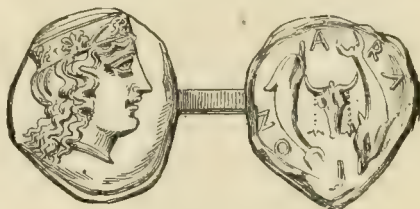
⁶ Οὐδ’ ἐκοινώνησαν (Βοιωτοὶ) οὔτε πράξεως οὔτ’ ἀγώνος οὐδενὸς ἔτι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι μετὰ κοινοῦ δόγματος. (Polybius, xx. 4.)

a month than the month has days. For nearly twenty-five years the tribunals remained closed. . . .”¹

Since the time of Philip, Corinth was no longer free. One garrison occupied her walls, another her citadel; and Aratus seized and afterwards sold the Acrocorinthus, without the citizens interfering even in the sale. Their arsenals were empty, but statues, and elegant vases, and marble palaces glittered on every side; they made it their pride that their city should be extolled as the most pleasure-loving in all Greece, and their temple of Aphrodite was rich enough to have in its service a thousand courtesans.³

CORINTHIAN DIDRACHM.²

After having destroyed or subjugated the other cities of Argolis, Argos herself fell under the rule of tyrants. Three times the Achaeans penetrated the city and fought against mercenaries. The inhabitants, indifferent observers from their house-tops of a strife in which their own destinies were at stake, applauded the best performance. “You would have thought,” says Plutarch, “they were looking at the Nemean games.”

ARGIVE DIDRACHM.⁴

Sparta was nothing but one perpetual revolution. Within a few years the Ephors had been massacred four times, and the royal power increased, abolished, then re-established, bought, and finally left in the hands of a tyrant. Sparta, pledged to poverty and equality, had become the richest and most oligarchical city in

¹ Polybius, vi. 6, and xx. 6. Boeotian stupidity, *ἀνασθησία* and gluttony, *Βουωρία ἔς*, have become proverbial. Cf. Athenaeus, x. 11. However, the fact that Pindar and Epaminondas were Boeotians, also the discovery of the very graceful figurines of the necropolis of Tanagra, compel us to accept with reserve the common opinion in respect to Boeotian stupidity.

² Head of Athene. In the field, a bearded head, monetary symbol marking a coinage. Beneath the Pegasus is the *koppa* (ϙ) initial of the name Corinth; it was customary to mark with this symbol horses of a special breed. [Cf. *σαμφόρας*, probably for Sicynic horses. — *Ed.*]

³ [These were, however, a direct source of gain, and rather prove the greatness of the commerce and thoroughfare in that city. — *Ed.*]

⁴ Obverse, a head of Juno with a diadem. Reverse, *APTEION*; cow's head, adorned with fillets, between two dolphins. Argive didrachm.

Greece.¹ From the 9,000 Spartans of Lycurgus, the number had fallen below 700, of whom 600 were beggars,² deprived of all political rights by the loss of their ancestral property.³ Wealth, accumulated in the hands of women, had engendered unbridled



LYCURGUS.⁵

corruption; everything could be bought for money.⁴ Agis and Cleomenes attempted, it is said, to put in force the ancient laws of Lycurgus, and to recreate anew the Spartan people. But the one perished before he had accomplished anything; the other effected only a military revolution in the inter-

est of his own power, and gave Sparta an appearance of life merely by appealing to popular passions. Throughout the Peloponnesus the poor called upon him, expecting that he would



ANTIGONUS.⁶

divide the land among them, and abolish all debts. Hence the alarm which seized Aratus and the Achaean league, when they beheld Cleomenes, at the head of 20,000 slaves, debtors, and proletaries, threatening not only the independence of States and their government, but the property of each individual.

Far indeed was this radical tyranny from the austere polity of Lycurgus.

To escape from this danger the Achaeans threw themselves

¹ Χρησίον δὲ καὶ ἀργύριον οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν πᾶσιν Ἕλλησιν ὅσον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἰδίᾳ. (Plato, *Alc. I.* p. 122 E.)

² The Spartan population had fallen off from 8,000, in 480, to 6,000 in 420 (O. Müller, *Dorians*, ii. 233); after the battle of Leuctra only 2,000 remained. Aristotle (*Pol.*, ii. 6) reckoned the number at 1,000. Under Agis there were 700. (Plut., *Agis*, 5.) Many causes contributed to the rapid extinction of this race: the law for the exposure of infants, the continual wars, the increasing inequality in respect to wealth since the law of Epitades (Plut., *Agis*, 5), which reduced the poor to a condition of political inferiority, ὑπομείονες (see Cinadon's conspiracy in Xenophon, *Hell.*, iii. 3, and Aristotle, *Pol.*, viii. 6), and prevented them from bringing up children, although a man having one son was exempted from military service, and having three, from all civic obligations (Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6, 13; Clinton, *Fasti Hell.*, p. 415); finally the usage τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἔχειν γυναῖκα καὶ τέτταρας (Polybius, xii. 6), and the *Creticus amor*.

³ Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6, 7; Stob., *Serm.*, 40: Τὸν μὴ ἐμμένοντα τῇ ἀγωγῇ κἂν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἢ εἰς τοὺς Εἰλωτας ἀποστελλουσιν.

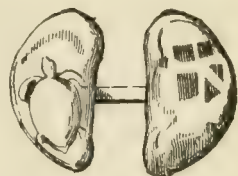
⁴ In the time of Aristotle (*Pol.*, ii. 6, 11) women in Sparta possessed two-fifths of all the property owned in the State. Plato (*de Leg.*, i.) had been struck with the depravity of Spartan manners, and held the women responsible for it.

⁵ Bronze coin of Sparta with [a conventional] head of Lycurgus.

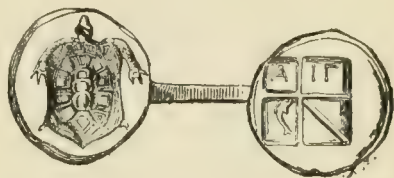
⁶ This head of Antigonus Doson used to be called Cleomenes.

into the arms of the king of Macedon; under him they would at all events lose only a portion of their independence.¹

The battle of Sellasia destroyed this factitious power, and Cleomenes carried into Egypt his turbulent ambition and his misconceptions of times and of men; he perished calling the Alexandrians to liberty! After him, Sparta remained a prey to factions, whence emerged the tyranny of Machanidas, which was destroyed by Philopoemen. But Sparta, despite her abasement, was too proud of her old glory to consent to disappear into the Achæan league. To Machanidas succeeded Nabis,² and the Spartans remained allies of the Aetolians.

COIN OF AEGINA.³

Need we speak of smaller states? Aegina has disappeared from the arena;⁴ soon she will serve for an instance to show how greatness and glory pass away.⁵ Megara is but an obscure dependent of the Boeotian or the Achæan leagues; the Eleans, like Messene and part of Arcadia, are dependent upon the Aetolians; the weakness of Phocis still attests, after four generations have passed by, the terrible vengeance of the Sacred War; Euboea and Thessaly are powerless;⁶ Crete given up to disorder and to all manner of evil passions; “to *cretise*,” was a synonyme for lying.⁸

DRACHMA OF AEGINA.⁷

¹ Concerning the dependence of the Achæans upon Macedon, see Plutarch (*Aratus*, 45, 51, 52) and Polybius (iv. and x. 1-5).

² See in Polybius (xiii. 7, and xvi. 13) a picture of the tyranny of Nabis.

³ A tortoise and a rude square. Very ancient didrachm.

⁴ However, yet once more she resisted a Roman general, Sulpicius Galba, who caused all her inhabitants to be sold into slavery. (Polybius, ix. 42a.)

⁵ See the too much admired letter of Sulpicius to Cicero to console him in an insoluble affliction,—a daughter's death: *Aegina, Megara, Piræus, Corinthus, quæ oppida, quodam tempore, florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos jacent.* (Fam., iv. 5.)

⁶ Hannibal said of Boeotia, Euboea, and Thessaly: *Illis nullae suae vires sunt.* (Livy.)

⁷ Same symbols, but artistically wrought. In the square a dolphin, and the first letters of the name, Aegina.

⁸ “Crete,” says Polybius, “is the only country in the world where gain, no matter what may be its nature, passes for honest and legitimate. . . . If you look at individuals, there are few men more knavish; if you consider the state, there is none in which more unjust designs are conceived.” (vi. 9.) Cf. Diod., *Exc. Vat.*, ii. 119.

Even with patriotism and sounder morals, the Greeks could not have been saved, and though peace and unity had reigned from Cape Taenarum to Mount Orbelus, Rome would notwithstanding, with a little more time and effort, have reduced her no less completely.

Upon the confines of Europe and Asia, there was activity and wealth in the commercial cities ranged along the shores of the Propontis, upon the sea coast of Asia Minor, and in the islands of the Aegean Sea. Byzantium, the queen of the Bosphorus, Cyzicus, and Rhodes especially, had even established with Smyrna, Abydus, Chios, Mitylene, and Halicarnassus a sort of league or *hansa* for mutual defence. But there was no real strength; Rome could easily

get the better of these cities, leaving to them that which was their supreme ambition, commerce, with its profits, and municipal liberty, with its agitations.

If we depend upon the judgment of Montesquieu, we shall strangely deceive ourselves in respect to the



BYZANTINE COIN.¹

strength of Greece at this period. The fears expressed at Rome have been taken in earnest; in the crafty dealing of the Senate has been found a proof of Greek power, and her warriors have been counted by hundreds of thousands. It is a mere optical

illusion produced by the great names of the past—at a distance, ships of the line, seen near at hand, logs floating upon the water. Athens was not able to put a stop to the ravages of the Chalcidian pirates, nor of the



COIN OF SMYRNA.²

Corinthian garrison. In the year 200 some bands of Acarnanians overran Attica with impunity, burning and massacring, and 2,000 Macedonians kept the city besieged.³ When Philip ravaged Laconia up to the very walls of Sparta, Lycurgus had but 2,000 men with

¹ Head of Bacchus. On the reverse, a bunch of grapes, and the legend, BY(Z)ANTION. Copper coin.

² Turreted head of the city. The reverse, ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ (magistrate's name), and a monogram; lion passant; the whole surrounded by a wreath. Tetradrachm of Smyrna.

³ Livy, xxxi. 14, 22.

whom to oppose him. Philip himself entered upon the campaign with 5,700 soldiers in 219, and the year after he had only 7,500. The contingent of Argos and of Megalopolis is 550 men, and all the Achaean confederation cannot put under arms during the war of the two leagues, the most exciting war of this period, more than 3,500 national troops.¹

In 219 three cities withdrew from the confederation; for their defence an army of 350 soldiers was sufficient. The Eleans had never more than a few hundred men under arms; at the battle of Mont Apelauros they were 2,300 strong, including mercenaries.³

The marine had fallen even lower. The Athenians, who equipped 300 vessels at Salamis, have now for their entire fleet three open galleys;⁴ Nabis has no more.⁵ The Achaean league, which comprises Argolis, Corinth, Sicyon, and all the maritime cities of the ancient Aegialeia, is in a position to equip but six vessels, three to guard the Corinthian Gulf and three the Saronic.⁶ In Livy is mentioned the ridiculous fleet of Philopoemen, the flagship being a four-banked galley which had for eighty years been rotting in the harbor of Aegion;⁷ the Aetolians have not a single ship;⁸ and we remember that the Illyrian pirates carried their depredations with impunity as far as the Cyclades. Rhodes even, whose power is so vaunted,⁹ after a serious quarrel with Byzantium, sends but three galleys into the Hellespont; and yet the parties in this war were two famous republics, three

COIN OF HALICARNASSUS.²PRUSIAS I.¹⁰

¹ At one time a levy of 11,000 men was decreed, but of this number 8,300 were mercenaries. (Polybius, v. 91.) See in the same author (x. 5) the deplorable condition of the cavalry before the reforms of Philopoemen.

² Head of Medusa. The reverse, the name of the city, ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΙ (ΩΝ), and the bust of Pallas. Drachma of Halicarnassus. (3.85 gr.)

³ Polybius, iv. 68.

⁴ Livy, xxxi. 22.

⁵ *Id.*, xxxv. 26.

⁶ Polybius, v. 91.

⁷ Livy, xxxv. 26.

⁸ In their expeditions against Epirus, Acarnania, and the Peloponnesus, they employed ταῖς πῶν Κεφαλλήνων ναυσί. (Polybius, v. 3.)

⁹ Strab., xiv.; Diod., xx. 81.

¹⁰ Prusias I., king of Bithynia, about 228, died between 183 and 179. Attalus was king of Pergamus, and Achaeus, of that portion of Asia Minor which was a dependency upon the empire of the Seleucidae (223-214). The head of Prusias is from a tetradrachm. During the

kings, Attalus, Prusias, and Achæus, with an indefinite number of Gallic and Thracian chiefs.¹

This weakness was not accidental. I will not say that the military spirit was dead in Greece, but for the last two centuries her sons had been wasted in causes foreign to herself, and the lucrative occupations opened to them in the East had led them to desert the cause of their country.² At the very time when the Spartan king Areus perished and the last remnants of Hellenic liberty were falling beneath the attacks of Antigonius, Xanthippus had brought away the bravest of the Lacedæmonians to the assistance of Carthage. Later, during the second war of the Romans against Philip, Scopas came to enroll under the standard of Ptolemy 6,000 Aetolians, and, without the opposition of the strategus Damocritus, all the youth would have followed him.³ In the time of Alexander, Darius had already 50,000 Greek mercenaries; we have seen that they were also the chief dependence of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids.

There existed therefore between Greece and the East an interchange equally disastrous to both; the latter took men and lost the confidence and support of the national forces; the former received gold, and with that gold, destructive to her own morals, bought in turn mercenaries for her private quarrels. I have already spoken of that deadly ulcer of states, *condottierism*, which destroyed Carthage and the Italian republics of the Middle Ages; it had now extended over the whole of Greece. Macedon, even, had foreigners in her pay; at Sellasia there were 5,000 or 6,000 of them in the army of Antigonius. In the Achæan armies mercenaries formed more than half the troops. The kings and the tyrants of Sparta had no other soldiers.⁴

first war between Rome and Philip, he was the ally of the latter. He was therefore concerned in the treaty of 205, but he held himself aloof from the second war, now about to commence.

¹ Polybius, iv. 12. However, in 191, the Rhodians joined the Roman fleet with twenty-five decked vessels (Livy, xxxvi. 45), and in 190 with thirty-five. But the fact cited in the text shows what contemptible wars at this time disturbed the Greek world.

² Lysiscus expressed the true idea of the Greeks—Alexander has subjugated Asia to the Greeks. (Polybius, ix. 11.) Hence they flung themselves upon this prey with more avidity than did the Spaniards in the sixteenth century upon the New World, and we know what ills the conquest of America caused in the end to Spain.

³ Livy, xxxi. 43.

⁴ See Polybius, ii. 13, in regard to Cleomenes and Antigonius; iv. 13, in regard to the

Wealth obtained in evil ways proverbially takes wings. Asiatic and African gold did not remain in Greece, because industry was there no longer. The cities were depopulated and in want. Of Megalopolis it was said, "Great city, great desert." Destitution prevailed everywhere. Mantinea, men and property together, was not worth 300 talents, and Polybius would not give, he says, 6,000 talents for the whole of the Peloponnesus. Attica, two centuries earlier, was the richest country in Greece. A recent estimate of its landed property and personalities had given but 5,750 talents, half the sum which Pericles kept in reserve in the public treasury before the war in which his fortunes waned. And this very people, who at that time spent a thousand talents for a single temple, to-day being required by arbitrators to pay 500, had not the means of doing it. Hence, armies were small, affairs were on a petty scale; a little noise about trifling matters; while across the Adriatic resounded the grand tumult of the mortal strife between Hannibal and Rome. All the memories of other days cannot make us believe that this worn-out people, a prey to confusion and giddiness, are yet capable of devotion and heroism. "Tis Greece, but living Greece no more!"

In certain cities the administration of justice was suspended; there were tribunals that remained closed twenty years, not for lack of criminals, but for lack of judges upon whom the factions could agree;¹ society was relapsing into barbarism. The family, like the city, was perishing. Many avoided marriage to escape the duties of paternity, and refused to bring up the children born from their transient unions.² This artist race even ceased to respect that which is still the best part of their fame—their masterpieces of art. Before the Heruli and the Goths came, bringing devastation into Greece, the Greeks themselves burned their own temples, destroyed their pictures, overthrew their statues; in one day Philip of Macedon caused the destruction of 2,000 statues in the capital of Aetolia. "This man," said the Athenian deputies at the assembly at Naupactus, "this man makes a sacrilegious war upon

Achaean; iv. 17, v. 8, concerning Philip; v. 3, the Eleans; and in regard to Athens, Livy, xxxi. 24. Crete furnished mercenaries to all the world, even to the pirates. (Strabo, x. 477.) Agesilaus (Plut., *Ages.*) had already employed hired troops.

¹ Polybius, xx. 6.

² *Id.*, xxxvii. 4

the gods; he burns temples, mutilates statues, and destroys even the tombs of the dead.”¹ The Lacedaemonians did the same at Megalopolis, the Aetolians at Dium, Prusias at Pergamus and Lemnos. And the sober Polybius, indignant at these sacrilegious frenzies, exclaims in his turn, “Verily, these men are insane; they address to the gods their supplications; they offer victims to them; they bend the knee before their images; they are as superstitious as women, and they lay waste their temples.”²

Doubtless there were still enlightened and patriotic Greeks, and when the question shall be clearly put between Greece and Rome, between liberty and submission, we shall again find sentiments and impulses worthy of a great people. But it is too late. The Achaean league could no longer bring safety—the moment for that has passed; nor could the federative system, into which a skillful aggressor can too easily bring dissension; the only thing now possible would be a close alliance with Macedon under a great prince. Let us see whether that great prince existed.

III. MACEDON.

SURROUNDED by the sea and by rugged *mountains, inhabited by a warlike race devoted to her kings and proud of the position they had made for her in the world, Macedon was truly a powerful State.



COIN OF OPUS.³

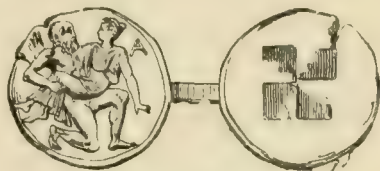
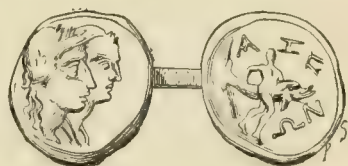
As in the case of Carthage, Rome made three attempts before she could achieve her rival's destruction. If Philip V. had possessed nothing but Macedon, his conduct no doubt would have been as simple as his interests, but he held also Thessaly and Euboea, Opus in Locris, Elataea and the larger part of Phocis, the Acrocorinthus

¹ In regard to Philip's ravages in Attica, Cf. Livy, xxxi. 5, 24, 26, 30. Not content with throwing down the statues, he caused them to be broken. At Thermus he burned the temple and threw down 2,000 statues. (Polybius, v. 9; xi. 3.) The Aetolians, on their part, destroyed the ancient sanctuary of Dodona, and at Dium the temple and the pictures of the kings of Macedon. The plundering of Delphi by the Phocians will be remembered.

² Polybius, xxxii. 25.

³ Head of Ceres. Reverse, OPONTION, and Ajax, sword in hand. Didrachm of Opus.

and Orchomenus in Arcadia. In three of the Cyclades, Andros, Paros, and Cythnos, he maintained garrisons; also in Thasos and some cities of the coast of Thrace and of Asia; a considerable part of Caria belonged to him. These remote and scattered possessions multiplied hostile contracts. His Thracian towns, Perinthus, Sestus, and Abydus, which commanded the passage from Europe into Asia, made him dangerous to Attalus of Pergamus; his cities in Caria and the island of Iasus, to the Rhodians; Euboea, to the Athenians; Thessaly and Phocis, to the Aetolians; his possessions in the Peloponnesus, to Lacedaemon.

DIDRACHM OF THASOS.¹COIN OF ABYDUS.²COIN OF IASUS.⁴

With more consistency in his plans and a wiser use of his strength he might have ruled over all Greece, for he held its fetters, to quote the words of Antipater. But he always made war less as a king than a predatory chief, rushing in one campaign from Macedon to Cephallenia, thence to Thermus, from Aetolia to Sparta, completing the destruction of no enemy, leaving each enterprise incomplete.³ In these wars his numerical strength never exceeded a few thousand men, and Plutarch speaks of the difficulties he had in raising troops.⁵ He could not withdraw soldiers from Macedon, for whenever they knew of his absence the Thracians, the Dardanians, and the Illyrian tribes fell upon his kingdom. To conquer these barbarians, to crush the Aetolian league, to expel the tyrants of Sparta and to gain over by gentleness the rest of

¹ Satyr carrying off a woman. Reverse, hollow square. Silver coin of Thasos of very ancient date.

² Bust of Diana. Reverse, ΑΒΥΔΗΝΩΝ ΑΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ, an eagle and a torch; the whole surrounded by a laurel wreath. Tetradrachm of Abydus.

³ Polybius, v. 1-15.

⁴ Heads of the Dioscuri coupled. Reverse, ΙΑΣΕΩΝ. Figure leaning upon a dolphin. Bronze coin of Iasus.

⁵ Plutarch, *Flamininus*.

the Greeks — this was the *rôle* Philip proposed to himself. But he had not the ability to play it. If it is not true that, as Polybius asserts, he caused Aratus to be poisoned,¹ he certainly alienated his allies by his excesses and his perfidy. "A king," he dared to say, "is bound neither by his word nor by moral laws." The eyes of the most careless observer saw drawing near "the tempest which the Aetolians were attracting from the

IASUS.²

West."³ Philip only neither saw nor understood this.⁴ And when the Senate sent to declare war upon him he was fighting in Asia against Attalus and the Rhodians for the possession of some unimportant places in Thrace and Caria. His reply to the Roman messenger, Aemilius Lepidus, shows his mocking levity in the

¹ The assertion of Polybius seems to be ill supported by evidence. Notice, *passim*, the reproaches that he addresses to Philip on account of his conduct at Messene and at Argos; also the speech of Aristenes. (Livy, xxxii. 21.)

² Part of the wall of Iasus, with eastern side. (*Voyage archéol. en Grèce et en Asie mineure*, Lebas and Waddington, pl. lxvi., fig. 1.) This city was then in possession of Macedon.

³ Speech of Lysiscus, Polybius, ix. 11. As the Second Punic War drew near its close, the fears of the Greeks increased, and the conviction that they were destined to swell the number of the conquests of Rome. (Polybius, xi. 6.) "Threatened by Carthage and by Rome," said a Greek, "we shall escape from servitude only if Philip can regard all Greece as his own and watch over her." (Polybius, v. 104.)

⁴ Except in making his treaty with Hannibal: "From this moment the idea of conquering Italy occupied him even in his dreams." (Polybius, v. 101-8.)

midst of most serious affairs. He would forgive him, he said, the arrogance of his language for three reasons — first, that he was young and inexperienced; next, because he was the handsomest man of his age; and lastly, because he bore a Roman name.¹

The Roman power, until now limited to the West, was about to penetrate into that Eastern world belonging to the successors of Alexander. It is Rome's immortal honor, the one immense benefit which makes us forget all her unjust wars, that for a certain length of time she united these two worlds, which are in their nature so divided in interests and so foreign one to the other; that she mingled and blended the brilliant but corrupt civilization of the East with the barbaric energy of the West. The Mediterranean became a Roman lake — *mare nostrum*, they called it; and the same life circulated upon all its shores, called, for the first and last time, to share a common existence.

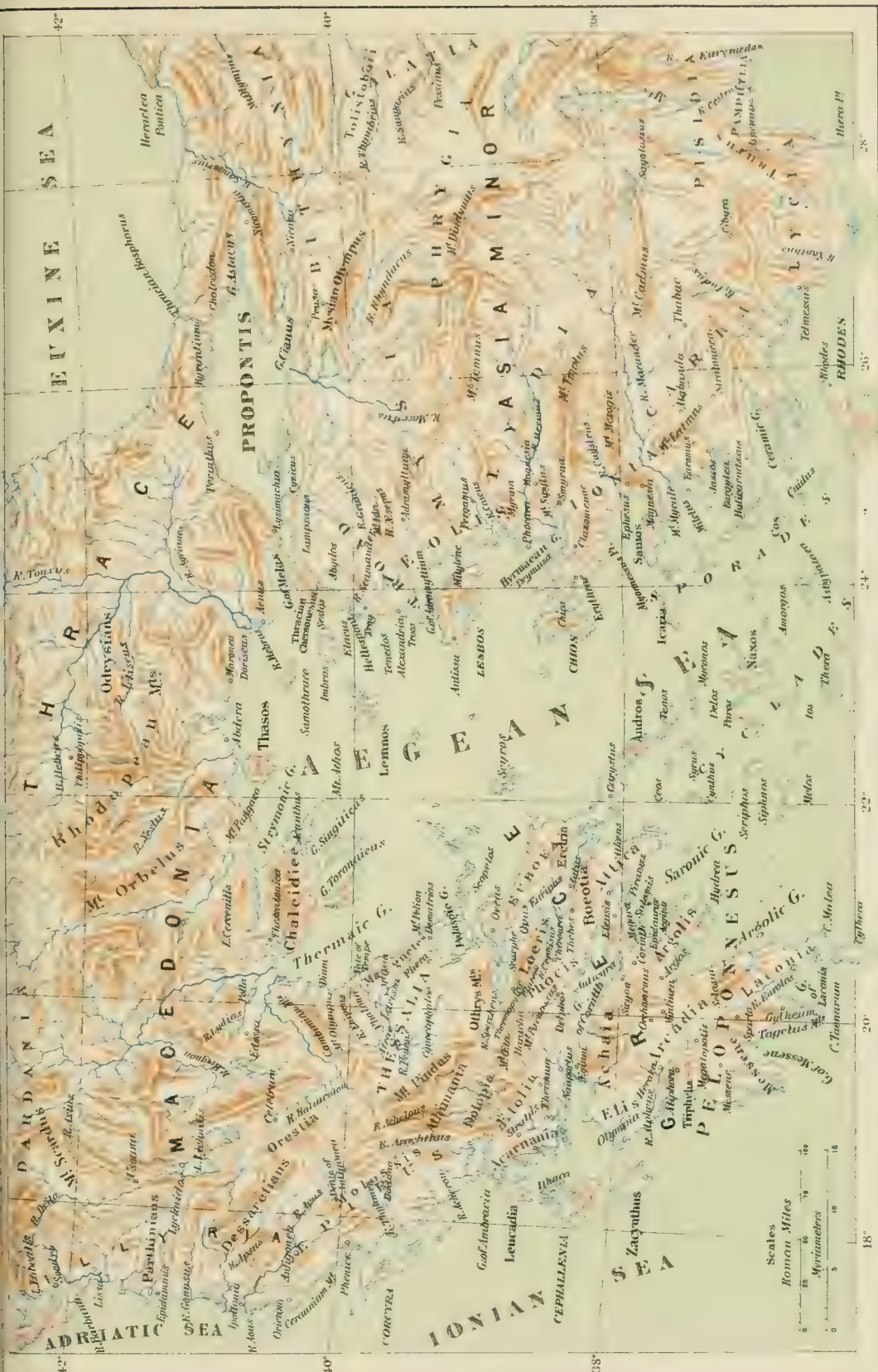
A century and a half of efforts and of prudence were required for this result: for Rome, not working for a man, but for a patient aristocracy, had no need to attain the end at a single leap. Instead of rearing suddenly one of those colossal monarchies formed like the statue of gold, with feet of clay, she slowly founded an empire which fell only under the weight of years and of hordes from the North. After Zama, she might have attempted the conquest of Africa, but she left Carthage and the Numidians to wear one another out. After Cynoscephalæ and Magnesia, Greece and Asia were ready for the yoke, but she still left to them fifty years more of liberty. The truth is, she still keeps, with her pride in the Roman name and her insatiable desire for power, some of her early virtues. The Popillii are more numerous than the Verres at present; she had rather rule the world; later, she will set herself to pillage it. And so, wherever any strength is observed, thither Rome despatches her legions; everything like power is destroyed; ties uniting States, leagues of whatever kind are broken up; and when she recalls her soldiers they leave behind them anarchy and weakness. The work of the legions being ended, that of the Senate begins: first, force, afterward tact and policy, and the old

¹ Polybius, xvi. 15.

senators, grown gray amid the alarms of the Second Punic War, seem now to enjoy themselves far more in that play of state-craft, always the highest of Italian arts.

Many reasons, moreover, enjoined this reserve. Against the Gauls and the Samnites, against Pyrrhus and Hannibal, that is to say, in the defence of Latium and of Italy, Rome had used all her strength; it was a question of life or death. In the wars in Greece and Asia only her ambition and her pride were at stake, and prudence required that a little rest should be allowed to the plebeians and the allies. The Senate also had too many affairs upon their hands at the same time — wars in Spain, in Corsica, in the Cisalpine, and in Istria — to permit any serious handling of the Eastern question; two legions only were sent to fight with Philip and with Antiochus. It was enough to conquer them, but not enough to plunder them. Besides, from the moment when the Romans began to penetrate into this Greek world, where the glory of the past concealed so much present weakness, they felt that they could never be too moderate. Those pitiless enemies of the Volscians and the Samnites in their next wars no longer ravage the country and exterminate their adversaries. Not for their own interests did they come, they said, to shed their blood; it was to advocate the cause of oppressed Greece. And this language, this conduct, they never changed, even after victory.

The first act of Flamininus, on the morrow of Cynoscephalae, will be to proclaim liberty to the Greeks. All who bore that honored name seemed to have a right to their protection, and the little Greek cities of Caria and along the Thracian and the Asiatic coasts will receive with wonder their liberty at the hands of a people whom they scarcely know. All will be deceived by this air of disinterested kindness. No one will observe that what Rome is doing in giving independence to their states and cities has the effect of destroying the confederations just struggling to reform, in which perhaps might be the hope of new strength for Greece. Separating them from one another, and attaching them to herself by a tie of self-interested gratitude, she placed them all unconsciously to themselves under her influence. She made them her allies; and it is well known what became finally of the allies of Rome. So profitable did the Senate find this policy of



ILLYRIA, GREECE, MACEDONIA, THRACE AND WESTERN PART OF ASIA MINOR.
SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR. WARS AGAINST ANTIOCHUS AND THE GALATIANS. THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR.

sowing dissensions everywhere and awakening on all sides extinct rivalries, that for more than half a century they followed no other.

¹ Reverse of a coin of the Servilian family bearing the head of Flora, already represented.
(vol. i. p. 623.)



WARRIORS JOINING THEIR SWORDS.¹

CHAPTER XXVII.

SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR (200-197).¹

I. FIRST OPERATIONS OF ROME IN GREECE.

THE conqueror of Zama had scarcely descended from the Capitol, and the temples yet resounded with thanksgivings, when one of the consuls came, in the name of the Senate, to say to the assembled centuries: "Will you, do you decree, that war be declared against king Philip and the Macedonians for having done injury and violence to the allies of the Roman people?" The centuries unanimously refused the proposal. They had had enough of glory and battles; peace and rest were the objects of their desire; but the Roman people belonged to themselves no longer. They had become the instrument of a self-imposed necessity, which must inevitably be wielded for the conquest of the world.

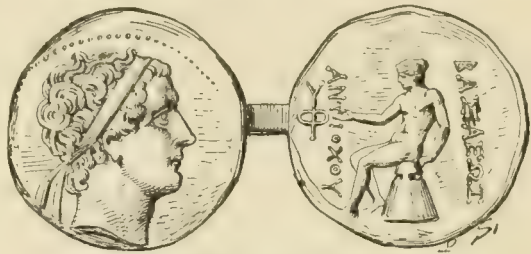
Vainly did the Roman nation now desire to stop in the bloody career wherein its own liberty was also to perish. Victory had made it a king, and it must needs accept the anxieties, the perils, and the proud misery of its royal condition. "The senators," said Baebius, the tribune, "wish to make war endless, to the end that their dictatorship may be endless." The consul reminded them of the treaty with Hannibal, of the 4,000 mercenaries sent to Zama,² of Philip's threats against the free cities of Greece and Asia, his attacks upon the allies of Rome in the East, upon Attalus of Pergamus, the Rhodians, and Ptolemy Epiphanes, the ward of the Senate. At that very moment he was besieging Athens. Athens, the consul said, would be a new Saguntum, and Philip another Hannibal. The war must be carried into Greece if they desired not to have it in Italy. "Go to the vote, then," he said, in conclusion,

¹ For the first Macedonian war, see vol. ii., p. 20.

² Livy, xxx. 42.

"and may the gods who have accepted my sacrifices and have given me auspicious omens inspire you to decree what the Senate has resolved." The people yielded. The Senate, however, had so little real anxiety in the case that they armed for Italy and the provinces but six legions in all, although the war was then recommencing in the Cisalpine, where Hamilcar, the Carthaginian, was fomenting disturbances among the Insubrians.

We have seen what was the situation in Greece and in the Eastern world, and have noted the strength of the different States and their alliances. Philip had lately allied himself with Antiochus III. of Syria and with Prusias of Bithynia, for the purpose of despoiling the Thracian and Asiatic possessions of Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was in his turn defended

TETRASTATER OF ANTIOCHUS III.¹

by Rhodes and by Attalus of Pergamus. In Greece, his declared enemies were, Sparta under the rule of Nabis; Athens, which had just exchanged rights of citizenship with Rhodes; and the Aetolians, who ruled from one sea to the other² and occupied Thermopylae; while his excesses left him but lukewarm friends. The consul Sulpicius, sent against him, came over bringing but two legions; Carthage sent them corn, Masinissa furnished them Numidian troops, Rhodes and Attalus contributed ships, and the Aetolians, after some hesitation, sent their [Thessalian] cavalry — the best in Greece. Nabis, without declaring for Rome, was already in open war with the Achaeans.

COIN OF CHALCIS.³

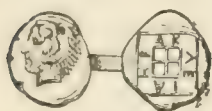
As soon as the campaign opened, Philip, notwithstanding his activity, found himself hemmed in by enemies on every side. A lieutenant of Sulpicius

¹ Crowned head of Antiochus. Reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, and a monogram. Apollo seated upon the *omphalos*, or central point of the world. From the *Cabinet de France*. (33.95 gr.)

² See p. 79. Livy however mentions several Phocian towns in alliance with Philip.

³ Woman's head. Reverse, XΑΛ and an eagle tearing a serpent. Drachma of Chalcis in Euboea.

sent to the help of Athens, burned Chalcis, the chief city of Euboea; the Aetolians with the Athamanes ravaged Thessaly; Pleuratus, king of Illyria and the Dardanians, came down into Macedon; lastly, another lieutenant pushed a reconnaissance into Dassaretia. From this side Sulpicius attacked, that is, by Lychnidus and what was afterwards the Egnatian road, having as his object the stronghold of Heracleia (near Monastir). Philip arrived in time to cover it, and closed to the Romans the defile through which they would have been able to come down into the fertile fields of Lyncestis. But in this mountainous region the Macedonian phalanx was useless, and although Philip had gathered 24,000 men, he could not hinder his adversary from turning his position on the north and coming down into the plain by way of Pelagonia.¹ At the end of a few months, therefore, Sulpicius found



HERACLEIA IN
MACEDON.²

himself in the heart of Macedon; but winter was drawing near; without magazines, without strongholds, he could not winter in an enemy's country: he therefore returned to Apollonia.

During the summer, the combined fleet had driven Philip's garrisons out of the Cyclades, had taken Oreus, and pillaged the coasts of Macedon (200). A few predatory excursions into Attica, some slight advantages gained over the Aetolians, who had made incursions into Thessaly, and the taking of Maroneia, a rich and powerful Thracian city, did not balance



COIN OF MARONEIA.³

for Philip the danger of having suffered the enemy to penetrate into the very heart of the Macedonian kingdom.

The new consul, Villius, found the army in a state of mutiny, and passed the entire campaign (199) in restoring discipline. He seems, however, to have only succeeded by discharging the mutineers,

¹ Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 302.

² Head of Hercules. Reverse, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑ, in a hollow square. Hemidrachm of Heracleia.

³ Galloping horse; above, a vase, and the first letters of the name Maroneia. On the reverse, ΕΠΙ ΜΗΤΡΟΔΟΘ, a magistrate's name, surrounding a vine branch enclosed in a square. Tetradrachm of Maroneia.

who, having entered upon this war in the hope of a rapid campaign and much plunder, had found themselves disappointed in both respects. At least, it is certain that the successor of Villius was obliged to bring out 9,000 fresh troops. Encouraged by this inaction, the king took the offensive, and entrenched himself upon both sides of the Aoüs, in an impregnable position covering Thessaly and Epirus, whence he could cut off the Romans from the sea, if they should recommence the expedition of Sulpicius.

The people had raised to the consulate Titus Quinctius Flaminius, although he was but thirty-two years of age, and had held no other office save the quaestorship the preceding year; but his reputation anticipated his services; he was, moreover, a member of one of those noble families who had already begun to set themselves above the laws. A good general, a better statesman, pliant and crafty, a Greek rather than a Roman, he represented that new generation who were abandoning ancestral traditions and adopting foreign manners. Flaminius was the true author of that Machiavellian policy which gave up Greece defenceless into the hands of the legions. He has been called a second Scipio, but he has neither the noble-mindedness nor the heroic courage of Africanus. The blood of Philopoemen and of Hannibal lies at his door. It is noticeable that the Roman leaders are already less noble, as the interests they serve are becoming less worthy.



TITUS QUINCTIUS
FLAMINIUS.¹

Flaminius at first did no better than his predecessor. The fruitless attempt made by Sulpicius had shown that Macedon could be reached only with difficulty through the mountains on the northwest, and the attack on the south by the fleet had resulted in nothing but some indecisive predatory raids. It remained to try a direct attack in front. But Philip had posted himself in a narrow gorge between two mountains, descending with abrupt, rocky precipices to the river which occupied nearly the whole of the pass.²

For six weeks Flaminius remained before the impregnable camp of the Macedonians. There were skirmishes every day, but

¹ Head of Flaminius, from a stater struck in Macedon.

² Livy, xxxii. 5. This defile is now the Cleisoura pass, at the confluence of the Desnitza and the Zoioussa (Aoüs).

"when the Romans strove to climb the ascent, they were overwhelmed with darts and arrows which the Macedonians poured in upon their flanks; so the skirmishes were exceedingly sharp, and many on both sides were killed and wounded; but this was not decisive, nor of a nature to end the war."¹

Discouragement was beginning to be felt, when Charops, an Epirot chief, whose country was wasted by the Macedonians, furnished the consul with the means of abandoning this dangerous inaction. He sent to him a shepherd, who, accustomed to lead his flocks through the defile of Cleisoura, knew all the paths over the mountain, and now offered to lead the Romans in three days to a point whence they would command the Macedonian camp. After satisfying himself that the shepherd came in truth from Charops, Flamininus selected a force, consisting of 4,000 foot-soldiers and 300 cavalry, gave them orders to move only by night, as there was a moon at the time sufficient to light their road, and directed them on arriving at the designated spot to kindle a great bonfire. On the third day, the signal was duly made; a mighty shout rang up from the depths of the pass, and at the same moment was heard the reply from the heights above which commanded the royal camp. The Macedonians, attacked in front and threatened from the rear,



COIN OF GOMPHI.³

were struck with panic; they took to flight, and did not stop till they reached Thessaly, beyond the mountain chain of the Pindus.²

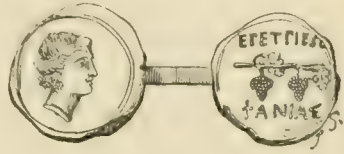
At news of this victory, which gave Epirus into the power of Flamininus, the Aetolians fell upon Thessaly, and Amyntander, king of the Athamanes, opened to the Romans, through the defile of Gomphe, an entrance into this province. Philip, not daring to risk a battle, had withdrawn into the vale of Tempe, after pillaging the open country, burning the unfortified cities, and driving the population into the mountains. This conduct presented a dangerous contrast to that of the Romans, who were held by Flamininus to

¹ Plutarch, *Flamininus*, 5.

² The memory of this event lingers yet in Epirus, clothed however in one of those legends with which the popular imagination delights to invest historic fact. (Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, i., p. 302.)

³ The obverse, a head of Medusa; the reverse, ΓΟΜΦΕΩΝ; Jupiter seated, leaning with his left hand upon a long sceptre, and holding his thunderbolt in the right hand. A copper coin.

the strictest discipline, and had suffered with hunger rather than commit any depredations in Epirus.¹ Many cities, therefore, opened their gates, and Flaminius had reached the banks of the Peneus,

DIDRACHM OF CARYSTUS.²COIN OF ERETRIA.³

when the courageous resistance offered by Atrax arrested his victorious march. Near at hand was the important city of Larissa, which the Macedonians held with a large force. The consul fell back.

In this campaign the allied fleet had taken, in Euboea, Carystus and Eretria (198), "whence they took away a quantity of statues, of ancient pictures, and masterpieces of every sort." The Macedonians found there were disarmed and ordered to pay a ransom of 300 sesterces each.

Instead of losing the winter as his predecessors had done, by returning to take up his quarters near Apollonia, Flaminius led his legions to Anticyra, upon the Corinthian Gulf, whither the vessels at Corcyra, his port of supplies, could bring him in all safety the provisions of which he had need. He was here in the very centre of Greece, and while his troops were capturing the smaller cities in Phocis, and besieging the strongly fortified town of Elatea, which they at last took, his negotiations, his threats, the advice of adherents, and new hostilities on the

HEAD OF DEMETER, FOUND AT APOLLONIA.⁴

¹ Livy, xxxii. 14, 15.

² Cow and calf. On the reverse, a cock, and the legend ΚΑΡΥΣΤΙΩΝ.

³ Woman's head. On the reverse, ΕΡΕΤΡΙΩΝ(Ν) ΦΑΝΙΑΣ and two bunches of grapes. Eretrian drachma.

⁴ Demeter (Ceres) found by M. Heuzey (*Mission de Macédoine*, pl. xxxii).

part of Nabis, compelled the Achaeans to accept his alliance.¹ He had promised to restore to them Corinth, but the Macedonian garrison repulsed all attacks, and even captured Argos, which it gave up to Nabis. This furious tyrant at once proclaimed two laws, one decreeing the abolition of debts, the other, the distribution of lands, showing very clearly the character that all the revolutions of the time assumed in Greece. Nabis, having drawn from Philip all the advantages that he could expect, now went over to the Roman alliance; the rest of the Peloponnesus had already entered it.

Flamininus was desirous to terminate the war himself by a peace, or better still, a victory. Philip having asked for a conference, he agreed to it, and on either side were taken those jealous precautions so much employed in the Middle Ages. The interview took place on the shore of the Malia Gulf. The king made his appearance in a war-vessel escorted by five barges, but refused to land, and discoursed from the prow of his galley. "This is very inconvenient," Flamininus said; "if you would land, we should converse better." The king refusing, Flamininus added, "Of what are you afraid?" "I am afraid of nothing," rejoined the king. "save the immortal gods; but I have no confidence in the men who surround you." The day passed in vain recriminations; on the morrow the king consented to disembark on condition that Flamininus should send away the allied chiefs, and landed with two of his officers. The consul had with him no one but a tribune: a truce of two months was agreed upon, during which the king and the allies should send an embassy to the Senate. The Greeks first made their complaints; when the Macedonians wished to answer with a long speech, they were summoned to answer only to the question, whether their master would consent to withdraw the garrisons he had placed in the Greek cities, and on their reply that they had no instructions on this point, they were dismissed. This was what Flamininus wished.

In central Greece the Boeotians only hesitated.² Flamininus proposed a conference. The strategus, Antiphilus, came to meet

¹ Philip had, however, relinquished to the league, at the beginning of this campaign, Orchomenus, Heraeum, and Triphylia; also to the Eleans, Aliphera. (Livy, xxxii. 5.)

² The Aearnians remained faithful to Philip up to the battle of Cynoscephalae.

him with the principal Thebans. Flaminius advances almost alone, accompanied by the king of Pergamus; he speaks to the deputies individually, he flatters and distracts them; they walk on as they talk, and enter the city, and go as far as the market-place, while a great crowd follows, eager to see a consul, and to hear a Roman who speaks their language so well. But, at some distance, 2,000 legionaries were following; while Flaminius held the crowd in rapt attention, his soldiers seized upon the fortifications, and Thebes was taken.¹

In this novel winter campaign Flaminius had conquered Greece, had reduced Philip's army to his own subjects, and was now able to meet him in the field. Upon the return of spring, the consul went in search of Philip as far as Pherae in Thessaly, taking with him 26,000 men, of whom 6,000 were Greeks, and among these Greeks 500 Cretans. Philip, who for twenty years had been wasting his strength in mad enterprises, was able to gather 25,000 soldiers only by enrolling boys of sixteen.³ Of these 16,000 composed the phalanx.



DRACHMA OF PHERAE.²

The diplomacy of the Senate rather than its legions had gained the honors of the first Macedonian war. In the present war, the legion with its rapid movements, and its missile weapons, the javelins and the formidable *pilum*, was now to find itself engaged against Alexander's phalanx, a dense mass, whose soldiers placed sixteen deep, and armed with lances twenty-one feet long, seemed a wall bristling with pikes. Since the battle of Chaeronea, which had prostrated Greece at the feet of Macedon, that is to say, for 141 years, the phalanx had been esteemed the most formidable engine of war ever invented by man.⁴

The Romans were along the shore of the Pagasaeon Gulf, within reach of their fleet; Philip, at Larissa, his head-quarters. The two armies were on their way to meet each other, and for two whole days marched side by side, separated only by a chain

¹ Livy, xxxiii. 1 and 2.

² Naked figure standing by the side of an ox which he is about to sacrifice. On the reverse, a horse galloping, and the name of the city ΦΕΡΑ in old Greek letters.

³ Livy, xxxiii. 3.

⁴ [Cf. note, p. 75. — Ed.]

of hills, and neither of them suspecting this dangerous neighborhood. Imagine Hannibal in the Macedonian camp!¹

The battle took place in June, 197, near Scotussa, in a plain where were many scattered hillocks, called dogs'-heads, *Cynoscephalæ*. The action was begun, contrary to the design of both generals, by the Aetolian cavalry, and Philip had neither time nor means to bring his phalanx into order. Upon the irregular ground it lost its strength in losing its solidity; the shock of Masinissa's elephants, an attack in the rear skilfully directed, and the uneven pressure of the legionaries broke it; 8,000 Macedonians remained dead upon the field. The destruction of this phalanx, which the Greeks believed to be invincible, inspired them with an admiration for the tactics and the bravery of the Romans which Polybius himself shares.

Philip, with the fragments of his army, took refuge in the city of Gonnus, at the entrance of the gorges of Tempe, on the highway between Thessaly and Macedon. Thus posted, he protected his own kingdom; but having neither strength nor courage to continue the war, he proposed negotiations. The Aetolians were eager to push the war to the last extremity. Flaminius refused to do this, boasting the magnanimity of the Romans. True to their habit of sparing the vanquished, he said that Rome would never destroy a kingdom which sheltered Greece from the Thracians, the Illyrians, and the Gauls, and whose existence, he dared not



COIN OF THE
ORESTIDÆ.²

add aloud, was necessary to the policy of the Senate, to balance the power of the Aetolians. Philip recalled his garrisons from the cities and islands of Greece and Asia which they still occupied, relinquished all control over the Thessalians, and gave to the Perrhaebi, that is, to the Romans, Gonnus, his real sea-port. He surrendered his fleet, with the exception of five transports, disbanded his army with the exception of 5,000 troops, pledged himself never to keep war-elephants again,

¹ Livy's remarks (xxxiii. 5) confirm ours respecting the difference between a Greek and a Roman camp.

² OPHESTION, man leading two oxen. The reverse of this octodrachm of the Orestidæ bears a hollow square, like so many other coins of an early epoch.

paid 500 talents,¹ promised an annual tribute of fifty for ten years, and bound himself by an oath not to make war without consent of the Senate.

After being disarmed, he was humiliated by being forced to receive and to pardon the Macedonians who had betrayed him. Flaminius stipulated even that the Oresti should be made independent, a Macedonian tribe who had revolted during the war, and whose country was one of the keys of the kingdom on the side of Roman Illyria. As a pledge of the fulfilment of these conditions, Philip gave hostages, among whom the Romans required his young son, Demetrius.

While Macedon was accepting these disastrous conditions, Antiochus, king of Syria, at the instigation of Hannibal, was making ready his forces. "In thus placing a peace between two wars," says Plutarch, "concluding one before the other began, Flaminius destroyed at one blow the last hope of Philip, and the first of Antiochus."

The commissioners associated by the Senate with Flaminius were desirous that Roman garrisons should replace Philip's at Corinth, at Chalcis, and at Demetrias; but this would have been to throw off the mask too quickly. The Greeks would have understood that with "the chains of Greece" given into the hands of Rome, all liberty must be henceforth illusory. Public opinion, so fickle in such a country, would have been a danger. Already the Aetolians, the most audacious of all, were arousing it by ballads and speeches. They maintained that their cavalry had gained the battle of Cynoscephalae, accused the Romans of undervaluing their services, and mocked at the Greeks who believed themselves free because the fetters they had worn on their feet had now been put around their necks. Flaminius perceived that the best means of destroying these accusations and of conquering in advance Antiochus, who now threatened to cross over into Europe, would be to employ against him the weapon which had succeeded so well against Philip, namely, the liberty of the Greeks.

¹ M. Letronne estimates the value of a talent of silver at 5500.90 francs; M. Dureau de la Malle makes a lower estimate, 5216.66 francs. Philip had already paid 400 talents to obtain a truce.

II. PROCLAMATION OF THE LIBERTY OF GREECE.

DURING the celebration of the Isthmian games, to which all Greece had gathered, a herald suddenly ordered silence and made known this decree: "The Roman Senate and T. Quinctius, conqueror of king Philip, restore to the Corinthians, the Phocians, the Locrians, to the island of Euboea and to the tribes of Thessaly, their franchises, laws, and immunity from garrisons and tribute. All Greeks in Europe and Asia are free." There was a burst of delight at this announcement. Twice over the assembly would have the decree repeated, and Flaminius was nearly smothered under wreaths and flowers.¹ "There is, then," they cried, "a nation on earth who fights, at her own risk and peril, for the liberty of races; who crosses the seas to destroy all tyranny and to establish in all places the empire of right, of justice, and of law!" Temples were erected to the liberator of Greece as to a demi-god, and three centuries later Plutarch found these edifices yet in existence, with their priests, their sacrifices, and their sacred chants, "Sing, maidens, the great Jupiter and Rome, and Titus, our deliverer!"

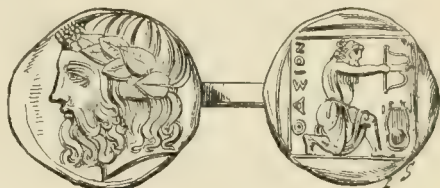
Thus this people, who had no longer the ability to do great deeds for liberty, were still capable of loving it, and rewarded its deceitful semblance with the honors of an apotheosis. When Flaminius embarked for Rome, the Achaeans brought to him 1,200 Roman prisoners taken captive in the wars of Hannibal, and sold into Greece, whom they now redeemed at their own expense. Only the Greeks knew how to express gratitude in such a way (194).

Rome took nothing from the spoils of Macedon. Locris and Phocis went back to the Aetolian league; Corinth to the Achaean. To the king of Illyria, Pleuratus, was given Lychnidus and the country of the Parthenii adjacent to Macedonia and leading into it; to the chief of the Athamanes, Amynder, all the places that he had taken during the war; to Eumenes, son of Attalus of Pergamus, the island of Aegina; to Athens, Paros, Delos, and

¹ Plutarch, *Flam.*, 10.

Imbros; to Rhodes. the cities of Caria;¹ Thasos was declared free. If the legions remained in Greece it was because Antiochus was approaching. and the Romans were solicitous, they said, after having set Greece free, to defend her liberties.

Flamininus had, however, ulterior designs. Although they had got Corinth, the Achaeans were not strong enough to resist Nabis, who held control of Gythion, Sparta, and Argos. This Nabis was a detestable tyrant, whose cruelty is matter of history. Rome, however, had received him into her alliance, expelling him from it when she believed herself to have no further need of him. In an assembly gathered at Corinth, the pro-consul represented to the allies the antiquity and renown of Argos: Ought a Grecian capital to be left in the hands of a tyrant? Whether it were so or not was a matter of small importance to Romans. Their glory in having liberated Greece would be a little tarnished, no doubt, but if the allies did not fear for themselves the contagion of slavery, the Romans would not interfere and would agree to the decision of the majority. The Achaeans applauded these hypocritical counsels and armed 11,000 men.³ This zeal alarmed Flamininus; it was his wish to humble Nabis, but not destroy him. His purposed delays, his demands for money and supplies, fatigued the allies; they soon suffered him to negotiate with the tyrant, who abandoned to him Argolis, Gythion, and the maritime cities (195).



COIN OF THASOS.²

Nabis therefore remained in the Peloponnesus, an enemy to the Achaeans, as Philip in the north, an enemy to the Aetolian league. Rome was now able to call home her legions, for with the deceitful phrase, "the liberty of States," she had rendered union still more impossible and augmented hatreds, weakness, and factions. Each city already had its partisans of Rome, like Thebes, where the boeotarch Brachyllas had lately been assassi-

¹ Livy, xxxiii. 30.

² Head of Bacchus, crowned with ivy. The reverse, ΘΑΣΙΟΝ. Hercules kneeling and drawing the bow; before him a lyre. Tetradrachm of Thasos. (15.32 gr.)

³ Flamininus had 50,000 before Sparta (Livy, xxxiv. 38), and Sparta was walled only around the lower part of the town.

nated; and these men in their blindness drove Greece into slavery.¹ It therefore was no longer necessary to hold the country in chains; Flamininus unhesitatingly withdrew his garrisons from Chalcis, Demetrias, and the Acrocorinthus.

Before leaving Hellas he offered a golden crown to the god at Delphi, and consecrated in his temple silver bucklers, upon which were engraved Greek verses celebrating, not the victory at Cynoscephalae, but the restoration of liberty to the Hellenic people. This was the pass-word; the Romans desired to figure as liberators, and the Greeks willingly lent themselves to the illusion. In reality, when Flamininus returned to enjoy a triumph at Rome, he brought with him that useful protectorate of Greece for which all the successors of Alexander had striven in vain (194 B. C.).²

¹ It is said certain individuals were in the pay of Rome; for instance, Charops, in Epirus; Dicearchus and Antiphilus, in Boeotia; Aristaenus and Diophanes, in Achaia; Dinocrates, in Messene. Polybius, however, praises the virtue and patriotism of Aristaenus, and Rome was not fond of buying consciences with ready money. She practised a corruption less ignoble and more efficacious. In all these republics there were, as we have seen, two parties; one of these she took under her protection and raised to power by her influence. This had been her policy in Italy, and became her policy everywhere.

² Livy, xxxiii. 28. Flamininus, however, did not forget that the Senate and the people required of their generals to bring back gold. He poured into the treasury 3,713 pounds of gold in ingots, 43,270 pounds of silver, and 14,514 gold "Philips." (Plut. *Flam.*, 14.)

³ Hero on horseback, striking with his lance. Gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,850.



HERO ON HORSEBACK.³

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WAR AGAINST THE KING OF SYRIA AND THE GALATIANS (192-188).

I. PRELIMINARIES OF THE WAR AGAINST ANTIOCHUS.

THE ostentatious disinterestedness that Rome had just exhibited in Greece — a disinterestedness which no one could as yet understand — was a politic reply to the efforts of Hannibal towards forming a coalition. Brought back to Carthage by a defeat, Hannibal found himself able to seize the authority and commence reforms with a view to regenerate the country. He caused himself to be chosen *suffete*, and with the support of his veterans and the people, he overthrew the oligarchical tyranny which had been established during the war.¹ The centumvirs had held office for life; he rendered their term of service annual. The finances were shamefully in disorder; he instituted a severe reform, compelling restitutions so that the public treasury was able, without oppressing the people, to pay the tribute pledged to Rome.²

The troops, regularly paid, were augmented in numbers, and until more important services should be required of them, they were employed in useful labors in the surrounding country. Meanwhile, to avoid a premature rupture, Hannibal banished his emissary, Hamilcar, who was keeping up the war in Cisalpine Gaul, he submitted to the Roman decision unfavorable to himself in a difficulty with Masinissa, and he despatched to the Romans for the war in Macedonia 300,000 bushels of corn.³ But secret

¹ Carthage had no army whatever in the city, and Hannibal had brought back with him 6,500 of his veterans (App., *Libyca*, 55).

² Livy, xxxiii. 46. In the year 191 the Carthaginians offered to pay off at once the remainder of the tribute due, and to send to Rome an enormous amount of grain.

³ Livy, xxxi. 19.

messengers urged Antiochus to attack, while Philip still resisted, while the Greeks hesitated, and the Cisalpine Gauls and the Spaniards were in arms.

Cynosephalæ overthrew his hopes, and soon three ambassadors appeared at Carthage to demand the surrender of this indefatigable enemy of Rome. Scipio had nobly opposed this resolution; his proud courage was ready to meet Hannibal in a fair field and vanquish him, but not to deal him a murderer's blow. The gallant outlaw, however, had long expected this attack, and a galley secretly kept in readiness bore him to Syria (145).

Antiochus III., emboldened by the successes of the first years of his reign, laid claim to no less than the entire heritage of Seleucus Nicator; in Asia, Coele-Syria, and Phœnicia, which he had wrested from the king of Egypt, the Senate's ward, and the Greek cities, whose independence Rome had just now proclaimed; in Europe, the Thracian Chersonesus, where he had fortified Lysi-



COIN OF LYSIMACHIA.¹

machia with the view of making it the bulwark of his kingdom; and finally he went so far as to include no less than Thrace and Macedon itself in his audacious claims. He gained over Byzantium by making concessions to her commercial in-

terests; the Galatians, by presents and threats; Ariarathus, the Cappadocian, by giving him one of his daughters in marriage; and he sought to purchase the neutrality of Egypt by offering to the young king his other daughter, with the Syrian sea-coast for her dowry.

Vainly the Senate multiplied embassies, counsels, and threats. Antiochus replied haughtily, "I do not concern myself at all with what you do in Italy; do not interfere in what I may do in Asia." The arrival of Hannibal decided the king for war. This great man offered to re-commence with 11,000 men and 100 vessels his Second Punic War. On the way he would arouse Carthage, and while he should occupy the Romans in Italy, the king should cross over into Greece, gathering all the Greek nations, and

¹ Head believed to be that of Alexander III. On the reverse, ΑΥΣΙΜΑΧΕΩΝ, and a monogram; lion *courant*. Bronze coin of Lysimachia.

at the first news of the Roman disasters would descend upon Italy and give the last blow to the tottering power of Rome. In this way Hannibal desired to attempt with the rich and civilized East that which with the poor and barbarous West he had been unable to achieve. If we had not lost the *Annales* of Ennius we should be perhaps obliged to doubt the reports of these counsels of Hannibal; some fragments from the poet-soldier show the Carthaginian hero less hopeful, and Aulus-Gellius relates a reply of his which would seem to confirm these doubts. "Do you think this is enough for the Romans?" Antiochus asked, exhibiting his gilded troops. "Yes, certainly," replied Hannibal, "however greedy they may be." But this suspiciousness only appeared later when he saw that the king was not willing to be guided by his counsels.

The clearsightedness of envy had made the Syrian courtiers understand that a man like this could not work in the interests of others, and they murmured in the ears of Antiochus that the Carthaginian, if he should remain faithful, must have all the glory in the event of success. Already the visits which Hannibal had received from one of the Roman ambassadors, who repeated them with perfidious intent, had rendered the Carthaginian an object of suspicion.

Among the deputies of the Senate, legend places Scipio Africanus, for the sake of bringing together the conqueror and the conquered of Zama, in a conference which was said to have taken place at Ephesus. "Who is, in your opinion, the greatest general that ever lived?" Scipio asks. "Alexander of Macedon, who, with a handful of men, defeated innumerable armies and traversed victoriously immense territories."—"And the second?"—"Pyrrhus, who knew better than any other man how to select positions, to arrange his troops for battle, and to manœuvre them upon the field."—"And the third?"—"Myself," rejoined Hannibal, unhesitatingly. "What would you say, then, if you had conquered me?" asked Scipio, laughing. "In that case I should have ranked myself first of all." We relate the story because it has been so often repeated, but it is probably not true. It is one of those dialogues which originated in the schools of the rhetoricians. Hannibal and Scipio meeting again after ten years, on the eve of a great war, would have had other things to say than this foolish

questioning on the one hand, and the too ingenious compliment on the other. One only of the ambassadors, P. Villius, came to Ephesus, and had several interviews with Hannibal in the "design of detaching him from the service of Antiochus."¹ The attempt was unsuccessful, but the king conceived suspicions of the Carthaginian's fidelity, and, rejecting the latter's counsels, lent his ear to the extravagant and vain promises of the Aetolian Thoas.

The Aetolians had long boasted of having opened Greece to the Romans and guided them throughout the campaign. If their own account was to be believed they had saved both the honor and the life of Flamininus at Cynoscephalae. "Whilst we were fighting," they used to narrate, "and making for him a rampart with our bodies, he, all day long, was occupied with auspices, with vows and sacrifices, as if he had been a priest."² It had been their expectation to inherit all that Philip had lost, but the Romans had not even restored to them their cities of Thessaly, or Acarnania, or Leucadia, or the places they had themselves conquered, which, by the terms of the first treaty, ought to have been theirs. Their interests were sacrificed, their pride was hurt by the disdainful indifference of Flamininus, who had only harsh words for them, and they dared to compare themselves with Rome, meditating war against her, and threatening her with "their camp on the banks of the Tiber."³ Upon the same day, and without declaration of war, three Aetolian corps appeared before Chalcis, Demetrias, and Sparta. They hoped to carry these places, and, once established in them, to bid defiance to the Romans. Chalcis repulsed them, Demetrias was taken, and at Sparta, where they appeared in the guise of friends, they murdered Nabis, but, giving themselves up to pillage, left time for Philopoemen to arrive and surround them.

The Achaean general restored Sparta, thus set free, to the league, and this exploit of brigands served only to attach Greece yet more strongly to the party of Rome. At the same time, to keep Macedon neutral, the Senate let it be understood that it was their intention to send back Philip's hostages, and to remit the tribute he had agreed to pay. In Africa, they incited Masinissa to harass Carthage, in order to keep the city from yielding to

¹ Livy, xxxv. 13, 14 and 19.

² Livy, xxxv. 48.

³ xxxv. 33.

Hannibal's solicitations,¹ and seeing the Carthaginian feebleness against Numidia, and the servile eagerness of her nobles to efface or prevent Roman suspicions, the Senate soon ceased to consider Carthage in any degree formidable. In Spain, Cato had lately taken and dismantled all strongholds as far as Baetis.² Finally, in upper Italy the Gauls, crushed by numerous defeats, left the Ligurians to protest alone against the subjugation of Cisalpine.³

II. ANTIOCHUS IN GREECE.—BATTLE AT THERMOPYLAE (192-1).

THE moment was ill chosen for attacking Rome, when everything was yielding to her arms and she was showing increased prudence and activity, sending the adroit Flaminius into Greece, posting an army at Apollonia, and covering with fleets and soldiers the coasts of Italy and Sicily, as if to repulse some formidable threatened invasion. The Aetolians, it is true, had promised Antiochus to incite all Greece and Philip to resistance. On the other hand, the messengers of Antiochus represented him as already crossing the sea with all the armies of Asia, and with gold enough to buy Rome itself,—an interchange of lies, where all concerned were losers. When Antiochus disembarked at Demetrias (September, 192), instead of an army like that of Xerxes, he brought with him 10,000 foot soldiers and 500 cavalry, whom he could pay only by borrowing at heavy interest, and whom he required the Aetolians to provision.⁴ The Aetolians, on their side, had not furnished him with a single ally. It was important to gain over Philip, and Antiochus exasperated him by recalling the rights that he derived from Seleucus, and by maintaining the ridiculous claims to the throne of Macedon asserted by the son of Amynder. In his hurried flight from Cynoscephalae, Philip had not been

¹ Hannibal had secretly despatched to Carthage the Tyrian Aristo, who was denounced to the Senate. (Livy, xxxiv. 56, and App., *Syr.* 8.) According to Cornelius Nepos (*Hannibal*, 7), this general landed himself at Cyrene and called his brother Mago [?] to him; but the Carthaginian Senate in alarm proscribed them both.

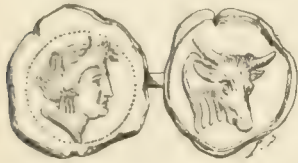
² Polybius, xix.

³ The real blow against the Cisalpines had been struck in 193 at the battle of Modena. more than a year before the arrival of Antiochus.

⁴ Livy, xxxv. 44. He had, moreover, six elephants.

able to pay the last honors to the soldiers who had perished upon the battle-field. Antiochus gathered up their bones into a tomb which he caused to be built by his army. This pious solicitude was a bitter reproach to the Macedonian, and he made reply by sending to Rome for permission to fight against the invader of Greece.¹

The King of Syria, meanwhile, endeavored to persuade the Achæans to declare for him, and in a federal meeting held at Corinth his ambassador, with oriental pomp, made lengthy enumeration of the races which from the Aegean Sea to the Indus were arming in his cause. "All this," rejoined Flamininus, "is much like the entertainment of my host at Chalcis. In the middle of summer his table was covered with the most varied dishes, with game of every kind; but it was only the same viands disguised by

EUBOEAN COIN.²

a skilful cook. Look closely, and under the formidable names of Medes, Cadusians, and the rest, you will find only Syrians." The activity of Flamininus baffled a conspiracy at Athens; but Chalcis, which he had not time to succor, and the entire island of Euboea, revolted. Boeotia, agitated by certain ruined debtors, Elis, and the Athamanians, always faithful to the Aetolians, followed this example. Many Thessalian cities also, notably the strong place Lamia, opened their gates to Antiochus.

Hannibal, meantime, reiterated his earlier advice. "It is not a crowd of puny states," he said, "that you need to gain, but Philip of Macedon. Should he refuse, crush him between your army and that which Seleucus commands at Lysimachia. Summon, also, from Asia your troops and your ships; let half of your fleet take up a position before Corcyra,

COIN OF LAMIA.³

¹ Livy, xxxv. 47. Philip, however, asserted (xxxix. 26) that Antiochus had offered him 3,000 talents, fifty decked vessels, and the cession of all the Greek cities which had before belonged to him. These offers undoubtedly were made either too soon or too late; for Philip certainly saw the advantage that Rome was deriving from all these wars, as appears from his discourse to Nicander in Polybius, xx. fr. 7.

² Head of Ceres. The reverse, ox head. Drachma (Aeginetan) of Euboea, the island "rich in cattle."

³ Head of Bacchus crowned with ivy. On the reverse, ΛΑΜΙΕΩΝ, a vase with two handles; above it an ivy leaf; a small vase at the side. Lamian triobol.

the other half in the Tyrrhenian Sea, and then march upon Italy.”¹ But in this vast plan the Aetolians and their small interests were ignored; they wasted the campaign in re-taking, one after another, the cities of Thessaly; and during the winter, Antiochus, despite his eight and forty years, forgot, in the delights of a new marriage, that he was playing for his crown against the Romans.

The Senate had time to complete their preparations. To them any war was a serious matter, and especially one in which Hannibal might once more be an opponent, and Italy once more a battleground. They did not, as yet, understand what weakness lay hid under these great names, Greece and Asia; and the successor of Alexander, this prince ruling from the Indus to the Aegean Sea, guided by the famed soldier who had destroyed so many legions, appeared to them a very formidable adversary. As soon as hostilities began, the Senate issued a decree forbidding the magistrates to be absent from Rome, and forbidding senators to leave the city in greater number than five at once. Without oppressing either the Roman people or the allies, very large armies had been collected. One, sent along the banks of the Po, kept the Cisalpines quiet, and closed against Antiochus the passes of the Alps, if he should endeavor to come through Illyria; another near Brundisium guarded the Ionian Sea and protected the coasts against a landing; a third, in reserve at Rome, was ready to be despatched towards whatever quarter might be threatened. The fleet was numerous and was daily increased. Carthage and Masinissa had offered vessels, twenty elephants, 500 Numidians, and immense supplies of corn; Ptolemy and Philip had sent troops and provisions. The subsidies furnished by the King of Egypt were not less than 1,000 pounds of gold and 20,000 pounds of silver, and the two princes had engaged, upon the order of the Senate, at once to invade Greece. Eumenes, whose little kingdom was threatened with destruction by the encroachment of Antiochus’ vast empire, and Rhodes, the ally of Egypt, had put all their forces at the disposal of the Romans.

EUMENES IV.²¹ Livy, xxxvi. 3.² Laurellled head of Eumenes IV., from a tetradrachm.

When it became known that Antiochus had landed in Greece with an escort rather than an army, and that consequently an invasion of Italy was not to be expected, the Senate ordered the legions at Brundisium to send a strong detachment to Apollonia and into Epirus. A force of 2,000 men, united with a Macedonian corps, sufficed to drive the Syrians from Larissa, which town they were besieging.

These preparations, these levies of men, these marchings of armies, this beginning of war, had all been made without consulting the people. The consuls of the year 191, assuming office in the Ides of March, which date at that time fell in January, owing to errors of the calendar, presented in the comitia a declaration of war against the King of Syria. No one complained that an act of such importance should be for this assembly a mere formality and nothing more. The people had become habituated during the Second Punic War to leaving to the Conscrip't Fathers the absolute direction of foreign affairs, which had in reality become too numerous and too important for determination in a popular assembly. This was their first abdication of power, and it is plain that it arose rather from the necessity of the case than from ambition on the part of the Senate. The stress of events led to this preponderance of the great council of Rome, as it was to lead, a century and a half later, to the preponderance of a single man. The ambition of the individual or of the few is not enough in human affairs to cause permanent results. These become justified only when social forces establish and maintain them. What declamations history will be spared, when it is recognized that politics are the science of the relative, not of the absolute, and that the best government is that which answers best to the present needs of the people living under it.

The consul Acilius Glabrio, who was sent to take command in Greece, was directed by the Senate before his departure to negotiate with Jupiter. In no other way can we characterize the scene related by Livy, which was, moreover, a repetition of what we have already seen:¹ "Following the dictation of the chief pontiff, the consul pronounced the following words: 'If the war decreed against King Antiochus ends according to the desire of the Senate

¹ Vol. i. pp. 676-678.



THERMOPYLAE (PRESENT STATE).

and the Roman people, then, O Jupiter! the Roman people will celebrate in thy honor great games during ten days, and gifts shall be offered upon all thy altars.'"¹ So the Romans made alliance with Jupiter, and the god seemed to have so well kept like agreements in earlier time, that the senators had reason to believe he would accept this conditional promise of honors in the event of victory.

On the Ides of May the army of Brundisium completed the passage of the Adriatic, and effected a junction with that of Apollonia, which had re-conquered many Thes-salian cities. Acilius Glabrio was in command, a man of obscure origin but a vigorous soldier, who among his legionary tribunes could count two ex-consuls, Cato and Valerius Flaccus. These brave men were again willing to serve the state in the position assigned them.



COIN OF ACILIUS
GLABRIO.²

The consul completed the conquest of Thessaly, and advanced as far as Thermopylae, where Antiochus, who had just failed in Acarnania in an attempt against the feeblest of the Greek nations, now hoped to defend the pass with 10,000 men.³ But Cato surprised 2,000 Aetolians posted upon the Callidromus to defend the path by which Ephialtes had conducted the Persians of Xerxes, to turn Leonidas' position. At sight of the Roman cohorts coming down from Oeta, Antiochus, who had barred the defile before Acilius, fled across Locris to Elatea, and thence to Chalcis, where he arrived with 500 soldiers; and from Chalcis he made all haste to Ephesus. The battle at Thermopylae cost the Romans 200 men (July, 191). "Let Athens now boast her glory!" cried the Romans; "in Antiochus we have conquered another Xerxes!" During the engagement the Roman fleet had captured near Andros

¹ Livy, xxxvi. 2. It will be remembered that the public games had a religious character. In 178 an earthquake had been felt at Rome: certain individuals believed that they had seen the gods, being invited to a *lectisternium*, turn away their heads, and rats had eaten the olives served as a sacred repast. "To neutralize all these omens of ill, it was decided that the curule aediles should give a repetition of the Roman games." (Id., xl. 59.)

² M. ACILIUS GLABRIO COS. Heads, facing each other, of Caius Caesar and of Julia. Reverse of a bronze medal of Augustus, struck probably in Africa by some descendant of the conqueror of Antiochus. The work is very poor, and we give it merely to show by contrast the excellence of the Roman coins.

³ Livy, xxvi. 19, after Polybius.

a great number of transports laden with provisions. Antiochus had not even been able to secure his communications across the Aegean Sea.

To stimulate the zeal of Philip, the Senate had conceded to him in advance all the cities which he should be able to capture. Whilst Aelius, directing his measures against the Aetolians, persisted obstinately in the siege of Heraclea and Naupactus, Philip advanced rapidly, and had already made himself master of four provinces. But Flaminius was keeping watch upon him. He hastened to Naupactus, warned the consul of his danger, and persuaded him to grant the Aetolians a truce which disarmed the King of Macedon. Some time before this he had also arrested an expedition of the Achaeans against Messene, and in allowing that city to enter the league, he had decreed that in all cases of disagreement it should refer the case to the Roman Senate or to his own tribunal, — an authority always ready to listen to complaints against the Achaeans. By this time, in fact, he had ceased to show any consideration whatever for the league. He had taken away the Island of Cephallenia from the Athamanians. “Like the tortoise in its shell, you will be invulnerable,” he told them, “so long as you do not extend yourselves outside of the Peloponnesus;” and with this he took possession of Cephallenia.¹

III. BATTLE OF MAGNESIA (190).—DEFEAT OF THE GALATIANS (189).

On reaching Ephesus, Antiochus felt himself again secure; Hannibal was only surprised that the Romans were not there in pursuit. For the first time, yielding to the Carthaginian’s advice, the King went across to the Chersonesus, and there strengthened the fortifications of Sestus and Lysimachia. In Asia he purchased the alliance of the Galatians, sought that of Prusias, king of Bithynia, and gathered a considerable force, hoping to subjugate, before the Romans should arrive, the kingdom of Pergamus and the Greek free cities. But 1,100 Achaeans, under Philopoemen,

¹ Livy, xxxiv. 32.

resolutely defended Pergamus;¹ and Livius, by a victory between Chios and Ephesus over the Syrian admiral, Polyxenidas, seized with one blow the supremacy in the Aegean Sea. And although the Rhodians were conquered at Samos, and Livius failed in his attempts upon Ephesus and Patara, the former retrieved their fortunes in a naval battle, when Hannibal himself was defeated; and the successor of Livius destroyed near Myonnesus the Syrian fleet, notwithstanding all that the Tyrian and Sidonian pilots could do to save it.

COIN OF EPHEBUS.²COIN OF CHIOS.³

In narrating these naval battles, Livy has given us some interesting details concerning the history of maritime wars among the ancients.

In the Aegean Sea the praetor Livius commanded eighty-one beaked and decked galleys, which were the ships of the line, and a certain number of vessels beaked also, but not decked, and hence lighter, and adapted for rapid evolutions, which then, as now, formed a special object of naval tactics. These consisted in three manœuvres: avoiding the enemy's shock, to break his oars, as we now seek to break the rudder or the screw in order to render the vessel unmanageable, to sink him with the galley's beak, or finally to board him. In the two epochs the means of action differ, but the art which employs them is the same. Then, as now, rapid vessels reconnoitred.⁵

BEAKED GALLEY.⁴

¹ The battle of Myonnesus took place, according to the ancient calendar, on the 23rd December, according to the reformed calendar, about the end of August, 190.

² A bee between E and Φ. On the reverse, ΔΗΜΟΚΛΕΣ, half a stag lying under a palm-tree. Tetradrachm of Ephesus. The bee is a frequent emblem on Greek coins: it was the symbol of a well-ordered city, or of a colony which had swarmed from the mother-town.

³ A sphinx seated before a bunch of grapes and an amphora. On the reverse, ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ, in a decorated hollow square. Silver coin of Chios (13.65 gr.).

⁴ From an intaglio in the museum at Berlin. (Bernhard Graser, *Die Gemmen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*.)

⁵ The ancients had also something analogous to our fire-ships. Some months after the battle of Corycus, the Rhodian fleet, surprised by Polyxenidas, was destroyed, with the

Livius was waiting at Delos for a favorable wind, to gain the Asiatic shore. The Syrian admiral, Polyxenidas, warned by his scouting vessels, which were posted from point to point across the Aegean, begged the King to call a war council at Ephesus. He then represented that the Roman vessels, rudely constructed, heavily laden with provisions, and sailing among shoals that their pilots knew but poorly, were clumsy objects easily to be destroyed. He obtained permission to attack them, although the Roman fleet, having incorporated that of the King of Pergamus, counted 200 galleys, of which three fourths were decked vessels.

Upon the approach of the Syrians, Livius reefed his sails, cleared the decks, and lowered the masts. The battle began between two Carthaginian galleys placed in the van and three Syrian. Two of the latter attacked one of the Carthaginian vessels, which, becoming disabled, fell into their power. The crew were slain, and cast overboard. It was an evil omen for the Romans. Livius at once advanced with his flag-ship, giving orders to his rowers, when they came up with the enemy, to dip their oars deeply into the water, in order to steady the vessel as much as possible, and to his soldiers to throw out their grappling-irons. The two Syrian galleys were taken, and the action soon became general. The clumsy Roman vessels, well handled by Greek pilots, avoided the shocks of the Syrian galleys, but gave them in return. In a short time thirteen Syrian vessels were taken, ten were sunk, and the remainder made their escape. The action took place off Corycus, not far from Phocaea; and the Romans met with no other loss than that of the two Carthaginian galleys taken at the opening of the battle. The beak of the ancient galleys produced effects comparable, it is evident, to those of the modern ram. In another action, a small Rhodian vessel was able to sink a seven-banked Syrian galley,¹ as, at the battle of Lissa, a wooden ship sank an Italian ironclad by direct shock. To immortalize the memory of the sea-fight of Myonnesus, an inscription, cut in the wall of the temple of the sea-gods at Rome, related that the Romans in

exception of seven galleys, which made a way for themselves through the *mêlée* by means of the terror inspired by fire carried on long poles in front of the prow. (Livy, xxxvii. 11 and 30.)

¹ Livy, xxxvii. 24.

destroying, before the eyes of Antiochus, the Syrian fleet, "had ended a great strife, and triumphed over kings."

The Romans had good reason to keep alive the memory of these naval victories, for they had settled in advance the question between Rome and Antiochus. The victory at Myonnesus opened to the Romans the road into Asia: what general should lead thither the legions? The consuls of the year 190 were Laelius and Lucius Scipio. The latter was reckoned but a second-rate general. His colleague, who desired to undertake the responsibility, asked that the Senate, on which he counted, should abandon the ancient custom of assigning the provinces by lot, and should assign them by vote. The other consul agreed to this, and much debate was anticipated; when Scipio Africanus declared that if his brother were sent against Antiochus, he himself would serve him as second in command; and this promise secured nearly all suffrages in favor of Lucius Scipio.

The two brothers set off for Greece, with reinforcements to increase the army of Acilius, of which Lucius Scipio took the nominal command; 5,000 veterans of Zama volunteered to follow their distinguished general. The Scipios freed themselves from the Aetolians, granting them a truce of six months;¹ then traversed Thessaly and Macedon.

Philip, won over by the return of his son Demetrius and by the remission of the tribute,² had made ready supplies, had opened roads and bridged rivers. Lysimachia might have stopped the advance of the army, but Antiochus withdrew from it, and the Romans without conflict occupied the Thracian Chersonesus just at the time when the victory at Myonnesus was driving the Syrian fleets from the Aegean. The passage of the Hellespont, therefore, which should have been so sharply disputed, was made without opposition. The King, at last taking alarm, sought for peace, and tried to gain over Scipio by sending back his son, who had been made prisoner. The Roman made reply: "It is too late; the horses are bridled, and their riders are in the saddle. And yet, if the King will pay the expenses of the war, and will abandon Asia as far as the Taurus, peace may even now be

¹ Livy, xxxvi. 7.

² Polybius, xx. 10.

made."¹ A battle could deprive him of nothing more, and Antiochus determined to risk one. Lucius made haste to fight while his brother was detained by illness at Elea. The engagement took place on the 5th of October, 190, near Magnesia (ad Sipylum) on the Hermus. Thirty thousand Romans² encountered 82,000 Asiatics, fifty-four elephants, chariots armed with scythes, a phalanx of 16,000 spears, camels ridden by Arab archers, cavalry, both man and horse clad in mail, and the like. But this army had everything save courage. It is said that 52,000 Syrians were killed or taken prisoners, while the consul lost but 350 men. The Galatians only fought with courage.³

There was nothing to do but negotiate: the conditions were severe.⁴ The Senate forbade Antiochus to make any war in Asia Minor; they deprived him of his elephants, giving them to Eumenes, and of his vessels, which they burned, as they had burned the fleets of Carthage and of Philip. They forbade him to levy any troops in Greece, that is, to have an army, and, as formerly Athens had forbidden Artaxerxes, to sail beyond the promontory Sarpedon; finally, driving him from Asia Minor, fixed the limit of his kingdom at the Taurus. A war indemnity was to be paid to Rome, of 15,000 talents (\$16,800,000); to Eumenes, 400 talents (\$446,400).⁵ It was further demanded, in order to dishonor the King, that he should give up Hannibal, Thoas, some of his best councillors, and twenty hostages, to be changed every three years; among the latter was specified his second son. And yet Antiochus expressed his gratitude that the Senate had not asked more. For the destruction of Macedon and of Carthage, the legions were obliged to return to the attack a second and a third time. Syria fell at the first blow; and, as if the sword of Rome made incurable wounds, never more did she recover.

¹ He gave him, however, the equivocal advice not to fight so long as he (Scipio) was absent from the army. (Livy, xxxvii. 37.) Polybius makes no mention of this; but his Book xxx. is extremely mutilated.

² They had with them 5,000 volunteers, Macedonian, Thracian, Pergamean, and others.

³ Livy, xxxvii. 39, 40; xxxviii. 48; App., *Syriaca*, 31 *seq.*

⁴ This treaty was not signed until the proconsulate of Manlius, in the year 188. Livy, xxxviii. 38.

⁵ Antiochus was to pay 500 talents down, 2,500 after the Roman people had confirmed the peace, and the remainder in twelve years, at the rate of 1,000 talents a year. The treaty is given by Polybius, xxi. 14.

When Manlius Vulso came to receive the army from the hands of L. Scipio, he found the conditions of peace nearly determined and the war at an end (189). But his ambition and his cupidity were inflamed by that rich Asia where triumphs were so facile. Moreover, it appeared to be politic to exhibit the forces of Rome in those countries whence the King of Syria had just been driven out, and where his satraps and his allies were very ready to regard his defeat as their liberation from all control. The Galatians had furnished a contingent to Antiochus; and Manlius proposed to punish them for this. He had neither decree of the Senate, nor authorization from the people for this war, but he did without them; and in order to render the expedition more productive for himself, as well as more useful to the Republic, he avoided the direct road, choosing circuitous ways, that as large a number of nations as possible might feel the hand of Rome upon their heads. From Ephesus he made his way to the Valley of the Maeander, followed the river up towards the Taurus, and then marched along the slopes of the mountain as far as Termessus, — a stronghold closing the defile into Pamphylia. Having exhibited his standards on the frontier of this province, securing the respect of the inhabitants for the Roman name, he traversed Pisidia and Phrygia, and went as far as the banks of the Sangarius. Along the road he extorted money¹ from the cities, the provinces, and all the petty princes, who at that time, as they had long been, were independent in their inaccessible retreats, and recognized a master only as they paid tribute to him. As far as the Sangarius there were only the fatigues of the march to encounter; beyond that river the war began.



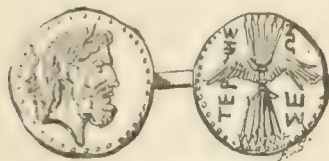
COIN OF TERMES-
MESSUS.²

The Gauls had been for ninety years in Asia. Their fiery courage and love of remote adventure were gone. For all that, and though their strength has been overstated, as was the case in respect to all the adversaries of Rome at this epoch, — though,

¹ *Consul mercenarius vagari eas cum belli terrore per nationes, quibus bellum indic-tum non sit, pacem pretio vendentes* (Livy). Aspendus, Sagalassus, Telmessus, were each required to pay fifty talents, and other cities in proportion. The tyrant of Cibra offered twenty-five; Manlius required 500 at first, but finally contented himself with 100, with the addition of 15,000 bushels of corn.

² A thunderbolt behind a half horse galloping, and the first three letters of the name Termessus.

moreover, the rivalry of the Greeks and the low price of Cretan and Aetolian mercenaries had reduced the Gauls in the armies of Syria and Egypt, and the time had gone by when the Gauls might



COIN OF TERMESSUS.¹

dispose of the crowns of these two kingdoms, — they still remained the bravest people in the East; and the Asiatic races, trembling before them, saw with delight the Romans now undertake to free Asia from their preponderance. Throughout

Phrygia the people welcomed the advancing legions, and at Pessinus the priests of Cybele, speaking in the name of the goddess, promised them an easy journey and an assured victory.



COIN OF THE
TROCMI.²

Two kings only, Ariarathus, of Cappadocia, son-in-law to Antiochus, and Murzes, of Paphlagonia, understood that the Gauls were the last defence of Asiatic independence, and came with 4,000 picked men to join the Galatian forces.³

The Galatians were entrenched upon Mounts Olympus and Magaba. These two camps were easily stormed by the consul, as the Gauls used no missiles; what remained of the nation sued for peace. Satisfied with having crushed their power and spread afar, by this expedition against a formidable people, the terror of the Roman name, Manlius imposed upon them neither tribute nor humiliation of any kind. It was a stroke of policy to attach to the Roman interest this nation, on bad terms with all the Asiatic peoples. The Galatians were required only to give back the lands



COIN OF ARIARATHUS IV.⁴

they had taken from allies of Rome, to engage not to go outside of their own boundaries, and to make an alliance with Eumenes.

Whether from flattery or with real rejoicing at being delivered from these pirates, all the cities of Asia offered golden wreaths to Manlius. A contribution of 300 talents levied on Ariarathus augmented the immense

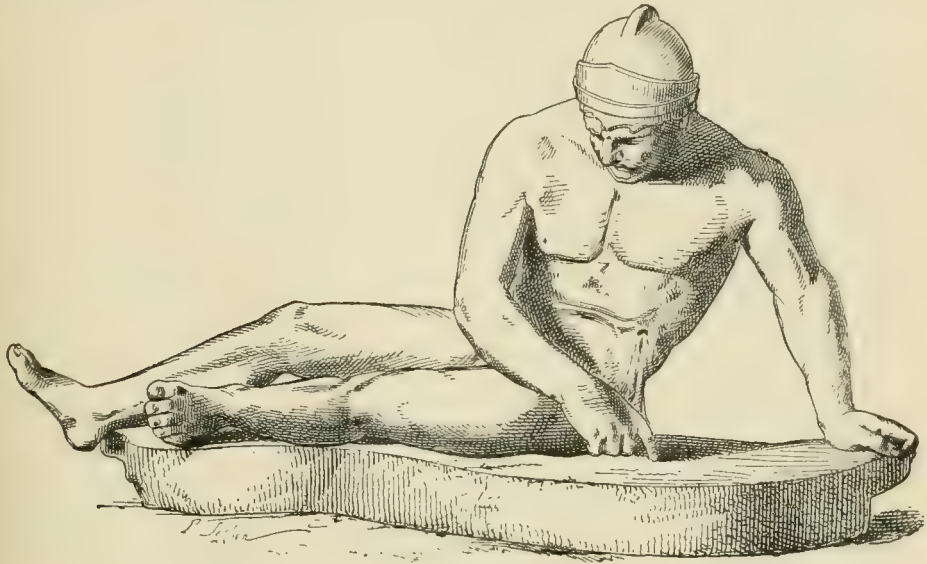
¹ Head of Jupiter; behind, a sceptre. On the reverse, the name of the city and a winged thunderbolt. Copper coin of Termessus.

² Gallic trumpet or *carnyx* and the legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΟΝ ΤΡΟΚΜΩΝ (*the venerated or honored Trocmi*) and a monogram. Copper coin of the Trocmi.

³ Livy, xxxviii. 26.

⁴ Head of Ariarathus IV., from a coin.

spoils which Manlius brought home to Rome. But his army in gaining booty had lost its discipline. The general who upon his own private judgment made war or peace could not demand from his legions the obedience that he himself refused to the Senate.¹ In spite of the ten commissioners who had been associated with him, he returned into Pamphylia, endeavoring to allure Antiochus to a conference, in the design of seizing him and seeking a pretext to cross the Taurus,—the limit fatal to Rome, beyond which the Sibyl had foretold disaster to Roman arms. However, this

DYING GALATIAN.²

expedition had carried the Roman eagles among the peoples of Asia Minor, and had brought into alliance, or placed under the influence of the Senate, all the kingdoms as far as the Euphrates. Returning to Ephesus, Manlius, with the aid of the commissioners, determined the fortunes of the allies.

¹ *Disciplinam militarem . . . omni generae licentiae corrupuisse.* (Livy, xxxix. 6.) Earlier, the soldiers of Aemilius had pillaged Phocaea, notwithstanding the treaty and the severe prohibitions of the praetor. (Livy, xxxvii. 32.)

² This fine statue is probably one of those to which Pausanias refers (i. 25, 7) when he says that Attalus of Pergamus presented to Athens many statues of giants, Amazons, Medes, and Gauls, which were placed upon the Acropolis. It is believed that some of these statues were carried to Rome, and three are now in Venice. One of these recalls the *Dying Gladiator*, which we have given in vol. i., p. 376. The *Bulletin de l'Inst. arch.* for 1870 describes them, pp. 292-323, and they are reproduced in the *Atlas of the Bulletin*, vol. ix., plates 18-21.

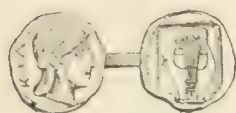
In the distribution of the spoils, Eumenes had the largest share,¹ the richest provinces of Asia Minor, and the possessions of Antiochus in Europe: Prusias, King of Bithynia, gave back to him



COIN OF CYME.²

the parts of Mysia which he had taken. The fortune of this King of Pergamus was indeed brilliant; from Thrace to Cilicia all now belonged to him. The Senate, however, spared Prusias and the King of Cappadocia, Ari-

arathus, but obliged the latter to pay 200 talents as a penalty for some succors furnished to Antiochus. Upon the Galatians easy terms were imposed, and Eumenes was refused the Greek



COIN OF COLOPHON.³

colonies, which alone were worth more than all these semi-barbarous provinces. Thus the new kingdom of Asia, formed of twenty different nations, without unity, without military strength, without frontiers, and surrounded by powerful

rivals, had none of the conditions requisite for a durable state. The alliance with Rome was only a disguised dependence, for already had begun "the custom of having kings for instruments of servitude." No one was deceived on this point, and in the



COIN OF CLAZOMENAE.⁴

open Senate, Eumenes being present, it was said: "The authority of Rome now extends to the Taurus."

The Rhodian fleets had been more useful than the vessels and the 3,000 auxiliaries of Eumenes; Rhodes obtained less, however, because she seemed to be already too powerful. She was forced to content herself

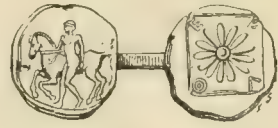
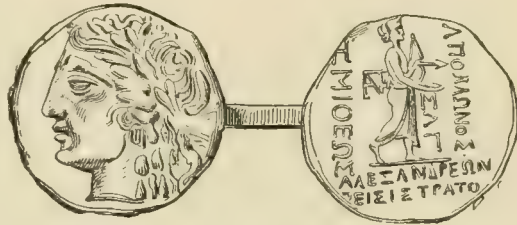
¹ Sulpicius had already sold Aegina to Attalus for thirty talents. (Polybius, xxiii. 8.)

² Woman's head. On the reverse, KYMAION, the city name, and ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ, the name of a magistrate. Horse *passant*, and a vase peculiar to Cyme. The whole surrounded with a wreath of laurel. Tetradrachm of Cyme.

³ KOA, the first letters of the city's name, behind the laurelled head of Apollo, whose worship was very general along this Asiatic coast. On the reverse, in a hollow square, a lyre, with its key. Silver coin of Colophon.

⁴ Laurelled head of Apollo. On the reverse, KAA, first letters of the city's name, and ΑΕΥΚΑΙΟΣ, the name of a magistrate, followed by a monogram, the whole surrounding a bird. Gold coin of Clazomenae.

with some territory in Caria and Lycia, where many of the cities remained free. Along the coast, in the Troad, Aeolis, and Ionia, Cyme, Colophon, and nearly all the original Greek colonies obtained immunity, with new lands and honors. Miletus obtained the Sacred Field; Clazomenae, the Island Drymusa, which commands the Gulf of Smyrna; Troy, as cradle of the Roman race, was aggrandized by the territory of two adjacent cities; Dardanus by the same title received her freedom. Chios, which during the war had served the Romans as a depot for their supplies from Italy, Erythrae and Smyrna, which had resisted both threats and promises from Antiochus, were held by the Senate in high honor. Phocaea, notwithstanding her defection, recovered her territory and received her early laws again; Adramyttium, Alexandria Troas, Lampsacus, Elaeus, Magnesia ad Sipylum, and others, were enfranchised. But Ephesus, which had been the centre of the military operations of Antiochus, and Sardis, the usual rendezvous of his armies, remained under the King of Pergamus. Finally, the Pamphylians, for whom Eumenes and Antiochus disputed, obtained their liberty and title of allies of Rome. In the case of the Galatians, Rome deprived them neither of their liberty nor their territory, but she had destroyed their military strength, the prestige of their power, and now forbade them to go outside their frontiers. Further east the two satraps of Armenia who had governed that province under Antiochus were authorized to take the title of king (188).

COIN OF ERYTHRAE.¹COIN OF ALEXANDRIA TROAS.²

¹ Horse and dismounted rider. On the reverse, a rosette or opened flower in a square, at whose four corners are the letters E, P, Y, and Θ. Silver coin.

² On the obverse, Apollo laurel-crowned. On the reverse, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ, name of the inhabitants of the city; ΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟ, a magistrate's name; ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΟΣ ΣΜΙΘΕΩΣ, name of the god with one of his numerous surnames; finally the date ΣΑΓ (233). Apollo Smintheus, holding a bow and arrow. Behind the god, a monogram. Tetradrachm of Alexandria Troas. The era to which the date belongs is that which commenced in the year when Lysimachus changed the name Antigonía for Alexandria, and this year was 454 A. U. C., equivalent to 300 B. C. The coin was therefore struck in the year 67 B. C. (Note by M. de Sauley.)

While Marius was concluding the Asiatic war, his colleague, Fulvius, attacked Ambracia, without formal declaration of war, in order to strike a final blow at the Aetolian league. In fact, the Aetolians had, since the battle of Thermopylae, been making overtures for peace. The Senate, in ambiguous language, required that they should surrender unconditionally. The Aetolian magistrates accepted the terms; but when the consul Acilius explained that these words meant that those who had fomented the war should be given up to Rome, they cried out against it: this was contrary, they said, to the custom of the Greeks. Upon this Acilius exclaimed: "It well becomes you, insignificant Greeks, to talk to me about your customs, and to instruct me in what it is proper for me to do, after you have unconditionally surrendered to my faith. Do you know that it is in my power to load you with chains?" But upon the entreaty of Valerius Flaccus, the legate, and some of the tribunes, the consul allowed himself to be appeased (191).

The affair, however, was not finally settled either that year or the next. Not to waste his consulate in the siege of a few unimportant towns, L. Scipio granted to the Aetolians a truce of six months, at the end of which period the Senate left them still further time, that they might recapture the places Philip had taken. When they had finally driven him back into Macedon, the King of Syria having been in the mean time overthrown, Fulvius arrived with two legions, and obtained possession of Ambracia after a heroic resistance on the part of the town. This city, once the capital of Pyrrhus, was rich in works of art of all kinds. Fulvius required these to be given up to him. Among the spoil were statues of the Muses; these he carried off; and, like a true Roman, in the temple which he built for them, he gave the nine goddesses for a master, not the god of harmony, but the god of strength, Hercules Musagetes. It was in truth as spoils of war that the arts of Greece came to Rome.



HERCULES
MUSAGETES.¹

The Aetolians, left to themselves, obtained peace at the cost of 500 talents, and acknowledged "the sovereignty and

¹ Intaglio in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,772 of the Catalogue.

majesty of the Roman people.”¹ They must not admit through their territory any army marching against the Romans, their allies or their friends (*socios et amicos*); they must hold for enemies the enemies of the Roman people, and take arms against them; they must give up fugitives, renegade slaves, and escaped prisoners; they must give forty hostages, not under twelve years of age and not over forty, to be chosen by the consul, and also their strategus, the commander of their cavalry, and their public scribe.² This little nation had at least ennobled its defeat by its courage, braving for three years the power of Rome. The cities which had formerly made part of the league were separated from it that they might be restored to what the Senate called their liberty; but Cephallenia received a Roman garrison. This island, commanding the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth,³ and looking across to Elis, twenty-three miles away, was to become one of the stations of the Roman fleets sailing from Brundisium to Greece. By occupying Corcyra, Zante, and Cephallenia, three excellent harbors and easy of defence, the Senate was master of the Adriatic. Their choice was a good one; the English made the same selection when they wished that nothing should pass through this sea without their leave.

During the expeditions of the two consuls, the commandant of the fleet, without decree of the Senate, threatened a descent upon the Island of Crete, unless the inhabitants should set free whatever Roman prisoners had been brought or sold thither; and no less than 4,000 were given up to him. Fulvius also had directed active search to be made for all such captives. This was a rule of Roman policy, a condition in all treaties; and this solicitude, which did honor to the generals, was calculated to secure to them the confidence and devotion of their soldiers.

Manlius, meanwhile, was returning from Asia with his legions, hardly sufficient in number to furnish safe escort for his booty. Lying in ambush along the road, the Thracians deprived him of

¹ *Imperium majestatemque populi Romani*. (Livy, xxxviii. 11.) Aetolia was so rich a country, that Polybius (xxi. 3) speaks of an Aetolian who was possessor of 200 talents. He says also that they made a condition of the treaty that they should be allowed to pay in gold rather than in silver; to this the Romans agreed, on the condition that each piece of gold should represent ten of silver, — thus telling us the relative value of the two metals at that epoch.

² Livy, xxxviii. 11.

³ [Zacynthus (Zante) really holds this position, and, though smaller, is strategically the more important island. — *Ed.*]

half of his baggage, and twice put the army in peril. But Philip was in no condition to take advantage of this opportunity. He once more opened Macedon to the Romans, and Manlius re-crossed the Adriatic, leaving not a single legionary in Greece or in Asia. The Senate kept its promise everywhere upon both continents and all islands; the Greeks were free, and after so many conquests, Rome retained not an inch of territory. The comedy, commenced with so much success by Flaminius at the Isthmian games, had been performed. But in withdrawing after having crushed out every spark of energy in Macedon, the Aetolians, Syria and the Galatians, the legions left behind them in every city and state a party devoted to Rome, ready to serve her as police in Greece and Asia. And over against this crowd of little princes and little states rises the colossal power of Rome, with its strong military and political organization, its able Senate, its brave legions.¹

¹ [On the policy of the Romans towards the Greek world, and its successive changes, see the instructive remarks of Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenland unter den Römern*, i. pp. 91, *seq.* 131, *seq.* He shows that there were two parties in the Senate,—the advanced and enlightened Liberals, consisting of the Scipionic circle, represented in Greece by Flaminius, and the old party, whom we may call Conservatives. The former, from a genuine love of Greek culture, desired to keep up as much of Greek political liberty as was consistent with Roman interests, and strove to set up such federations in republics through Greece as a make-weight against the interests of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt. But this policy failed, partly through the prevalence of the more thorough, and even brutal, theory of making subject provinces beyond Italy, and plundering them for the good of Rome. This was the theory carried out by Mummius, himself an amiable and worthy man, but the agent of a terrible policy. — *Ed.*]

² Intaglio from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,863 of the Catalogue.



HORSEMAN WITH MACEDONIAN HAT.²

CHAPTER XXIX.

SECOND CONQUEST OF SPAIN; SUBMISSION OF CISALPINE GAUL.

I. OPERATIONS IN SPAIN (197-178).¹

DURING the period occupied by these easy and brilliant expeditions, other legions were carrying on in the extreme west, and also in Italy, a murderous struggle against nations whose courage was sustained by the hope of a better life, promised to heroes falling by the sword of the enemy. After Zama, the Senate had believed themselves masters of Spain; the revolt of Mandonius and Indibilis, those fickle allies of the Scipios,² and the insurrection of the Sedetani, appeared to be the last effort of Iberian independence. But when, in 197, the arrival of two praetors and an attempt to organize Spain into Roman provinces had rendered it evident that the Senate proposed to retain what they had conquered, the people of the country, who had aided Rome only for the sake of freeing themselves from the Carthaginians, made reply by a general insurrection against the foreigner. The praetor, Sempronius Tuditanus, was killed, and this outbreak became the signal of a war destined to last for a century.³

The Lusitanians, who had been victorious over the great Hamilcar, and whom Hannibal had not ventured to attack, the Vaccaeï, the Vettones, and especially the Celtiberians, played the first part in this heroic struggle. Established in the central mountains of the peninsula, upon the high plateau whence the Guadiana,

¹ See map of Spain, vol. ii. p. 50.

² They had revolted after the departure of Scipio, and had been conquered in a battle where Indibilis was killed. Upon this they surrendered their arms, gave hostages, corn for six months, clothing for the army, and a double tribute for the treasury; at last they surrendered Mandonius and the other chiefs, and the Romans put the leaders to death. (Livy, xxix. 1-3.)

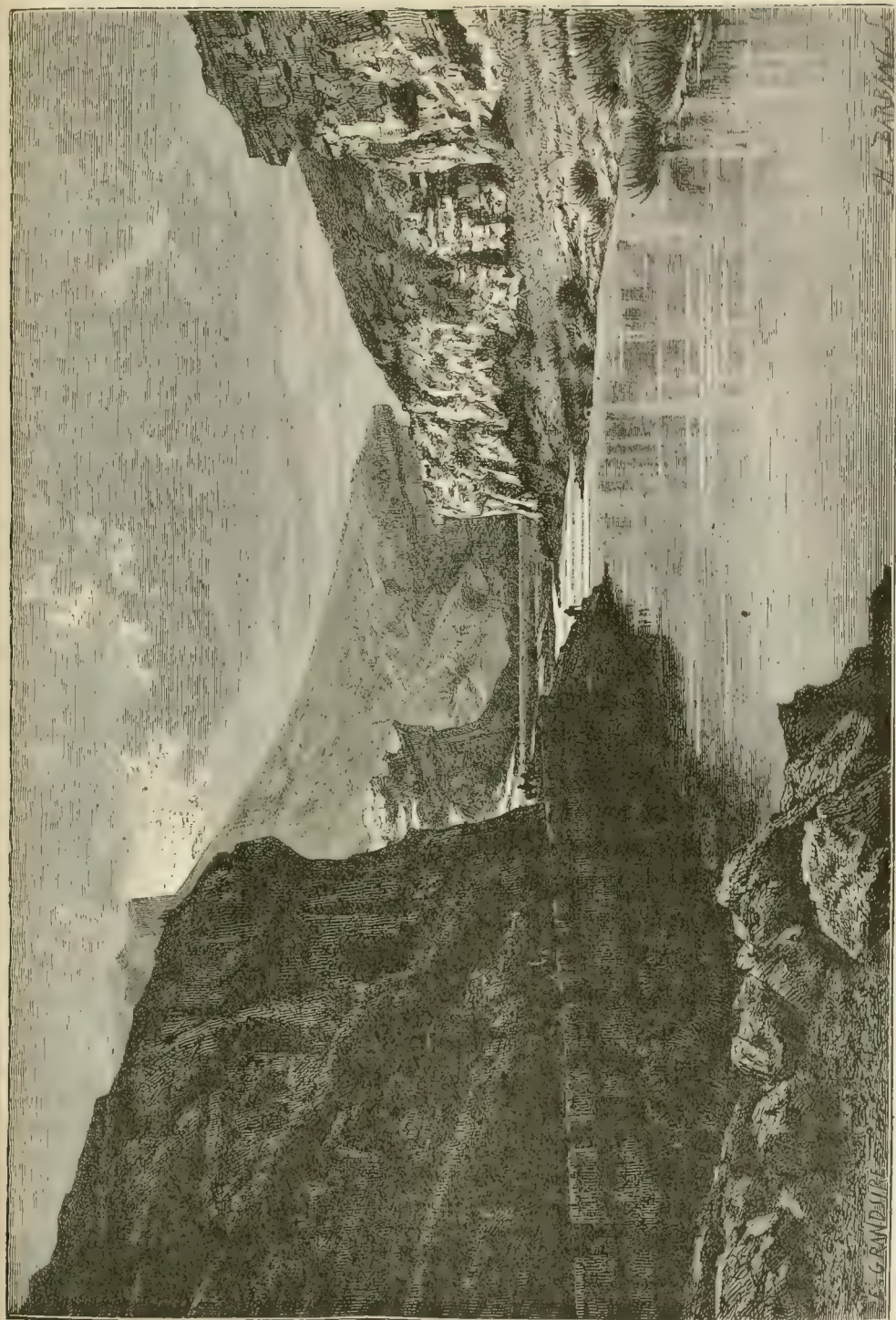
³ Livy, xxxiii. 25.

the Tagus, and the Douro come down through wild defiles, the Celtiberians were able to cut the Roman communications, while themselves having easy access to the valleys and being able constantly to lend help to the people of the plain. As they had no great cities by means of which the country could be held and overawed, their villages and countless strongholds scattered the war, and made it endless; the taking of each place gaining for the Romans nothing but arid rocks. In the east, on the contrary, and in the south, all along the Mediterranean, there were rich cities, — Emporiae, Tarragona, Carthagera, Malaga, and Gades, whose submission brought with it in each case that of a large extent of country; or there were tribes lacking in courage, like the Tudetani, or scarcely true Spaniards by race, and enervated by long commerce with Tyre and Carthage, like the inhabitants of Baetica.

Sober and active, patient and crafty as the mountaineer and the hunter, at the same time brave to rashness, the Spaniards, even at this early period, carried on in their mountains that guerilla warfare which triumphed over Napoleon and the best soldiers the world has ever seen. When they made a close attack, they formed a wedge, and this order of battle was irresistible. They used a heavy two-edged sword, which the legionaries adopted, — a sword which made such wounds that Philip's Macedonians were terrified at them.¹ Generally they fought on foot: they, however, possessed horses as swift as those of the Parthians, says Strabo, trained to bend their knees, and clamber rapidly up the hills. If they were defeated, but few were taken prisoners, and still fewer could be retained; for the poison they always had with them set them free quickly from servitude, or else, if sent by sea to Italy or Sicily, they made a hole in the vessel's hull, and sank her. The women fought along with their husbands, and after a defeat cut their children's throats, and slew themselves;² the "devoted one" would not survive his friend or his leader, and the old who could not fight were relieved of a useless

¹ *Gladio Hispaniensi detruncata corpora, brachiis cum humero abscisis . . . patentiaque viscera . . . paridi cornubant. Ipsum quoque regem terror cepit.* (Livy, xxxi. 34.)

² App., *Iberica* 74 (72); Strabo, iii. p. 154, *seq.*



GORGE OF THE TAGUS.

life. Severe to their captives as to themselves, the Lusitanians cut off the right hand of the prisoner and offered it to the gods. "They delighted in sacrifices," says Strabo, "and the victims they offered were their prisoners of war." Here were enemies more formidable than the countless phalanxes of Antiochus. Fortunately for Rome, the Spaniards were even more divided among themselves than the Italians and Greeks, and they were never capable of uniting in any great enterprise or any joint resistance. "Had it not been for this," says Strabo, "they would have been invincible."

A praetor avenged Sempronius. But the war seemed important enough to deserve a consular army. Cato was in command. Many contractors had come from Rome to supply the army. "The war shall support the war," Cato said, and sent them back. The Romans had been driven back as far as the Massiliote colony of Emporiae, — a singular city, composed of two distinct towns separated by a solid wall, one side Spanish, the other Greek, — the latter always jealous of its neighbor.¹ A great army was in the neighborhood; Cato set himself free by a skilfully prepared victory (195); then, having bought the assistance of the Celtiberians at a price of 200 talents, which the conquered were obliged to pay, he caused 400 cities and villages between the Ebro and the Pyrenees to be dismantled in a single day,² and he also levied a considerable tax upon the gold and silver mining of the province.

After the time of Cato, and during the struggle with Antiochus, the war languished. But the Celtiberians, feeling themselves menaced by the consolidation of the Roman power in the Valley of the Ebro, united with the Lusitanians, the Vaccaei, and the Carpetani; it cost them 35,000 men, slain in the great battle near Toledo (185). The Romans spent many years in blockading their mountains, the centre of resistance, and victories gained in the north and south finally opened to them an entrance. When at last the Vaccaei and the Lusitanians, worn out with the strife, had laid down their arms, Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the

¹ [Such cases are not rare when two races occupy a site: Pekin is an instance, and so was Kilkenny in former days. — *Ed.*]

² Livy, xxxiv. 8-22; Polybius, xix. In quoting this passage Plutarch writes *Bactis* instead of *Iberus*, which is the name in Livy (xxxiv. 17), and is easier to be understood.

Gracchi, penetrated to the very heart of Celtiberia and made himself master of 300 villages.¹

To secure the good-will of these tribes he made easy terms with them: he declared them allies of Rome, and placed them under her protectorate upon condition merely that in time of war they should furnish her with men and money.² Knowing that civilization alone could render the peace durable, he made it his endeavor to found cities and collect therein great numbers of Celtiberians, giving them wise laws. The good faith and gentleness of Gracchus became renowned in the peninsula; the treaties which he concluded were afterward appealed to against the cruelty and avarice of his successors (178).³

II. CONQUEST OF CISALPINE GAUL; ITALY CLOSED AGAINST THE BARBARIANS (200 — 163).

SPAIN appeared to be conquered for the second time; the Cisalpine really was so.⁴ The Carthaginian, Hamilcar, who had remained there, notwithstanding Zama, with the secret connivance of Hannibal, threw 40,000 Gauls and Ligurians upon Placentia and Cremona, the two great Roman colonies on the banks of the Po (200). A few years earlier this diversion would have been helpful to Carthage; it was now only an annoyance to Rome, though for a moment it caused an alarm by the recollection of the Gallic wars.

Placentia was taken and burned; but the resistance of Cremona gave the Romans time to come up, and 35,000 Gauls, if we may believe Livy, were slain by Furius, the praetor, who received a triumph at Rome in consequence. This sanguinary lesson was wasted. Hamilcar, who made his escape from the battle-field, continued his intrigues, and all the barbarians in the Valley of the Po, even the Cenomani, rose in revolt. The Boii especially showed a heroic determination. The Senate was obliged to send

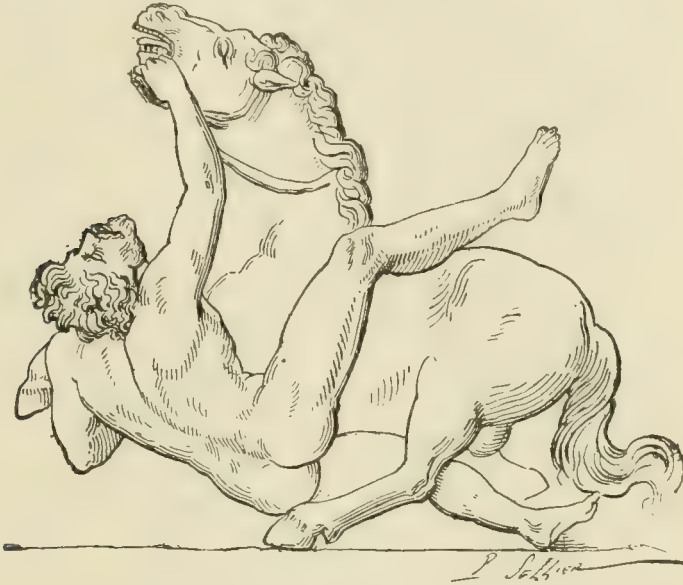
¹ Livy, xli. 4, on the authority of Polybius.

² Strabo, iii. 4, 13.

³ App., *Iber.* 43-44; Livy, xl. 45-50. He gave the name of Gracchuris to the city of Illureis. (xli.)

⁴ These wars are related in Livy, from xxxi. 2, to xl. 53.

against these tribes three armies at once and Scipio Africanus. In the year 193 the Senate had recourse to the formula of great public dangers: it was declared that a *tumultus* existed. Repeated defeats at last forced the Boii to treat (192), with the condition of relinquishing half their territory.¹ But when it became time to fulfil the treaty, they could not submit to live under the hated rule of Rome, and what remained of the nation sought on the other side



WOUNDED GAUL FALLING FROM HIS HORSE.²

of the Alps, on the banks of the Danube, a land sheltered from Roman ambition.³ During ten years they had successfully resisted fifteen consuls, had killed two praetors and more legionaries than all the wars in Greece and Asia had cost in three quarters of a century.

Placentia and Cremona were promptly re-peopled; colonists were sent to Bologna and Parma, and M. Aemilius Lepidus⁴ completed the military road from Ariminum to Placentia.

¹ Livy, xxxvi. 39.

² Bas-relief in the Capitol, published in the *Mon. inéd.* of the *Inst. archéol.* of Rome; cf. the whole sarcophagus on p. 192.

³ Strabo, v. 212. They amalgamated with the Taurisci in Noricum.

⁴ This Lepidus, who was twice consul, pontiff, and censor, died in 152. At the age of fifteen he had killed an enemy and saved the life of a citizen. This is indicated by the legend on his coin: ANnis XV. PRaetertatus Hostem Occidit Cive[m] Serravit. On p. 77 the reader has seen his coin as tutor to the King of Egypt, Ptolemy Eupator.

COIN OF
AEMILIVS¹

The Insubres (Milan) had submitted; the Cenomani (Verona and Mantua) had often obeyed the Roman power; the Veneti silently accepted it: only the Ligurians still held out. Too feeble to cause fear, they were, however, brave enough to test the valor of the legions. In 189 they killed a praetor; later they defeated a consul; and even Paulus Aemilius himself was in danger from them. It became necessary to renew the devasta-

GALLIC PRISONER.²

tions of the Samnite War,³ to destroy the vineyards, to burn the harvests, to break up the villages;⁴ and, finally, to transport 47,000 Ligurians into the deserted country of Samnium, while Roman colonists were established at Pisa, Lucca, and Modena, to guard the Ligurian Apennines. In spite of all efforts of policy and of arms, these poor mountaineers, abandoned by the Cisalpines, struggled twenty years longer (until 163) against the mistress of the world. A fortress was built at Luna to keep watch over them, and the Aurelian road was built along the coast, to bring the legions to the entrance of the mountains.

Long before this epoch the Senate had carried to the Alps

¹ Reverse of a coin of the Aemilian gens; see preceding note.

² From a sarcophagus of the *Vigna Ammendola*. (*Atlas de l'Inst. arch. of Rome*, vol. i.)

³ Livy, xxix. 32; xl. 38, 41.

⁴ Livy, xl. 53; xli. 18.

the frontiers of the Republic, declaring Italy closed against the barbarians; and some bands of Gauls, coming to seek homes in the Valley of the Po, had been haughtily ordered to return in all haste across the mountains.¹

The founding of Aquileia, to which the Aemilian road led (181), and a new conquest of Istria (177), served to defend on the east the approach to the Cisalpine.²

The King of the Istrians, Epulo, had withdrawn into his strongest city, Nesactium, with the bravest of his army. When they saw that the Romans had diverted the course of a river which supplied the city with water, they led their wives and children to the ramparts and slew them there, then killed themselves, their chief setting the example of this fierce courage. If they had fallen living into the enemy's hands, those who survived the first massacre would have been sold into slavery. They therefore took the shortest way to escape the insupportable miseries to which ancient war condemned the vanquished.

About this time (181) the people of Corsica and Sardinia rose in insurrection. After vain efforts the Corsicans resigned themselves to a tribute of 10,000 pounds of wax.⁴ In the other island, Gracchus, the pacificator of Spain, killed 27,000 Sardinians, and sold into slavery so great a number, that, to designate a cheap article, they said at Rome, "Sardinians to sell" (175).



GALLIC PRISONERS AND TROPHY.³

¹ Livy, xxxiv. 54, 55; xl. 53. In 118 Marcius Rex conquered the Euganei, who refused to survive their defeat; and Scaurus, the Carni, 115.

² Strabo, v. 214; Livy, xli. 11.

³ From Caristie's *Arc et théâtre d'Orange*.

⁴ We find them again in revolt in 163.

We pass rapidly over these wars, notwithstanding the heroism shown by the attacked nations: for history, classing events according to their importance, chooses between facts apparently similar, leaving some, and placing others in strong light. What place in the memory of the world is held by Morgarten and Morat compared with Marathon and Salamis? Of these victories, the former only saved the liberties of a small nation; the others saved the world's future. Civilization is interested in the results of the Roman wars in Greece and in Asia; while those in Spain and Cisalpine Gaul concerned only the savage independence of a few unknown and useless tribes.¹

When we sum up the achievements of the legions in the West during these twenty years it appears that the Senate was striving to complete the work begun in the interval between the two Punic wars. — to conquer the Cisalpines; to secure the firm possession of the islands of the western Mediterranean; and, for fear of a new peril from beyond the Pyrenees, to occupy Spain.

These wars contrast in the vigor of their prosecution with those waged on the other coast of the Asiatic and the Aegean Sea, in the design of keeping open the gates of the East. The Senate, knowing well, as the Greeks said to Flaminius, how to play at once both fox and lion, had hitherto only cared to dazzle and fascinate the people of that other world. But for them also the time of conciliatory measures was soon to end, and that of servitude to begin.

¹ Livy himself says: *Lacessebant magis quam exercebant Romana arma Ligures et Galli*; and Polybius: "There was never war more despicable."

² Rome holding a globe, upon which is the statue of Victory Stephanophoros, or crown-bearer. Intaglio in the *Cabinet de France*, 61 millimetres by 43, No. 2,071 of the Catalogue.



ROME PERSONIFIED.²

CHAPTER XXX.

THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR (171-168).

I. LAST YEARS OF PHILIP. — DEATH OF PHILOPOEMEN AND OF HANNIBAL.

“ALREADY the Roman people had carried throughout the world their victorious arms. Amidst so much good fortune they had not forgotten moderation, and ruled the nations less by force and intimidation than by the greatness of their renown and the wisdom of their counsels. Humane toward vanquished kings and peoples, liberal with their allies, they asked for themselves only glory and victory. They left to kings their majesty, to nations their laws and their independence.”

With these words Livy commences the story of the war against Perseus. The facts had corresponded hitherto, and were still to correspond, to this magnificent eulogy.

The defeat of Antiochus and the ruin of the Aetolians had appeased the humiliated pride of Philip, but had taken from him the only auxiliaries who might have been able to save him. He now remained alone against Rome; and by the outrages which the Senate heaped upon him, he could see that his ruin was determined. As the price of his alliance in the war with Antiochus, the Senate had allowed him to retain whatever conquests he might make. Scarcely had the victory at Thermopylae been gained, when his advance was arrested. He was about to take Lamia in Thessaly; Acilius ordered him to abandon the siege. He had conquered Athamania; the Aetolians were allowed time to expel him from the country. Too carefully watched in Greece, he turned upon Thrace, and there quietly made some conquests of importance. The seaports Aenos and Maroneia received garrisons. But on

this side! Eumenes kept watch upon him, and denounced him at Rome. As soon as it was known that the complaints of exiles from these two cities were well received, a crowd of Thessalians,



COIN OF MARONELLA.³

Magneti, Athamani, and others rushed to the banks of the Tiber,² and the Senate sent three commissioners, who, in order to show the Greeks the humiliation and weakness of this King before whom they had so long trembled,

obliged Philip to appear like an ordinary culprit before their tribunal.⁴ He had taken from them,



T. Q. FLAMININUS.⁶

the Thessalians complained, 500 young men of the noblest families, he had ruined the port of Thebes in Phthiotis for the advantage of Demetrias, and had waylaid all the deputies whom they had sent to Flaminius. "Like slaves suddenly let free," the King rejoined, "these men knew not how to use their liberty, save in insulting their master; besides," he added, haughtily, "the last sun has not yet set!"⁵ Of course the commissioners decided against him.

Livy and Polybius accuse him of cruelty. — which was, however, habitual to all these kings, — and the former relates in proof of this a story showing how merciless

¹ The Roman commissioner, Fabius Labeo, had made it a rule in determining the boundary between Macedon and Thrace, after the battle of Cynoscephalæ, to follow the old royal road, which never came near the sea. (Livy, xxxix. 27.)

² Polybius, xxxiv. 4. There were so many nations represented, that it took three days to hear the complaints.

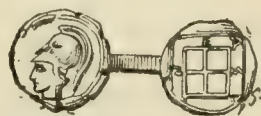
³ A free horse and a bunch of grapes. On the reverse, the name of the inhabitants (MAPONITEQN) surrounding a vine-tree in a hollow square.

⁴ *Tamquam reus.* (Livy, xxxix. 25.)

⁵ *Naudum omnium dierum solent occidisse.* (Livy, xxxix. 26.)

⁶ Marble bust in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,293 of the Catalogue. It resembles the coin represented on p. 99; cf. *Revue numismatique*, vol. i. p. 59, pl. 4, No. 2, 1852; see p. 200, a paper by M. François Lenormant on this subject. A bronze statue had been erected to Flaminius at Rome, opposite the Circus. (Plut., *Flam.* 1.) It is possible, therefore, that the bust and the coin really show us the features of the conqueror of Macedon.

people were in those times.¹ Philip had put to death an eminent Thessalian and his two sons-in-law. The widows had each an infant son; one of them refused to re-marry; the other married Poris, the most influential citizen of Aeneia in Chalcidice, and died after having borne him several children. Her sister, Theoxena, in order to watch over her nephews, united her destiny to that of Poris, and became a real mother to all his children. An order from Philip was presently issued prescribing that the sons of the persons whom he had put to death should be sent to him. Death or infamy awaited them. Theoxena declared that she would kill them sooner than give them up, and Poris attempted to make his escape. He embarked by night with his family to go to Athens; but the wind was contrary. When day dawned they were still in sight of the harbor, and a vessel was sent in pursuit of them. Theoxena, foreseeing this possibility, had provided herself with weapons and with poison. "Death," she said, "is our sole refuge: here are two ways to reach it." Some preferred poison, others the sword; she threw them dying into the sea, and with her husband leaped after them.³

COIN OF AENEIA.²

Accustomed though men were to like misfortunes, this tragic end of an entire family excited public horror; and the pious historian asserts that from that day the gods marked Philip for destruction. Rome was ready to become the minister of divine vengeance.

ACES, KING OF THRACE.⁴

The intervention of the gods was not, however, necessary: policy sufficed; and the King put himself in the wrong towards Rome by imprudent measures which the Senate regarded as provocations. It was

¹ Polybius, xxiv. 6. Livy, as might be expected, is very prolix on the subject of the cruelty and debauchery of Philip.

² Helmeted head, thought to be that of Aeneas. On the reverse, ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ, around a hollow square. Tetradrachm of Aeneia.

³ Livy, xl. 4.

⁴ Horned head of Alexander, in memory of the god Ammon, whose son the Macedonian conqueror declared himself to be. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΚΟΥ (Aces, king). Minerva Nicephoros seated; under her feet a trident. Gold stater of the unknown king, Aces; unique in the *Cabinet de France*.

wise to open mines, to establish new taxes, to favor commerce; it was not so, to endeavor to increase the population of his



COIN OF PHILIP
POPOLIS.¹

kingdom by Asiatic measures, which excited against him bitter animosity without bringing him much advantage. The maritime towns were not very friendly towards him, and he removed their inhabitants into Paeonia, replacing them with barbarians. Under pretext of bringing aid to the Byzantines, he made an incursion into the interior of Thrace, defeated many petty kings, and brought back a numerous colony, with which he hoped



ALTAR OF JUPITER.²

to recruit his army. Prusias was at war with the King of Pergamus, and Philip sent auxiliaries to the former. Remembering the plans of Hannibal, he sent secret emissaries to the barbarians of the Danube to league them with himself for an attack upon Italy. Their chief promised his daughter in marriage to the king's son. For the purpose of strengthening these negotiations, and confirming his influence in Thrace, Philip founded the city of Philippopolis on the banks of the Hebrus, not far from Mount Haemus. It was said that

from the top of this mountain the view embraced the Euxine Sea, the

¹ The legend reads, *ΗΓΕΜΟΝΕΥΟΥΤΟΣ Μάρκου ΠΟΝΤίου ΣΑΒΕΙΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ*, which means, "Under the hegemony of M. Pontius Sabinus at Philippopolis." The nymph Rhodope, mother of the River Hebrus, is represented seated upon a rock. Reverse of a copper coin of the city built by Philip V. on a hillside near the river.

² Museum of the Louvre, Fröhner, No. 40.

Adriatic, the Danube, and the Alps. Philip determined to ascend this mountain, in order hence to discern the shortest road into Italy; for, despairing of Greece, which he knew too well, he dreamed of repeating the expedition of Hannibal. He employed three days in reaching the summit, which was wrapped in clouds, and built there two altars, one to Jupiter and one to the Sun; but he saw nothing save the fertile plains of Maesia and Thrace.¹ When he came down, the news of this strange expedition, this fruitless menace, was already on the way to Rome. Some time before this, Philip, in order to lull the vigilance of the Senate, had sent to Rome his son, Demetrius, whom a long residence in Rome as a hostage, and also prudent regard for his own interests, had rendered entirely devoted to the Roman cause. With their murderous ingenuity, the Senate, sowing discord and hatred in the King's house, made reply that they would pardon the father through consideration for the son. Demetrius soon paid with his life for this perfidious expression of respect.²

The Senate, in their turn, commenced preparations, using peace to enervate the already feeble nations of Hellas, and working uninterruptedly, but quietly, for the dissolution of leagues and the reducing of states. Their commissioners were never absent from Greece,⁴ Flamininus ever at their head, his influence aggrandized by the dignity of censor, which he

THE SUN PERSONIFIED.³

¹ Livy, xl. 22.

² Polybius, xxiv. 1 and 5. Demetrius was given to understand that the Romans would soon place him on the throne of Macedon.

³ Bust in the Louvre. "The young god, with a Phrygian cap, his head raised towards heaven, his eyebrows contracted, his lips parted, the hair thrown back from his forehead." (Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée National du Louvre*, vol. i. p. 384.)

⁴ They went as far as Crete. (Polybius, xxiii. 9.)

had lately enjoyed. Two men in the East hampered the policy of the Senate. — Philopoemen in Greece, Hannibal in Asia. Flaminius accepted the shameful task of freeing them from these two old men. Philopoemen was now seventy years of age. He did not deceive himself in respect to his country's future; he saw her liberty perishing without even having for its tomb a field of battle. "Are you, then, so eager," said the old general, with sad and bitter resignation, to one of the most zealous partisans of Rome, "are you, then, so eager, Aristaenus, to see the last day of Greece?" However, he struggled valiantly. Diophanes having imprudently united the troops of the league with those of Flaminius for the purpose of attacking Sparta, Philopoemen threw himself into the city and defended it against them.¹ On another occasion, when the Spartans attempted to seize a seaport [Gythium] for the purpose of opening a secret communication with Rome, he constrained them to remain in the alliance, and caused their walls to be pulled down, to take from them the desire and the means of defection. Rome required that the Achaeans should compel Sparta to receive again her banished citizens; Philopoemen opposed this, not through vindictiveness against the banished, but that they should not come under this obligation to the Romans.

The union of the Peloponnesus into a single state made progress, and the reputation of the league and of its general spread far and wide. Seleucus, Eumenes, and Ptolemy sent them rich gifts by ambassadors.² The Senate made haste to humble the pride of this confederation, which assumed to manage its affairs in its own way without allowing the Romans to interfere in them.³ Messages were sent to permit Sparta to separate from the league, but Philopoemen refused the envoys an assembly for this business. They returned with orders from Rome that they should be heard at all times, and they presented themselves in the Assembly, accompanied by the exiles from Sparta, whom the day before the



COIN OF
MEGAL-
OPOLIS.⁴

¹ He refused the title of king at Sparta. (Polybius, xx. 14.)

² Polybius, xxiii. 6.

³ Polybius, xxiv. 10.

⁴ MEFAA. Pan seated on a rock, holding the *pedum* (see vol. i. p. 262). In the field, an eagle. Reverse of a copper coin (Aeginetan triobol) of Megalopolis, the obverse bearing a head of Jupiter.

Achaean had condemned to death. When Flaminius went to demand of Prusias the head of Hannibal, he passed through Messene. Scarcely had he left the city when a sedition broke out against the Achaeans, and at the same time a decree of the



FUNERAL SCENE.¹

Senate was issued giving permission to Corinth, Argos, and Sparta to separate themselves from the league. Philopoemen at this time

¹ *Cantharus* in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,331 of the Catalogue. This one-handled *cantharus* represents a funeral scene. The body of the dead wrapped in a shroud, with the bearded head alone visible, is extended on a car drawn by two mules. Below are seated two women, who appear to be plucking out their hair. The head of a third almost touches that of the corpse. Two others, with signs of grief, walk beside the car. Behind are seen a man, his hand raised to his hair in sign of affliction, a flute-player, and five *hoplites* (warriors), armed and lowering their spears in token of mourning; a funereal column completes the scene.

was at Megalopolis. Notwithstanding his age and a recent illness, he went thirty miles in a day to stifle the insurrection; but in an action with the Messenians he fell from his horse, was taken, and condemned to drink hemlock (183). Lycortas, his friend, avenged his death upon the Messenians, and all Greece united to do him funeral honors; Polybius carried the urn containing his ashes. "As they say a mother loves her latest children most, Greece, having brought forth Philopoemen as one born out of due time, loved him with singular affection, and called him the last of her children."¹

At the hand of Rome Hannibal also perished. Abandoned by Antiochus after Magnesia, he withdrew into Crete, and thence into Armenia, whence Prusias called him, to have the aid of his talents against Eumenes. Hannibal defeated the King of Pergamus; but the echo of his victories reached Rome, and he soon saw Flaminius arrive at the court of Prusias. He had caused seven secret ways of exit to be prepared in his house, but when he sought to escape they were all guarded. "Let us relieve the Romans from their terrors!" he said, and took poison, which he had always with him (183).² Thus perished the man whom Montesquieu has called "the colossus of antiquity."

These two old men being removed, it appeared that Rome would find henceforth only impotent hatreds. In Syria, Antiochus had perished, stoned to death by his own people, whose temples he had pillaged to pay his debt to the Senate (187); and Seleucus, his successor, occupied the eleven years of his reign in gathering the money for the tribute. At one time he proposed to draw the sword in defence of Pharnaces, King of Pontus, against Eumenes and Ariarathus of Cappadocia; but Rome commanded peace to the four kings. Egypt, under the tyranny of Epiphanes and during the minority of Philometor, grew weaker every day.



PHARNACES I³

¹ Rollin, after Plutarch. (Philopoemen, 1.) [The details of Philopoemen's policy, which are given in the text very briefly and without criticism, should be studied either in Freeman's *Federal Government*, or in Hertzberg's *Greece under the Romans*, vol. i. — *Ed.*]

² Livy, xxxix. 51; Plut., *Flam.* 28. The same year, it is said, Scipio died in his voluntary exile at Liternum.

³ Diademed head of Pharnaces I., from a tetradrachm.

Alexandria, moreover, seemed a world so vast and troublous, that neither kings nor peoples had any occasion to look beyond it; Carthage was striving to have herself forgotten; Masinissa had just taken from her a third province; she had dared only to complain and to solicit from the Senate a vague promise of protection against further encroachments. In Spain the war was about to cease; in Italy almost all the Cisalpine Gauls were submissive; Macedon only remained erect and strong.

Every day, to nourish his resentment, Philip had his treaty with the Romans read over to him. His emissaries had returned from the banks of the Danube. A numerous tribe famous for their courage, the Bastarnae, had accepted his offers. To these barbarians he promised a safe way through Thrace, where the terror of his arms had produced a great impression; he assured them provisions, pay, and the fruitful lands in the country of the Dardanians. This people being destroyed, he proposed to let loose the Bastarnae upon Italy, while himself should rouse Greece and call all the kings to liberty.

But the malicious prudence of the Senate was to bear its fruit. Demetrius on his return into Macedon had found there a powerful faction, who desired peace at any price, and at once placed him at their head as the friend of Rome. The partisans of war had for leader an elder brother of Demetrius, Perseus, who, being the son of a woman of low birth, feared lest Philip might leave the crown to Demetrius. To ruin this rival, Perseus represented him to the King as a traitor urged on by Flaminius and by his own ambition to snatch the power from his father. The unfortunate Philip hesitated between his two sons; and the young prince having attempted to flee to Rome, the King resolved upon his death. He was invited to attend a sacrificial feast at Heraclea, where poisoned food was given him (182). It is said that later Philip became aware of his son's innocence, and that in consequence he died of grief (179).



PHILIP V. OF MACEDON.¹

¹ Head of Philip V., father of Perseus, from a coin. (Mionnet, *Supp.*, vol. iii.; cf. *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. iii. p. 108.)

II. PERSEUS.

AFTER having conquered Perseus, the Romans have striven to dishonor him. Their historians have made use of the rights of war, *ex victis!* and those of later times have done the same. But does not Livy accuse Hannibal of incapacity, while in the case of Perseus he extols the purity of manners, the truly royal majesty of demeanor, the skill in manly exercises and in all labors in peace and war of the Macedonian King?¹ He vaguely accuses him of having killed his wife, and reproaches him distinctly with the murder of Demetrius. But by Livy's own account it is evident

COTYS.²

that Perseus had reason to believe himself in danger. He represents him as avaricious, and caring more for his treasures than for his crown; yet when the cities of Macedon offered him subsidies of their own free will, he refused them;³ when Cotys had served in the Macedonian army six months with 2,000 auxiliaries, he gave him for his cavalry 100 talents more than had been agreed upon.⁴ We shall see by and by whether there was not some excuse for his conduct towards Gentius and the Bastarnae. Within his kingdom Perseus was able to gain the affection and the devoted obedience of his subjects; without, he so raised the respect felt for Macedon that during ten years he kept the eyes of the world fixed upon her.⁵ As to the murders attributed to him, either proof is lacking, as in the charge of Rammius of Brundisium, or they made part of that policy of perfidy and assassination common to all kings at that time, and to Rome herself. They who had caused the death of Hannibal, of Philopoemen, and of Brachyllas were not in a position to reproach Perseus with the murder of Eumenes.

¹ Livy: *Nihil paternae lasciviae*, etc. He follows Polybius here, as in almost all that concerns Greece and the East. Perseus was at this time thirty-one.

² Head of Cotys III., from a bronze coin.

³ *Legationes civitatum venerant ad pecunias . . . et frumentum pollicendum ad bellum.* (Livy.) Upon his accession he remitted to his subjects all that they owed as taxes, and restored to those recalled from banishment their confiscated property and even the revenues during their absence. (Polybius, xxvi. 3.)

⁴ Two hundred talents, that is, for 1,000 horsemen. (Livy, xlii. 67.)

⁵ *Ipsius Persae . . . celebrari nomen.* (Livy.)

Doubt has been cast even upon his courage; but he was present in all his battles; he led all expeditions, — in Thrace, in Illyria, in Epirus, against the Dardanians, and in Aetolia. At Pydna, having been wounded the preceding day, he flung himself without cuirass into the midst of his broken phalanx. Perseus, therefore, was neither better nor worse than the principal men of his time.

It was said that Philip had desired to leave his crown to the nephew of his former guardian, Antigonus; and Perseus hastened to rid himself of a dangerous rival. But he was careful not to come to an open rupture with the Senate. He laid his crown at their feet; he renewed the treaty his father had made with them; and for six years he seemed to have no other object than to turn away from himself the attention of Rome. He felt, however, that a menace hung forever over his head, and that the causes which brought about the second Macedonian war were preparing a third. The completion of the work Flamininus had begun in Greece demanded the destruction of the kingdom of Macedon. The senators of Rome were not the men to ask themselves whether this would be an honorable thing, it sufficed that it would be useful; and they had the art, often practised since their time, of making the victim appear the aggressor. Perseus had never conceived the mad design of playing the part of Hannibal, or of attempting that of Antiochus. He had not even at his command the resources possessed by his father at the time of Philip's earlier struggles against Rome. He could therefore have no other thought than that of organizing in silence and in secret the defence of his own territories. But this he did with energy.

Philip had left him a well-filled treasury; he improved its condition still further, and amassed means to pay 10,000 mercenaries for ten years. He had no fleet; to create one would have been equivalent to a declaration of war. This he did not venture; but he destroyed all his seaports which were not in a condition to defend themselves. He gathered in his arsenals weapons to equip three

PERSEUS.¹

¹ Diademed head of Perseus, from a tetradrachm.

armies, and also a store of provisions sufficient for ten years.¹ By his Thracian expeditions Philip had inured his army to war, and Perseus now kept them in training by a successful campaign against the Dolopians, who had proposed to place themselves under the protection of Rome. The Macedonian army at this time amounted to 45,000 able-bodied men. Finally, to gather all his people around him, Perseus opened the prisons, remitted unpaid taxes, and recalled all those who had been sent into exile. Edicts posted at Delphi, Delos, and in the temple of the Ithonian Athene promised them safety and the restitution of their possessions.

Philip had never been able to make the Greeks forget his cruelty. Perseus sent ambassadors to all their cities, asking for oblivion of the past and an honest alliance in the future. To secure the friendship of the Athenians and the Achaeans, he sent back to them those of their slaves to whom his father had given asylum in former years. Thessaly was incapable of self-government, and Perseus took advantage of her divisions, supporting the weak against the strong, the debtor against his creditor; and Macedonian garrisons were soon replaced in nearly

SELEUCUS IV.²PRUSIAS II.³

all the cities whence the Romans had expelled them. Epirus had turned against Philip with reluctance, and Perseus secretly restored the old alliance. The Boeotians had rejected the friendship of his father; they publicly accepted his in a treaty which was posted at Thebes, Delos, and Delphi. Had it not been for certain well-advised and judicious persons, Achaea would have done the same; and to Perseus the Aetolians addressed themselves in a case of disturbance. Gentius, a petty king of Illyria, alarmed by the neighborhood and the threats of the Romans,⁴ promised auxiliaries in exchange for money, and Cotys, King of the Thracian Odrysae, engaged to share all his perils.

¹ Livy, xlii. 12; Plutarch, *Aemilius*, 8.

² Diademed head of Seleucus IV., Philopator, from a tetradrachm.

³ Diademed head of Prusias II., from a tetradrachm.

⁴ See in Livy, xl. 42, the accusations of the praetor Duronius.

The King of Syria, Seleucus IV., had given Perseus his daughter in marriage, and a Rhodian fleet brought the bride to Macedon;¹ and Prusias, the son of Seleucus, was only waiting the opportunity to attack in Asia Eumenes, the favorite of the Senate. Meanwhile the latter had not failed to discover that the friendship of Rome was sometimes a very heavy burden,² and he was seeking to secure that of Antiochus IV. Rhodes, ill recompensed for her services, and detecting the agency of the Senate in the insurrection of the Lycians against her authority, was making overtures to Perseus; and even deputies from the Asiatic cities⁴ had secret interviews with him for several days in the Island Samothrace. At Carthage his ambassadors were received by the Senate at night in the temple of Aesculapius.⁵ And, finally, 30,000 Bastarnae were on the march, and the rumor of their advance struck terror in Italy.⁶

ANTIOCHUS IV.³

Thus the work that Hannibal had not been able to do, Perseus seemed likely to accomplish. Encouraged by the universal hatred aroused against Rome in consequence of her ambition, he advanced more boldly. That the Greeks might again behold the Macedonian ensigns, which they had not seen in twenty years, he came with an army, under pretext of offering sacrifices to Apollo, as far as the temple of Delphi. In Thrace and Illyria the Senate had allies, and Perseus plundered Abrupolis, and caused the Illyrian chief Arthetauros to be slain.⁷ Two Thebans strove to retain

¹ Polybius, xxvi. 5.

² Livy says of him and of Attalus: *Jam enim suspectos habebat Romanos*. He assured to Antiochus the throne which Heliodorus, the assassin of Seleucus, was endeavoring to usurp. The gains made by Philip and Perseus in Thrace had only the effect of attaching him to the Roman cause. However, he offered to sell Perseus his neutrality at the price of 500 talents, or his co-operation at 1,500. After a noble conflict of avarice, says Polybius (xxix. 2, 5, and 9), they separated, like two brave athletes, with equal advantage on both sides. But I am not disposed to believe this story of Polybius, who repeats common rumor, but gives no authentic fact.

³ Head of Antiochus IV., Epiphanes, from a tetradrachm.

⁴ Livy, xlii. 25. However, they had not the courage to declare themselves; in 170, deputies from a large number of them came to Rome. As to the Rhodians, the Senate informed them that the Lycians had not been given them as subjects, but as allies and friends. (Polybius, xxvi. 5.)

⁵ Livy, xli. 27.

⁶ A deputation of Dardanians came to ask assistance against them.

⁷ Livy, xlii. 13; and Polybius, xxvii.

Bocotia in the Roman Alliance, and they fell by assassination.

Eumenes, alarmed at this resurrection of Macedonian power,



COIN OF BOCOTIA.¹

hastened to denounce it at Rome. He made known in the Senate the preparations of Perseus, his intrigues to gain everywhere the popular party, to the detriment of the friends of Rome, and his crimes, real or supposed. "Seeing," he said, "that

you leave the field open in Greece, and that nothing has exhausted your patience, he believes that he shall be able to come into Italy without meeting a single soldier upon his way." Eumenes terminated this spiteful appeal by the habitual invocation of the gods.

Perseus on his part had sent ambassadors into Italy; they asked permission to reply to Eumenes, and did so with hauteur, almost with menace. "The King," they said, "is anxious to justify himself. He hopes that nothing in his acts or words will be regarded as hostile; at the same time, if a pretext of war is sought persistently, he will defend himself bravely. The favors of Mars are indiscriminate, and the issue of war is uncertain."

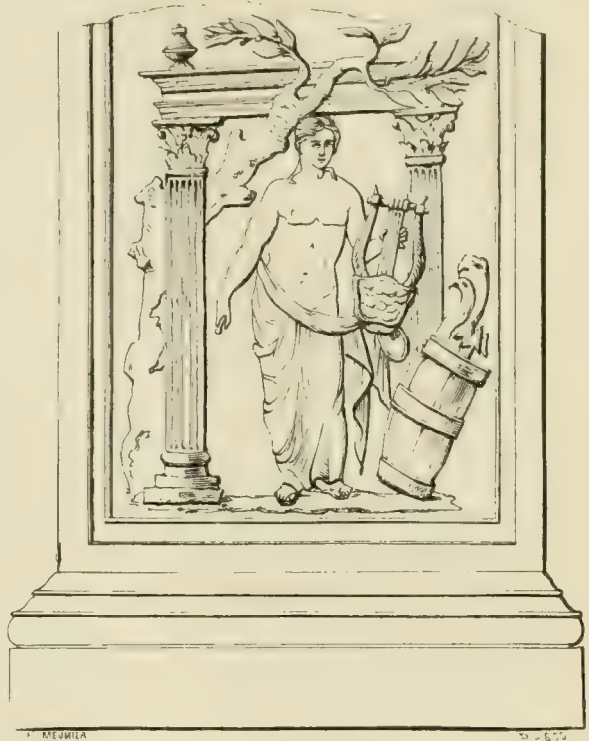
Eumenes, loaded with presents, among which were the consular insignia, the curule chair, and the ivory wand, returned home by way of Greece; and Perseus, certain that he would go up to Delphi for the purpose of offering sacrifice to Apollo, posted assassins upon the road. To give access to this famous temple, the Romans had built a fine road; the Greeks had never taken this trouble.² Above Cirrha the ascent is rapid, and at a certain spot near a ruin was a mere footpath, rendered even more narrow by a landslide. Four brigands concealed themselves behind the ruin, and awaited the King, who arrived, followed by his friends and his guards. As the party ascended they became more scattered, until, as he approached the ruin, Eumenes was alone with Panteleon, the Aetolian chief. At this moment the concealed assassins

¹ Bocotian buckler. On the reverse, a vase (*diota*): above it, an arrow, and on each side of the vase E E N O, a magistrate's name. Didrachm of the Bocotians.

² [The Greek system of roads, though not to be compared to the Roman, was very good, and travelling was quite easy. Roads to Delphi were very old, and well cared for. — *Ed.*]

rolled down great stones, one of which struck the King on the head, another on the shoulder; he fell fainting, and was believed dead. All fled, even the assassins, who did not suppose they needed to despatch their victim. They climbed up the mountain with all possible speed, and one of their number being unable to keep pace with the rest, they slew him, that he should not fall living into the hands of the guards, who, discovering their small number, had followed in pursuit.

The Aetolian, however, remained near the King, covering him with his body until the guards returned. Eumenes, still insensible, was carried on board his vessel, which sailed



ALTAR OF APOLLO.¹

at once for Corinth, and thence to Aegina, being carried across the isthmus; there the party stopped; and a profound silence was maintained in respect to what had occurred. The Pergamians, well aware from whose hand this blow had come, were too near neighbors to Macedon not to find it advisable to keep secret the results of the injury or the prospects of recovery. The report of the King's death soon reached Pergamus; and Attalus, his brother, hastened to claim the kingdom and the hand of the Queen, his sister-in-law.

A Roman commissioner, Valerius, was at this time in Greece.

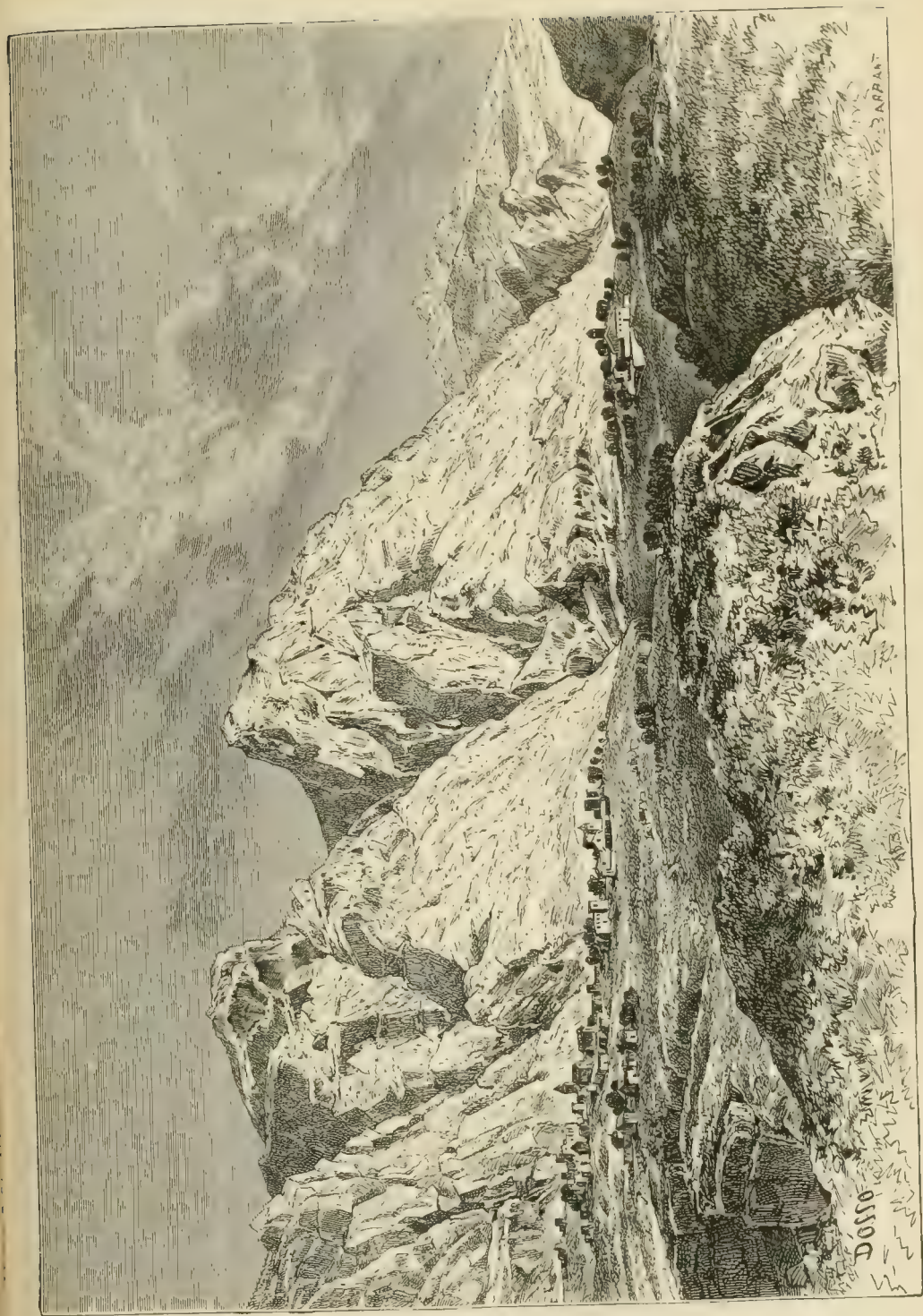
¹ Bas-relief in the *Villa Albani*, published by P. Piranesi (vol. ii. p. 235, pl. 98). The god holds his lyre, and at his side is the *corymbos*, or box containing his arrows and bows, one of which appears to end in a raven's head, and the other in a griffin's. Another bas-relief, in the Museo Pio Clementino (vol. iv. pl. 43) represents the *corymbos* carried on the shoulder like a quiver.

He returned to Rome to report the event to the Senate, bringing with him two witnesses against the King of Macedon. The first of these was the woman who usually lodged Perseus when he came to Delphi, and who, upon a receipt of a letter from him, had put at the disposal of his agents the house near which the crime had been committed. The second, Rammius, of Brundisium, at whose house were usually entertained Romans of distinction on their way from Italy into Greece, and envoys from foreign nations, testified that Perseus had sent for him, and had made him the most liberal offers if he would agree to poison such Romans lodged in his house as should be designated to him by the King.

Perseus, roughly handled by Livy, has naturally had apologists to the uttermost. I cannot admit that the assassination of Eumenes was a Roman fiction, or that it was a venture of obscure bandits. To suppress the King of Pergamus was a most useful measure, and one, besides, affording Perseus the sweets of revenge, — two motives, in those times, amply sufficient. In my judgment we should accept against him the unsuccessful attempt at Delphi, while conceding that Rammius, who happened to be in Greece, returning from a journey into Macedon, invented a falsehood to account for his presence at Pella, to curry favor with Rome and to advance his own interests. For, in accordance with Roman usage, this *delatio* would bring him large recompense.¹

Hostilities were to commence in the year 172. An incident, curious in the constitutional history of Rome, suspended them. The consul, M. Popillius had, in the preceding year, and without declaration of war, attacked the Statielli [in the Maritime Alps]; 10,000 were slain, and as many more sold into slavery. As at this time many military chiefs believed themselves at liberty to do whatever they pleased in their provinces, the Senate found it opportune to give one of them a lesson. The condition of affairs, moreover, was such that it was imprudent to provoke all the mountaineers of Liguria. They ordered Popillius, therefore, to restore to the surviving Statielli their liberty, and also the possessions of which they had been deprived. This was an affront to the consul, and one which the Senate had no right to inflict; for if

¹ Livy, xlii. 15-17. Perseus caused a declaration to be made to the Senate that the charge was calumnious.



PLATEAU OF CASTRI (DELPHI) AND MOUNT PARNASSUS.

he had been cruel, he had at least acted within the limits of his *imperium*. To the tribunes alone belonged the right to summon him on the expiration of his term of office before the people, who might then punish him with a fine or with banishment. The *senatus-consultum*, therefore, was a new encroachment made by the Conscript Fathers upon the consular authority. Popillius reproached them with it in an assembly which he called together in the temple of Bellona; he condemned the praetor who had made the proposal of the fine, demanded the suppression of the decree, and, instead of a vote of censure, a formal thanksgiving to the gods for his victory. The year passed without the settlement of this difficulty. A year later, the new consuls, of whom one was the brother of Popillius, renewed the discussion, and the irritated Senate decreed that for the year 172 the consular province should be the poor Liguria, and not the wealthy Macedon. This delay gave time to complete the preparations, planned on a large scale, and the negotiations which were to isolate Macedon. The world remained, therefore, a year longer anxiously awaiting that struggle which should again raise the problem apparently settled by the victory of Zama.

Would Perseus take the offensive, and, in the hope of rousing Greece, come forth from those Macedonian mountains which seemed impregnable ramparts? No doubt the audacity of this course would have made it, for a time, successful, and his army would have been augmented by some few volunteers.¹ But the kings and the nations who, in secret, so ardently desired his success, would not have dared to furnish him with a single soldier. Antiochus forgot his brother, retained a hostage on the banks of the Tiber, to dispute with Philometor the possession of Coele-Syria, and sent to Rome an embassy with sumptuous presents for the temples, and servile language for the Senate. Masinissa, who had just deprived Carthage of a fourth province containing seventy cities, was securing the complaisant silence of Rome at the price of important assistance; but not to expose themselves to the risk of

¹ Livy, xlii. 25. *Omnes reges civitatesque . . . converterant animos in curam . . . belli* (*ibid.* 29). *In liberis gentibus plebs ubique omnis . . . erat ad regem Macedonasque inclinata* (*ibid.* 30). But the aristocratic party, everywhere sustained by Rome, was also everywhere the stronger.

kindling a war in Africa just as the one in Macedon was about to begin, the Numidian was forbidden to drive the Carthaginians to extremities. Eumenes had persuaded Ariarathus to enter into alliance with Rome;¹ Rhodes dared not refuse vessels to the Senate; Ptolemy offered them. Cotys, King of the Odrysae, was favorable to Perseus, but other Thracian chiefs sided with Rome; Gentius, a cruel and profligate prince, demanded immense pay for a sham assistance,² and the Bastarnae demanded for foot-soldiers, five pieces of gold per man, for cavalry, ten, and 1,000 for the officer in command. These extortionate demands justly gave rise to distrust in the King's mind, and he permitted the departure of auxiliaries whose fidelity, as well as their courage, was entirely venal.³ And so, when the time for the struggle came, Perseus was alone.

Early in the year 171 the Senate at last issued the following decree: "For the safety and the welfare of the Republic, the consuls, at the first meeting of the comitia centuriata, will make the following proposition: Inasmuch as Perseus, contrary to the treaty made with his father and renewed by himself, has taken arms against our allies, has devastated their territory and seized upon their cities, and inasmuch as he has collected arms, soldiers, and ships to commence war against the Roman people, may it please the people, if this King does not give satisfaction, that war be made upon him." The Assembly, according to custom, accepted without debate the proposition of the Senate. Two legions were at once levied, their effective force being raised from 5,200 men to 6,000 infantry and 300 cavalry. The contingent of the allies was also raised, and fixed at 16,000 infantry and 1,400 horse. The two legions therefore consisted of 28,000 foot and 2,000 horse. The disproportion between the two services was excessive; but the war

¹ Livy, xxxviii. 39; xlii. 19. Ariarathus, of Cappadocia, sent of his own accord his second son as hostage to Rome. We may observe, as a trait of diplomatic manners at this time, that the Senate made a present to the ambassador of 100,000 *ases*, that a house was provided for him, and the entire expenses of his establishment were defrayed during his stay in Italy. This was an obligation resulting from the *hospitium publicum*; Roman envoys would have been similarly received in Cappadocia.

² Polybius, xxix. 7. This petty King, whose importance has been strangely exaggerated, did not even fight one battle in defence of his territory, which Anicius captured in a few days. The auxiliaries furnished by Cotys were 1,000 horsemen and the same number of infantry.

³ Plutarch, *Aemil.*, 12, *seq.*; Livy, xlv. 26. [The adverse view of Perseus attributes this declining of aid to mere personal stinginess.—*Ed.*]

was to be carried on in a mountainous country where cavalry would not be needed. Quite a number of foreign auxiliaries, Ligurians, Cretans, and Numidians, were formed into a corps of light troops, whose service might be very useful. Masinissa even sent elephants. A *senatus-consultum*, ratified by a *plebiscitum*, decreed that for the war in Macedon all the legionary tribunes should be appointed by the consul.

Recruiting was easy. Since the armies in Greece and Asia¹ had been seen to return with great booty, wars in the East had become popular. Only one difficulty arose. With the desire of organizing this army most thoroughly, a *senatus-consultum* had directed the enrolment of former centurions not over fifty years of age. Many of these officers, not having obtained the rank to which they believed themselves entitled,² complained to the tribunes of the people; the affair coming before an assembly over which the consul presided, one of them asked permission to speak. His address will show what had been for half a century the life of a plebeian. Elsewhere³ we will show what inferences must be drawn concerning the condition of the people resulting from these long wars. "Romans," he said, "I am Spurius Ligustinus, of the Crustumian tribe, and sprung from the Sabine country. My father left me one acre of land and a small cottage, where I now dwell. As soon as I came to man's estate, my father married me to his brother's daughter, who brought me nothing but her virtue,—except, indeed, a degree of fruitfulness that would have better suited a wealthier family. We have six sons and two daughters; of our sons, four are grown up to manhood. I became a soldier in the consulate of Publius Sulpicius and Caius Aurelius. In the army which was sent over into Macedon, I served as a common soldier against Philip for two years; and in the third year Titus Quintius Flamininus, in reward of my good conduct, gave me command of the tenth company of *hastati*. When Philip and the Macedonians were subdued, and we were brought back to Italy and discharged, I immediately went as a volunteer with

¹ *Quia locupletes videbant qui . . . stipendia fecerunt.* (Livy, xlii. 32.)

² Among the sixty centurions of a legion, there was an order in which each had his exact place; for example, the *primipilares* were regarded as having a post of eminent distinction.

³ In chap. xxxvi.

the consul Marcus Porcius into Spain. This commander judged me deserving of being set to command the *principes*. A third time I entered as a volunteer, in the army which was sent against the Aetolians and King Antiochus; I afterward made two campaigns in Spain. . . . Four times . . . was first centurion of my corps; thirty-four times was honored by my commanders with presents for bravery. I have received six civic crowns, I have fulfilled twenty-two years of service in the army, and am upwards of fifty years of age. Moreover, as I can supply you with four soldiers instead of myself, it were reasonable that I should be discharged. But I wish you to consider these words merely as a statement of my case; as to offering anything as an excuse from service, that is what I shall never do, so long as any officer enlisting troops shall believe me fit for it. And now, fellow-soldiers, you too ought to be amenable to the authority of the Senate and consuls, and to think every post honorable in which you can act for the defence of the commonwealth."

These patriotic words, whose authenticity, at least in substance, is unquestionable, had doubtless been prepared by the consul. The plan succeeded; the centurions withdrew their complaint, and the generals had experienced men to take command of their cohorts.

Religious precautions were joined to military preparations. One of the consuls received from the Senate the order to make a new treaty with Heaven, vowing "to Jupiter, the good and great, ten days of games, and to all the gods offerings, if the Republic should remain for ten years in the same condition as now."

The Senate had at first sent across the Adriatic only a praetor and 5,000 men. But seven commissioners preceded the army; they traversed Greece, where their mere presence sufficed to destroy the effect of six years of prudence and of concessions,—a clear proof that Perseus could not, as has been suggested, have trusted to this anchor for his fortunes. In Thessaly, all the cities not occupied by the Macedonians gave hostages, who were shut up in Larissa. In Aetolia, where sanguinary dissensions¹ deprived the people of what little strength remained to them, the Roman

¹ See in Livy (xli. 25) the massacre of the eighty chief men. *Idem furor et Cretenses lacerabat.*

envoy obtained the appointment of a partisan as *strategus*, and sent away into Italy all who were known as enemies of Rome; in Boeotia they broke up the league, and recovered all the cities to the Roman alliance; in the Peloponnesus the Achaeans, for a time undecided, promised at last to send 1,000 men to the defence of Chalcis. Acarnania and even Epirus showed a promising eagerness. From the recesses of his mountains, Perseus watched these negotiations of the Roman envoys, and he permitted Greece to be filched from him without risking a battle, as if she were not worth the honor of a struggle. Instead of acting, he negotiated; and after having exasperated his implacable foe, he threw away the one chance that he had, not of conquering, but of falling gloriously, after having perhaps for a while shaken the world.

While the praetor with his small force was taking up a position in Dassaretia, Perseus solicited a truce which Marcius, the head of the Roman deputation, hastened to grant him, congratulating himself on being able to deceive the King by this allurement of negotiating; for the truce was barren of advantage to Perseus, while it gave the Romans time to finish their preparations. "This is Punic craft," old senators said. "Not so," replied the younger, "but only good statesmanship." Whatever Livy's legend may say, this people had never been so chivalrous that Marcius should seem to them too crafty. At Rome the same conduct prevailed. The deputies of the King were kept waiting five months for an answer. When, finally, they were admitted into the presence of the Senate, in the temple of Bellona, they inquired, in the name of Perseus, why these armies were on their way towards Macedon, and promised on the King's part satisfaction if they should be withdrawn. Reply was made them that the consul Licinius would soon be in Macedon with an army; that to him the King must address himself if he wished to offer satisfaction; and that, in respect to themselves, they had no reason to remain any longer in Rome, and must before the end of eleven days have quitted Italy. An order was at the same time issued to expel all Macedonians resident in the peninsula, allowing them thirty days to depart. Following them closely, the consul Licinius landed near Apollonia; without opposition he traversed Epirus, Athamania, and the defiles of Gomphi; Perseus was awaiting him

at the foot of Mount Ossa, at the entrance of the Vale of Tempe, the only road from Thessaly into Macedon. This long, narrow gorge, through which the Peneus with difficulty makes its way between the lower spurs of Ossa on one side and Olympus on the other, was in ancient times extremely famous for its picturesque beauty and savage grandeur. At Sycurium, near the entrance into this romantic gorge, the soldiers of Perseus and those of Rome met for the first time. The advantage was not with the Romans. Licinius got the worst in a skirmish, which would have become



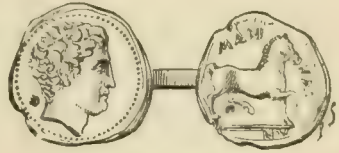
LARISSA (PRESENT CONDITION).¹

a general engagement if Perseus had advanced his phalanx. Recrossing the Peneus during the night, the Roman general left on the other bank, dead or prisoners, more than 2,400 of his troops.

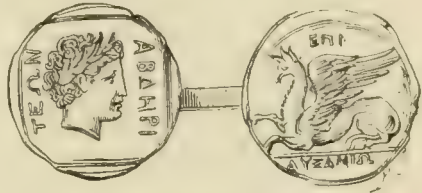
Greece applauded this first success. But Perseus stood still and asked for peace, offering tribute and the relinquishment of his conquests. The defeated consul demanded that Perseus should place himself and his kingdom at the disposal of the

¹ Baron von Stackelberg, *Picturesque Views in Greece*. Larissa is at the present day decimated by fever, arising from the marshes of the Salambria; and notwithstanding its 30,000 inhabitants, it is a dead, or at least a dying, city.

Senate. He was not able, however, to justify this arrogant tone, being a second time repulsed, near Phalana; and he withdrew into winter quarters in Boeotia, after the capture of a few Thessalian cities. A naval victory and successes in Thrace terminated this campaign favorably for Perseus. The odious conduct of the consul and of Lucretius, the praetor, who pillaged the allies shamelessly, increased the discontent; many districts of Epirus declared openly for the King of Macedon,² and Aetolia and Acarnania were in revolt.

COIN OF PHALANA.¹

A new consul, A. Hostilius, as incapable as his predecessor, now arrived. In traversing Epirus, he narrowly escaped capture. The campaign corresponded to this beginning; Hostilius began with

COIN OF ABDERA³

a defeat, and wasted the year in seeking an entrance into Macedon. Everywhere Perseus, impreguably entrenched, opposed him. The two lieutenants who attacked by sea and from the Illyrian side were not more successful. One signalized himself only by the sack of Abdera; Claudius, the other, posted at Lychnidus, lost 6,000 men in an ill-conducted attempt upon Uscana. As soon as he was aware of the premature retreat of the Romans into their winter quarters, Perseus hastened to chastise the Dardanians, of whom he destroyed 10,000 men, and he employed the winter in capturing several places in Illyria, making 6,000 Romans prisoners.⁴ It was his intention to close the approaches to Macedon on this side, and perhaps secure the alliance of Gentius. The latter, above all things, required money; and this Perseus refused to give. Epirus appeared to be

¹ Man's head. On the reverse, the name of the inhabitants of the city, and a free horse. Didrachm of Phalana.

² It has been said that the whole of Epirus declared for Perseus, but the Molossi arrested his advance on the banks of the Aöus in 170, and Claudius was able to levy 6,000 Thesprotian and Athamanian auxiliaries. (Livy, xliii. 21.) Marcius bought from the Epirotes, in 169, the provisions necessary for the army in Macedon. (Livy, xlv. 16.)

³ Laurelled head of Apollo and the people's name, ΑΒΔΗΡΕΩΝ. On the reverse, ΕΠΙ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΩ, magistrate's name, a griffin couchant. Tetradrachm of Abdera.

⁴ Livy, xliii. 20.

in revolt; he hoped to involve Aetolia also, and he advanced as far as Stratus with 10,000 men. But the Romans were already in possession of the city.

This activity and these successes were an invitation to the undecided to make common cause with Perseus; but it was at this very moment that embassies to Rome were abundant.

Athens, Miletus, Alabanda, Crete, all renewed their offers of service and their gifts. Lampsacus solicited the title of ally. The Carthaginians had offered 1,500,000 bushels of corn; Masinissa promised

an equal quantity, and moreover 1,200 Numidians and twelve elephants, having before this sent twenty-two elephants and 2,000 auxiliaries.² Perseus was still isolated.



COIN OF ALABANDA.¹

However, thanks to the incapacity of the generals, this war was becoming serious; anxiety was increasing at Rome; senators were forbidden to go more than a mile away from the city. Sixty thousand men were levied in Italy, and the new consul Marcius brought with him considerable reinforcements to fill the gaps made in the army by the furloughs which the consuls and praetors had sold. To neutralize the effect of the exactions of which the Greeks had been victims, he caused a decree of the Senate to precede him, forbidding anything to be furnished to the generals beyond what the Senate had ordered.

The Cambunian Mountains and Mount Olympus protect Macedonia on the south, from which direction Marcius decided to make his advance; and the barrier is a formidable one. Some of his officers advised an advance by way of Pythium, between Olympus and the Cambunian Mountains; others, to turn these mountains, where Perseus had accumulated the means of defence, and enter the kingdom through the district of Elymeia, at the pass of the Forty-Fords (Sarandaporos).

¹ Head of Apollo. On the reverse, ΑΛΑΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ, name of the people, and a magistrate's name, ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ, Pegasus, and a thunderbolt. 'Tetradrachm of Alabanda.

² Rhodes, Samos, Chalcædon, and, from the Black Sea, Heracleia Pontica, had sent vessels. (Livy, xlii. 56.)

The road from Pythium led to the defile of Petra, defended by a fort built upon a rocky peak, above which towered the summits of Olympus, 10,000 feet high. It would have been imprudent to advance with the entire army into gorges so easy of defence, and so far away from depots established in Thessaly. From Olossona the road is shorter into Pieria by way of the



MT. OLYMPUS AND THE DEFILE OF TEMPE (FROM M. HEUZEY).

Kanalia, but it was a pass difficult for an army to attain, and from it the descent was still harder; for it would be necessary to follow down the course of four mountain torrents, which had formed impassable ravines upon the eastern slope. Seen from below, these gorges showed the great mountain cleft, as it were, from base to summit. As regards the defile of Tempe, a traveller might indeed easily go through, but not a legion, if the smallest body of troops guarded it; and for a length of five miles a beast

of burden would scarcely find room to pass through with its load.¹

These natural defences, accumulated along the road by which the Romans were advancing, seemed almost to forbid them entrance into Macedon. Besides, all the footpaths were guarded. Perseus, with a skill which has not been properly appreciated, had posted 10,000 men upon the Volustana, commanding the two defiles of Sarandaporos and Petra. He had posted 12,000 with Hippias near Lake Ascuris, probably upon Mount Sipoto, in order to intercept the passage by footpaths over the mountain. Furthermore, he had thrown troops into the Vale of Tempe, and was himself at Dium, behind these defences, to strengthen them wherever they might prove weak; and to avoid being attacked in the rear by sailors from the Roman fleet, he had covered the coast with his light cavalry.

Marcus for some time hesitated as to the point at which he should attempt to break through this formidable line; he finally decided upon an enterprise whose very boldness would give it the most important results if it should prove successful. He resolved to march around the vast marsh Ascuris with his elephants, baggage, and a month's provisions, and to ascend the plateau Octolophos, or the Eight Summits, one of which now bears the name, "the Mount of Transfiguration," and is 4,900 feet in height. "Thence," says the historian, "all the country was visible from Phila to Dium, and all the coast of Pieria."² While the consul was crossing the mountains, the praetor with his fleet was to threaten the coast and make descents upon it. Marcus had 37,000 men; he hastened with a part of this force against the division of Hippias, with the purpose of crushing it, if possible, or at least of holding it in check. A body of picked men moving around Lake Ascuris opened to him on the south the road towards Rapsani, which was defended by the fortress Lapathus; another by

¹ Livy, xliv. 6; following Polybius, who accompanied the army as deputy from the Achaeans, and from whom Livy borrows his exact description of these localities.

² M. Heuzey, who has been over the road by which Marcus made this ascent, and believes that he has found the very site of the Roman camp, confirms the words of Livy. "From this height," he says, "you see below you all the sea-coast; in the distance you can discern the vast curve of the Gulf of Salonica, and the city with its walls on the farther shore; then the long points of Chalcidice, and even in fine weather Mount Athos." (*Le Mont Olympe*, p. 11.) From M. Heuzey's learned work we have borrowed the plan on p. 163.

way of the west attacked the Macedonians, who were posted on the heights. For two days fighting went on, while the King dared not quit the sea-coast to take advantage of the dangerous position in which the Romans were placed. The latter by sheer courage extricated themselves at last. While Hippias, under the stress of this fierce attack, was massing his forces for a desperate resistance, Marcius, concealing his movements behind a cordon of troops, threw himself along precipices and through roads upon the eastern slope of Olympus, whence with extreme danger and difficulty he made his way down to the plains of Pieria. His lines of communication had been cut, but he had forced the passage, and conquered Nature.

It was, indeed, over Nature that his victory had been gained. "The Romans," says the learned traveller, who step by step followed Marcius among these mountains, "came down precipices into Macedon. I have never seen anything more savage and grand than the slopes of the lower Olympus, which they passed; an immense forest envelopes in its dark shadows a region all crags and precipices. Down the ravines, which are wooded to the very bottom, rush noisy brooks. The vigor and variety of the vegetation are incredible,—trees of the plain, which you are surprised to meet at this altitude, evergreen oaks, and especially enormous plane-trees, rise along the banks of the mountain torrents into the very midst of the chestnuts and almost of the firs. It is easy to understand how in traversing these vast forests a whole army might be concealed from the enemy, who believed them retreating. . . . These woods are what remain of the forest Callipeuce of Livy. . . . From Skotina,¹ at the foot of the mountain, I strove to picture to myself the great opening cut by the axe, and all the disorder of this army tumbling over, as Livy tells us, rather than descending. The cavalry, the baggage, the beasts of burden, which caused the main difficulty, went forward with the elephants, the latter being made with infinite trouble to slide down upon inclined planes; the legions followed. From Skotina it took us at least four hours to reach the foot of the lowest

¹ M. Heuzey is of opinion that the descent was made in the direction of the present villages of Skotina and Pandelcimone. This latter, as it were, hangs amid the chestnut-trees above the Turkish fortress of Platamona, the ancient Heracleion of Pieria.

slopes. There upon the edge of the plain were some hillocks covered with olive-trees and the ruins of a little monastery of Panaghia. This is the region where the Roman consul, after three days spent in the descent, at last encamped, the infantry occupying the hillocks, the cavalry in front, on the edge of the plain."

A strong rear-guard left upon the heights had concealed from the troops of Hippias this bold movement. And so in ten days from the time when he had received the army from the hands of his predecessor, Marcius had made his plans, collected his provisions, fought two battles upon Olympus, and forced his way through into Macedon. It is a brilliant page in military history.

During these operations Perseus was at Dium with half of his troops. Alarmed at sight of the legions,¹ he abandoned the strong position he occupied, and fell back towards Pydna, committing the unpardonable mistake of calling in the troops which were guarding the defiles. Instantly Marcius seized them; and with this his safety was secured. Re-assured in regard to his communications, the consul advanced upon Dium. But a scarcity of provisions and the approach of cold weather brought him to a stand. He ceased operations, and boldly went into winter quarters in Pieria.

To secure himself from all molestation, and at the same time to keep open his communications with Thessaly, whence he expected his supplies, Marcius caused the little towns guarding the Vale of Tempe — Phila, among others, where Perseus had gathered large magazines of corn — to be seized by his lieutenants. Finding himself too much exposed at Dium, where the plain of Pieria begins to widen, he concentrated his forces behind the Enipeus, thus securing a good line of defence for the winter. "This torrent," says Livy, "descends from a gorge of Mount Olympus. Though a little stream in the summer, the winter rains make it an impetuous torrent. It rushes over the rocks, forming furious eddies, and by hollowing out its channel, renders the banks on

¹ Livy maintains that in his alarm he sent two of his friends to Pella and Thessalonica with orders to burn his ships and throw his treasures into the sea. His situation was not desperate to this degree; and as Livy adds that, ashamed of his terror, he made away with the two persons to whom he had given these orders, it is safe to class this narrative with the others put in circulation by the Romans in respect to his cruelty, avarice, and cowardice.

either side both high and steep." The inhabitants call it Vythos [Βύθος], the *Abyss*; and it well deserves that name.

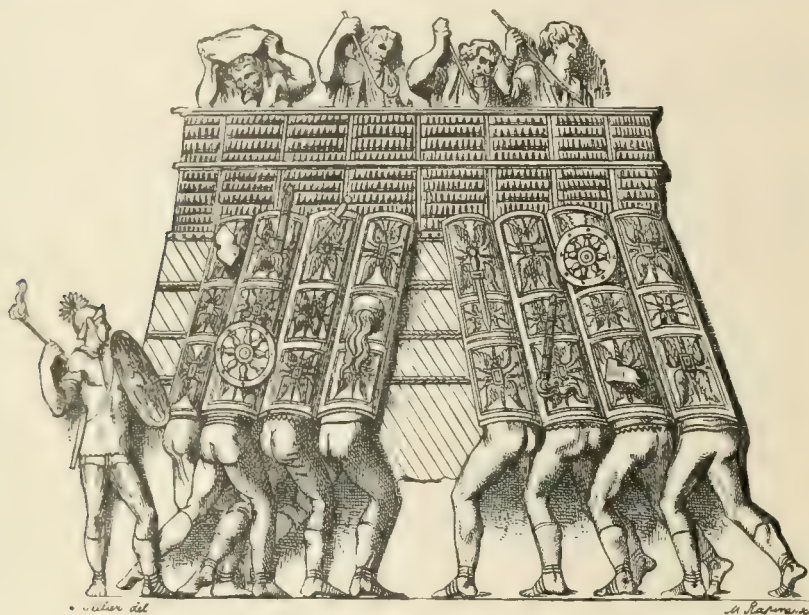
To the south of this furious torrent one place only, Heracleion, still remained in the possession of the Macedonians. To capture it the Romans employed a method of attack familiar to them, which has not hitherto been described in this history. In the games of the circus the young men occupied themselves with military exercises, one of which consisted in forming a roof of shields, borne by sixty or eighty of their number. The outside rows knelt, those in the middle stooped, and the front rank stood upright, all holding their shields over their heads and close together, the whole making an inclined plane, upon which two or three armed men leaped and fought there; this was the *testudo*. The walls of Heracleion were low; the Roman commander ordered the formation of the *testudo*. Then the soldiers mounted upon this *testudo*, cleared the ramparts of their defenders; after which the town was readily taken.

The rumor of these successes was beginning to arrive in Rome, when Rhodian deputies, presenting themselves before the Senate, made declaration that, ruined by this war, they wished to see it at an end; and that if Rome or Perseus refused to bring it to a close, they should determine upon what measures might be needful in respect to whichever of the two adversaries opposed the restoration of peace.¹ For sole answer there was read to them a decree of the Senate, setting free their subjects, the Carians and the Lycians. Eumenes also, whose pride had been wounded, had just abandoned the Roman camp, and Prusias presented himself as a mediator. It was clearly time to bring the Macedonian affair to a close. The comitia raised Paulus Aemilius to the consulate.

The new consul was a man of antique valor, a man of letters moreover, as were many of the nobles of Rome, a friend of the civilization and the arts of Greece, although a devout observer of

¹ [This extraordinary move of the Rhodians was induced by the Machiavellian policy of the consul Marcius, who suggested to them this mediation for the purpose of putting them in the power and under the indignation of Rome. It also appears from Appian (*Maced.* 12-16) that this consul's position on the Enipeus was over against a strong position of Perseus, which barred all further advance of the Romans. Thus the appointment of Paulus Aemilius was on military grounds expedient. — *Ed.*]

ancient customs; strict with the soldiers and the people, indifferent to popularity gained in the Forum, and, a merit becoming every day more rare, a man of principle. "No one," says an old writer, who by this very utterance makes a grave charge against his contemporaries, "no one would have dared offer him money." In war he had not always been successful; the Lusitanians had defeated him, and after his first consulate (182) the Ligurians had well nigh destroyed his entire army. But he had avenged



A TESTUDO.¹

himself upon the former by a victory in which he slew 18,000 men, and he had compelled the latter to swear at Rome that they would never again take arms except by order of the Senate; and these two campaigns had established his military reputation. Later he had solicited a second consulship, but in vain; and from that time, retiring from public life, had devoted himself to the education of his children. He was now elected consul, without solicitation on his part; and in spite of his sixty years, he displayed the activity of a young and careful general.

¹ Bas-relief from the column of Antoninus. Body of soldiers making the *testudo*, advancing to assail a place or perhaps to set fire to wooden ramparts.

Gentius, deceived by a promise of 300 talents, had at last declared against Rome. Eumenes had opened secret negotiations with Perseus; the Rhodians had almost gone over publicly to his side, and the Macedonian fleet ruled the Aegean Sea and the Cyclades. But Perseus had just deprived himself of the support of 20,000 Gauls whom he had summoned from the banks of the Danube; he had refused them the promised pay, at a moment when he would have done well to double it to obtain their help, even though that assistance might have become a danger after their joint victory.

Having ascertained all these facts, Paulus Aemilius arranged his plan. With the army of Marcius he proposed to attack Macedon in front and drive the King before him; with the fleet, Octavius would form the right wing, and after sweeping the Aegean Sea, would menace the coasts with the purpose of disturbing Perseus from the rear; Amicius, with the two Illyrian legions, would form the left wing, and having crushed Gentius, would fall back through Dassaretia into Macedon. Eighty thousand men, at the least estimate,¹ were to be in the field; and Licinius, the other consul, held in readiness an army on the shore of the Adriatic to hasten, if necessary, to the help of his colleague.

Before leaving Rome, Paulus Aemilius had taken occasion to address certain counsels to the people, which show us in ancient Rome the same habits of thought and action which prevail in modern capitals. After promising to use every means in his power to bring the war to a conclusion becoming the majesty of the Roman people, he went on to say: "Do you give full credit to whatever I shall write to you or to the Senate; but do not by your credulity encourage mere rumors, of which no man shall appear as the responsible author. In every circle, and truly at every table, there are people who lead armies into Macedon, who know where the camp ought to be placed, what posts ought to be occupied by troops, when and through what pass Macedon should be entered, what magazines should be formed, how provisions should be conveyed by land and sea, when it is proper to engage the enemy, when to lie quiet. And they not only

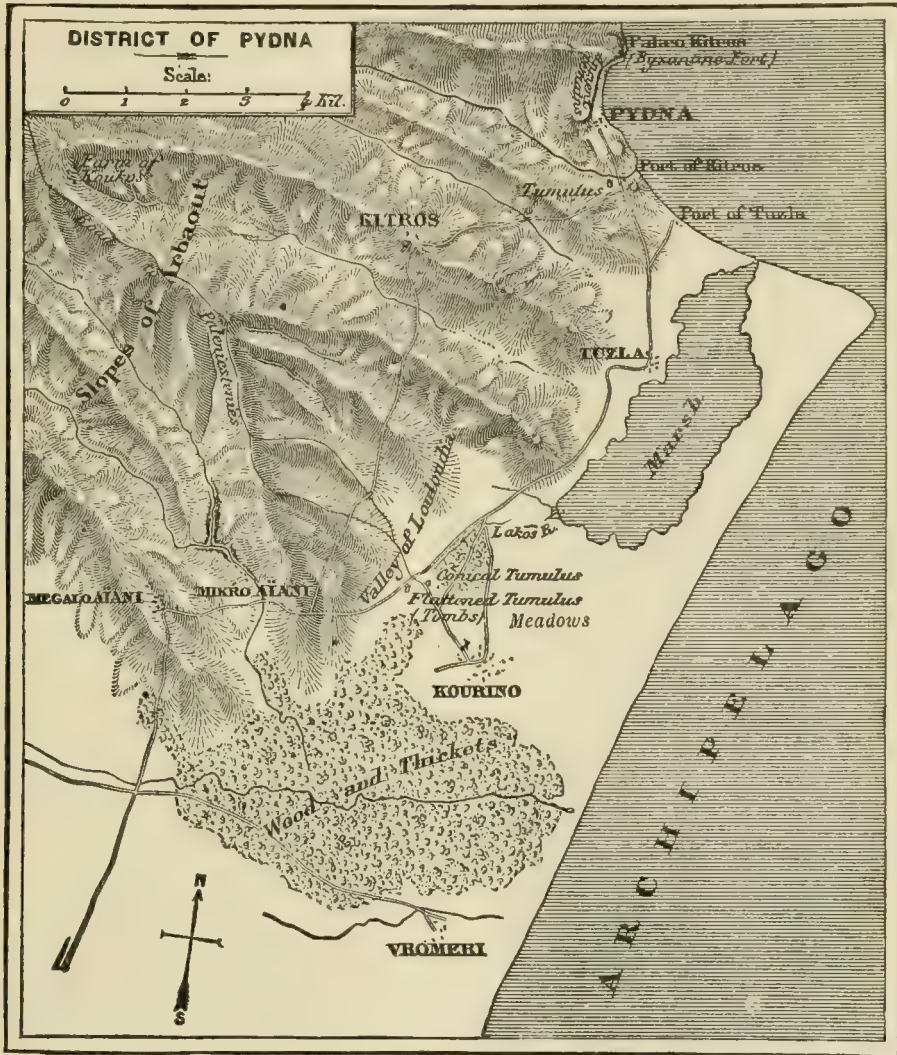
¹ Polybius and Plutarch (*Aemil.* 12) say 100,000; but these included garrisons.

determine what is best to be done, but if anything is done in any other manner than what they have pointed out, they arraign the consul as if he were on his trial. These are great impediments to those who have the management of affairs, for every one cannot encounter injurious reports with the same constancy and firmness of mind as Fabius did. I am not one of those who think that commanders ought never to receive advice; on the contrary, I should deem that man more proud than wise who did everything on his own single judgment If, therefore, any one thinks himself qualified, respecting the war which I am to conduct, to give advice which may prove advantageous to the public, let him not refuse his assistance to the state, but let him come with me into Macedon; he shall be furnished by me with a ship, a horse, a tent, and even with the costs of his journey. But if he thinks this too much trouble, and prefers the repose of a city life to the toils of war, let him not on land assume the office of a pilot. The city in itself furnishes abundance of topics for conversation: let it set limits to its passion for talking, and rest assured that we shall be content with such counsels as shall be framed within our camp."

In camp Paulus Aemilius first occupied himself with restoring Roman discipline to its former vigor. He filled the soldiers' idle time with useful labors, and brought military exercises again into repute. To increase the vigilance of the sentinels, he forbade them when on duty to carry their shields. The general's orders had hitherto been proclaimed aloud, so that often the enemy could overhear them: he now directed that the military tribunes should communicate to the centurions personally, and thus they should be passed through the army. The advanced guards had hitherto been kept on duty all day; he now ordered them to be relieved at noon, so that in case of attack the enemy should find at the outposts fresh and active men.

Perseus was encamped behind the Enipeus in the strong position we have described. By a feigned attack, kept up for two days, the consul endeavored to keep him there, while Scipio Nasica, with a picked force of 11,000 men, returned into the Vale of Tempe, and making a circuit around the foot of Mount Olympus, arrived by way of Pythium at the defile of Petra. The King had

had his suspicions awakened, and 12,000 Macedonians barred the road. They were poor troops, the better soldiers having been retained in the phalanx, confronting Paulus Aemilius; they had not even the ability to select advantageous positions, and Nasica easily got the better of them. He followed sharply upon the

ENVIRONS OF PYDNA.¹

fugitives' track, and made a capture of the fort Petra, which they did not even attempt to defend. Thence he came down into the

¹ Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, Plan D.

plain of Katerini; and Perseus, seeing himself between two fires, broke up his camp on the banks of the Enipeus, and retired to Pydna, to the northward of Katerini.

A plain, most advantageous for the phalanx, stretched before the city, and Perseus, who could no longer fall back without shame and disaster, resolved to offer battle. The night before the action an eclipse of the moon alarmed the Macedonians; by order of the consul, Sulpicius Gallus explained the phenomenon to the legions (June 22, 68).¹ A few days before, the army



FUNERAL COUCH IN MARBLE FOUND IN A TOMB AT PYDNA.²

had been suffering from thirst; judging from the slope of the mountains, he caused the soldiers to dig in the sand, and soon an abundant supply was obtained. The soldiers believed their leader inspired, and loudly clamored to be led against the enemy. But Paulus Aemilius, shut up between the sea and the mountains, with an army of 43,000 men before him, was unwilling to trust anything to chance. It was not until he had thoroughly fortified his camp that he felt himself ready to risk a decisive action.³ The Macedonians attacked with fury, and it was with

¹ This eclipse was not, as is usually asserted, predicted the evening before; it was explained on the day after it occurred. (Cic., *de Rep.* i. 15.) Hipparchus, the great astronomer, a contemporary of Paulus Aemilius, could have explained it, but not Gallus.

² Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 20, fig. 1.

³ According to M. Heuzey, Nasica, descending the Valley of the Mavroneri on the day before the battle, rejoined the consul, who had come by the way of Sphigi. Paulus Aemilius

surprise and a kind of terror that the consul observed the firmness of the serried ranks and the bristling rampart of outstretched pikes. He, however, concealed his apprehension; and to inspire confidence among his troops, he moved about without wearing either helmet or cuirass.

At first the phalanx overthrew everything that opposed it; but being drawn on by success to a distance from the place which Perseus had assigned to it, the inequalities of the ground and the movement of the march created gaps in the ranks, into which Paulus Aemilius threw his men. From this time it was as it had been at Cynoscephalæ; the shaken and broken phalanx lost its strength. Instead of a united attack, there were a thousand separate conflicts; the whole phalanx, that is to say, 20,000 men, were left upon the field, and the stream traversing it ran red with blood till the next day. The Romans confessed to a loss of but 100 men, — which is, however, improbable; and they made 11,000 prisoners. Pydna was given over to sack and pillage: its very ruins have disappeared; but, as is natural in such a place, tombs mark the spot where stood the flourishing city, and the memory of the day when Macedon fell lives yet confusedly in the legend, graceful, and yet terrible, which they tell at Palæo-Kitros. In the place which was unquestionably the scene of the main action, lilies of a peculiar species carpet the soil; the people of the country call it “the valley of flowers (*Louloudia*),” and they assert that these lilies spring from the human blood shed there in a great battle.²



COIN OF PELLA.¹

established his camp on the higher portion of the plain between the Mavroneri and the Pelikas. Along this river the battle began, and the fugitives from the first line fled to Mount Olocros; the action, however, swept northward, and terminated near Aiæni.

¹ Head of Minerva. On the reverse, ΠΕΛΛΑΣ; an ass feeding. Copper coin of Pella.

² Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 242. Near the place where Pydna stood, at Kourino, great tumuli are still visible, one of which may have been raised to the memory of the Roman soldiers who fell here in battle, as the Athenians raised a tumulus to the heroes of Marathon. In one of them M. Heuzey saw a bas-relief in white marble representing a Roman soldier in armor. “To reach the sepulchral chamber we follow an arched passage leading underground. A door with side-posts inclined, after the Doric style, gives access to a little cell, and then to a second, whose entrance has a setting of white marble. The one represented by the chromo-lithograph leads to the third chamber, which is nearly four metres in length by three in width, with a vaulted roof.” It had previously been examined, and M. Heuzey found

From the field of battle Perseus fled to Pella. This capital, situated on a hill and surrounded by morasses impassable in summer



THE VICTORY OF SAMOTHRACE.¹

as well as in winter, was easily to be defended; but the King had no army left, and the inhabitants gave way to the general

nothing in it. But in another tumulus he saw a funereal couch of white marble, which must have been destined to receive the body of some important personage, either before or after the Roman victory, for the city recovered itself in some degree after the sack, although never attaining again its early importance. (Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe*, p. 172 *et sup.*, and *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 20.)

¹ A magnificent colossal statue of the epoch of the successors of Alexander, much resembling in style the school of Phidias. It was discovered in 1863 behind the ruins of a Doric temple, at some distance from the ancient city of Samothrace (Palaeopolis). Museum of the Louvre; cf. Frohner, *Notice de la Sculpture antique*, p. 434.

discouragement. He was advised to withdraw into the mountainous provinces adjacent to Thrace and undertake a guerilla warfare; he sounded the disposition of the Bisaltians, and urged the citizens of Amphipolis to defend their city, in order that he might have access to the sea.¹ On every side he encountered only refusals and reproaches; he learned also that all the towns were opening their gates to the Romans before even they were attacked. Alone and destitute, he asked for peace; and while waiting for the consul's reply he took refuge with his family and his treasures in the inviolable sanctuary of Samothrace.

In his letter Perseus still took the title of King. Paulus Aemilius on this account refused to read it; and a second letter, in which this title was omitted, obtained for reply nothing more than an order to surrender with all his treasures. Perseus now essayed to escape and join Cotys in Thrace; but the fleet of Octavius, the praetor, guarded the island, and a Cretan who had promised to take the King on board his ship disappeared with the money which he had received in advance. Finally, a traitor gave up to the praetor the younger children of Perseus, and the King himself, with his eldest son, surrendered to Octavius. Paulus Aemilius, touched by so great misfortunes, received him kindly,² entertained him at his own table, and recommended him to have confidence in the clemency of the Roman people (168).

Even before the battle of Pydna, Anicius had besieged Gentius in Scodra, his capital, and forced that prince to surrender. Thirty days had sufficed for this conquest, which had not even cost a battle.

While waiting for the arrival of the commissioners of the Senate, Paulus Aemilius made a journey through Greece to visit its chief objects of interest. He went up to Delphi and caused his own statue to be erected on the pedestal destined to receive that of Perseus; he saw the cave of Trophonius, Chalcis, and the Euripus, with



PAVLVS AEMILIVS
AND PERSEVS.³

¹ These facts, reported by Livy (xliv. 45), contradict the story of Perseus' cowardly despair after Pydna.

² Perseus was so little under restraint in the Roman camp, that he was at one time able to go as far as a day's journey from the camp without exciting notice. (Livy, xlv. 28.)

³ Cohen, *Monnaies consulaires*. PAVLLVS; Paulus Aemilius receiving Perseus and his children. A trophy. Reverse of a denarius of the Aemilian family.

the curious phenomenon of its tide; also Aulis, the rendezvous of Agamemnon's 1,000 ships; Athens,



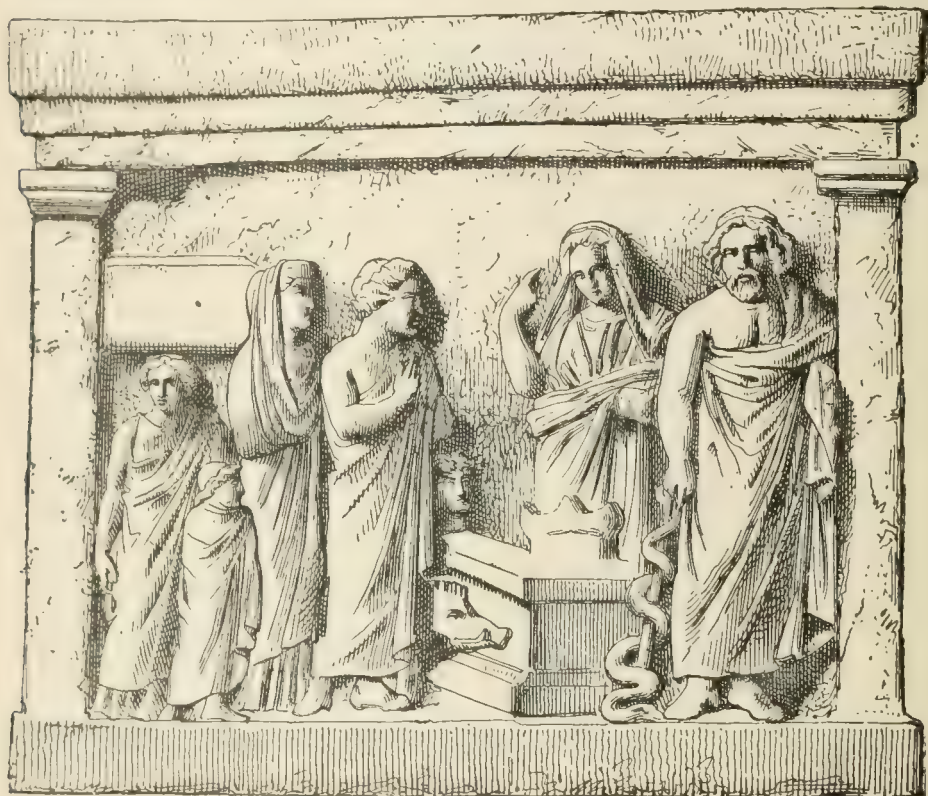
COIN OF EPIDAUROS.¹

where he offered sacrifices to Athene, as he had at Delphi to Apollo; Corinth, still rich with all its



COIN OF SICYON.²

treasures; Sicyon, Argos, Epidaurus and its temple of Aesculapius;



ALTAR OF AESCULAPIUS.³

Megalopolis, the creation of Epaminondas; Sparta and Olympia, everywhere evoking the glorious memories of the past, and ren-

¹ Laurelléd head of Zeus. On the reverse, a double letter, EII, as a monogram, in a wreath. Silver coin (triobol) of Epidaurus.

² A chimera and a wreath. On the reverse, an I and a dove flying, in a wreath of laurel. Coin (Aeginetan tetradrachm) of Sicyon.

³ Bas-relief found at Epidaurus, representing the altar of the god, his priests, and the victim about to be immolated. (Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol. en Grèce et en Asie mineure*, p. 104.)

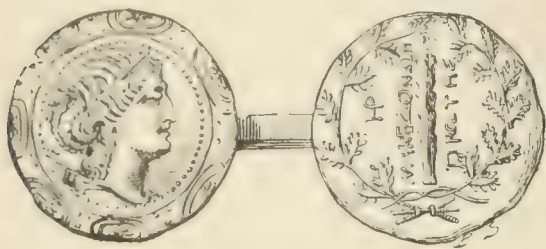
dering homage to that Greece which was now so humiliated. At Olympia he believed that he saw Jupiter himself in beholding the statue of Phidias, and sacrificed with as much pomp as he would have done in the Capitol at Rome. It was his wish to conquer the Greeks in magnificence as well as in arms. To furnish out a feast and to conduct games, he said, seldom fell to the lot of him who knew how to conquer. He directed Greek and Roman games to be celebrated at Amphipolis, giving notice of them to the states and

CHALCIS AND EURIPUS.¹

kings of Asia, and specially inviting the chief leaders in Greece. The most skilled wrestlers and performers were gathered from all parts of the world, and many famous horses. Outside the enclosure were displayed the statues and pictures, the tapestry, the vases of

¹ Euripus, at its narrowest point, is about 220 feet across.

gold, silver, bronze, and ivory, and all the curiosities and works of art found in the palace of Perseus. A great quantity of Macedonian lances, being worthless to the conquerors, were gathered into a huge pile, which Paulus Aemilius set on fire, closing the games with this ominous conflagration, — a holocaust announcing to Greece and to the



MACEDONIAN COIN.

world the end of the Macedonian kingdom, as the burning of Persepolis by Alexander, a century and a half earlier, had announced to Asia the destruction of the empire of Cyrus.

Meanwhile the commissioners from the Senate had arrived. Paulus Aemilius, in conjunction with them, determined the fate of Macedon; and having called together at Amphipolis, where his tribunal was surrounded with an immense crowd, ten chief men from each city, he made known to them the will of the Roman people. He spoke in Latin, it being suitable that the conqueror should employ his own language in addressing the conquered; but the praetor Octavius repeated his words in Greek. The Macedonians were to be left free, and should possess the same cities and lands as before, governed by their own laws, and creating annual magistrates, and the taxes they should pay to Rome were to be but half what they had been accustomed to pay to their own kings. Macedon, however, was to be divided into four districts, and there should be no intermarriage nor liberty to purchase lands or houses outside their respective districts. The districts, bordering on the barbarians might keep armed forces on their frontiers. The third district should supply the Dardanians with salt at a fixed price. The friends and courtiers of Perseus, the generals of his armies, the commanders of his fleets and garrisons, all who had held any employment whatever from him, were to accompany the consul into Italy, together with their children; these persons were all designated by name. Then Paulus Aemilius gave the Macedonians a code of laws wisely adapted [?]

¹ Bust of Diana upon a Macedonian shield. On the reverse, ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ, and a monogram; a club in a laurel wreath. Tetradrachm of the first district of Macedon.

to their new condition; and having completed his task, he set out for Epirus. Anicius meanwhile in Illyria made similar dispositions, separating that country into three districts.

Macedon was by far too rich and important a country to be given up to pillage; only a few places which had hesitated to open their gates after Pydna were abandoned to the soldiery. The consul had sought, moreover, to separate the royal cause in Macedon from that of the country itself; it was his plan to appear to have fought only against Perseus, and to be willing to take only what belonged to the King as spoils of war, in order by this policy to shake all the other thrones which still remained. Macedon and Illyria were therefore spared; but the army complained, and Epirus was given up to them.

The measures adopted by assemblies are often cruel, because of all who concur in the act no one man is personally responsible. The Epirotes had revolted to Perseus, and the Senate, to strike terror among the allies of Rome, determined to treat them as deserters, who were usually executed. Cohorts despatched to their seventy cities¹ received orders on the same day, at the same hour, to give them up to pillage, to destroy their walls, and to carry their inhabitants away into slavery. A hundred and fifty thousand Epirotes were thus reduced in a day from liberty to slavery. The booty was so considerable, that after the gold and silver had been reserved for the public treasury, each foot-soldier received 200 and each trooper 400 denarii; and still the soldiery were not content. In their avidity, stimulated by the recollection of the enormous plunder obtained by their predecessors in Sicily, in Africa, and in Asia, they could not forgive their general for having reserved the spoils of Perseus. Paulus Aemilius had plundered for the benefit of the state; they could not consent that any one should plunder except in their interest. And so when he sailed up the Tiber in the King's galley of great size, decorated with the brazen shields of the phalanx, and solicited a triumph, his own soldiers strove to prevent his obtaining the honor.

We are at an epoch when Roman manners were beginning

¹ Almost all in the country of the Molossians. (Polybius, xxx. 15.) Livy, in representing the Molossians as fighting against Perseus (see p. 161, note 2), must have confused them with another Epirote tribe.

to undergo that transformation which later we shall study more fully. — when military chiefs plundered the provinces; when the soldiers going to war, no longer through patriotic devotion, but in the hope of gain, invoked curses upon those who forced them to undergo the discipline and practise the disinterestedness of a nobler period. The occurrence is therefore to be regarded as a symptom of an evil whose origin it is important to observe, since after increasing during a century, it was to result in those civil wars out of which emerged the Empire.

The Senate had decreed to Paulus Aemilius the honor of a triumph; but it was necessary that the people should, by a special order, present to the consul his *imperium* for the day, so that he should be allowed to enter the city in his war dress, and lead his army by the Via Sacra to the Capitol.

“He would not give us money,” the soldiers said, “and we will not give him honor;” and when the tribune of the commons proposed the order, a personal enemy of Paulus Aemilius, Servius Galba, a tribune of the second legion, who had incited the soldiers to manifest their ill-feeling against the general, demanded that the subject should be put off until the morrow, so that he might have an entire day in which to unfold his reasons for opposition. Being required to speak at once, he made an address four hours in length, occupying the time until night, when it became necessary to adjourn the assembly. On the morrow the soldiers crowded the Capitol, and the tribes first called voted in the negative. To refuse the triumph to him who had made Rome the heir of Alexander, was one of those unworthy actions to which the populace is prone when it abandons itself to its evil instincts. The principal men ran in amongst the crowd, crying out that the consul was in danger of being sacrificed to the licentiousness and avarice of his soldiery, that the soldiers were being raised into the place of masters over their generals; and a former consul and master of the horse, Marcus Servilius, implored the tribunes to put off the voting, and give him first an opportunity of speaking to the assembly. Livy has composed for him an indignant harangue suited to the occasion. Finally the thirty-five tribes returned to vote, and the triumph was decreed with unanimity. While we congratulate them on doing this tardy act of justice, we keep in

mind this two-fold symptom. — the increasing cupidity of the soldier, which begins to indicate his character under the Empire ; and the facility with which the people support the suggestions of mean envy against one of the best public servants Rome ever had.



DETAILS OF THE BORGHESE VASE.

The triumph, which the whole city witnessed, arrayed in white togas, was a solemnity which lasted three days. Scaffolds were erected in the Forum and in the circuses, and in all other parts



DETAILS OF THE BORGHESE VASE.

of the city whence the show could best be seen. All the temples were open, and full of garlands and perfumes ; and the ways through which the procession should pass were cleared and kept open by numerous officers. On the first day, which was scarcely long enough for the sight, the pictures and statues and colossal images

taken from the enemy, loaded upon two hundred and fifty chariots, were borne through the streets. On the second day came a long train of wagons, with the finest and richest armor of the Macedo-



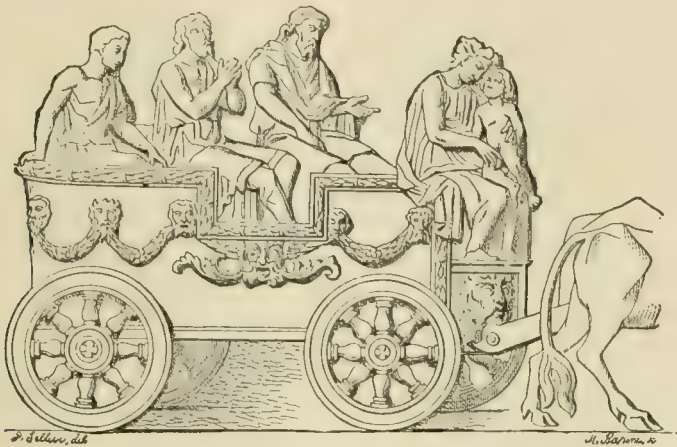
BORGHESE VASE.¹

nians, both of brass and steel, all newly polished and glittering, heaped together in studied confusion, and so loosely fastened, that the weapons clashed against one another with a martial sound as the vehicles moved along. Then followed three thousand men, who carried seven hundred and fifty great silver vases filled with coined

¹ The famous marble vase or *crater* was an ornament in the "gardens of Sallust," near the site of which it was found. Museum of the Louvre, No. 711 of the Clarac Catalogue.

silver, and many more carrying silver *cratera* of various kinds, remarkable for their size, and beauty of workmanship.

On the third day, early in the morning, first came the trumpeters sounding a charge, as if for battle; then followed a hundred and twenty oxen, their horns gilded, and their heads adorned with garlands and ribbons, led to the sacrifice by young men in festal dress: these were accompanied by boys with gold and silver basins for libation; and after them came men carrying the coined gold, also in great silver vases, to the number of seventy-seven. Then was borne the consecrated vase of ten talents' weight, incrustated



CAR BEARING PRISONERS.¹

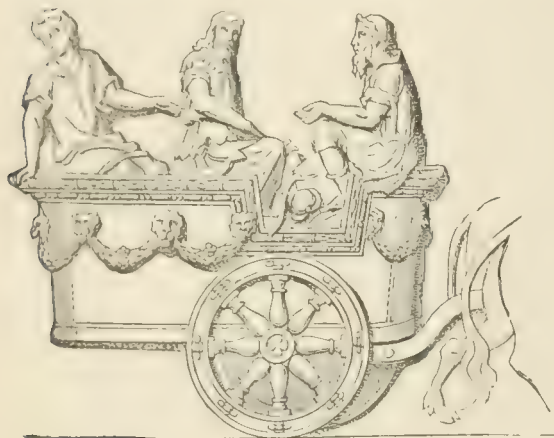
with gems, which Paulus Aemilius had caused to be made, and the cups of Antigonus and Seleucus, and the Thericlean goblets, and all the gold plate used at the table of Perseus; after these came the King's own chariot, with his arms and diadem. Then, after a little space, were led the children of Perseus,—two sons and a daughter,—as yet too young to understand their misfortunes, with a train of attendants and masters and teachers, weeping, and stretching out their hands in supplication to the crowd, and striving to teach the children also to beg for compassion.

After his children came Perseus, clad in black, walking with a bewildered air, as one stunned by the greatness of his calamity. He was accompanied by a great crowd of his friends and attendants,

¹ This car is not an antique, but was designed by Ginzrot (*Wagen und Fahrwerke*, pl. xx.) from details furnished by the columns of Trajan and of Antoninus.

who wept and lamented. The King had besought the consul to spare him this last ignominy of the triumph; but the Roman had coldly replied that the matter had always been, and still was, in the power of Perseus himself—as if unable to understand that any one should not prefer suicide to such disgrace.

After the Macedonian spoils, were carried the four hundred gold wreaths which the cities of Greece and Asia had presented to Paulus Aemilius; and then came the conqueror himself, seated in



ANOTHER CAR BEARING CAPTIVES.¹

a chariot magnificently adorned,—“a man,” says Plutarch, “well worthy to be looked at, even without the ensigns of power,”—dressed in a robe of purple and gold, and carrying a branch of laurel in his right hand. Behind him followed the crowded ranks of his cohorts, carrying laurel-boughs, and singing as they marched. But of

the two young sons who should have been seated at his side, one had just died, and the other was at the point of death. In the midst of his affliction, Paulus Aemilius consoled himself by the thought that upon him was laid the expiation of the public prosperity, and that Fortune, having wreaked her jealousy in this way, would henceforth be constant and harmless to Rome.² The great general lived some years longer, was censor in the year 160, and died while holding that office.

After a short imprisonment in Rome, Perseus was removed to the city of Alba, in the country of the Marsi; and such silence closes around the King, who was once the hope of the world, that our authorities do not agree whether he lived in his new prison two years or five, whether he died by his own hand or under the ill-treatment of his gaolers. Philip, his eldest son, survived him but a few years; the younger, to gain a livelihood, is said to have learned the trade

¹ From Montfaucon.

² Plut., *Aemil. Paul.*

of a turner; and some years later this heir of Alexander held a petty office connected with the courts.

Even more sad was the destiny of the famous people who had conquered Greece and Asia. Never again did Macedon rise to the rank of a nation; and up to our time, a period of twenty centuries, history has never again recognized her name.

¹ On the obverse, an eye; on the reverse, a hollow square. Silver coin of Lesbos, the smallest antique coin known.



LESBIAN COIN.¹

CHAPTER XXXI.

REDUCTION OF MACEDON TO A PROVINCE; SUBMISSION OF GREECE.

I. ALARM OF THE PRINCES AND STATES AFTER PYDNA.

AFTER the defeat of Perseus, the Roman people had taken nothing for themselves save the immense sum poured into the treasury by Paulus Aemilius and the tributes imposed upon Macedon, which gave the Senate opportunity to remit the former *tributum*, or war-tax. The abolition of this tax, the only one that the citizens had to pay, shows plainly that Rome proposed to live at the expense of her subjects.¹ This principle of government had for one of its results the *frumentationes*, or distributions of corn at a low price, as the soldiers' share in the spoils gave rise to the *donativa*, — two institutions of which the Empire made a bad use, which were, however, of republican origin, and cannot be properly understood if they are regarded, solely as means of corruption employed towards the people and the army.

Rome had no need of increasing her dominion by the addition of new territories. Macedon seemed the last bulwark of the world's liberty. Now that this rampart had fallen, all rushed with indescribable alarm to meet the slavery which was their doom. Prusias, king of Bithynia, had remained neutral; he now hastened into Italy and presented himself before the Senate wearing a freedman's cap and having his head shaved, in token that he was a freed slave of the Roman people. Upon entering the senate-house he kissed the threshold of the door, crying, "Hail, tutelar deities!"²

¹ The other tax, or rather the duty levied on the manumission of slaves, *vicesima manumissionum*, served to constitute a reserve fund for cases of peril. The exemption from tribute lasted 125 years, — up to the time of the wars of Octavius and Antony.

² This is the story told by Polybius and by Appian (*Mithr.*, 2); that of Livy is less discreditable to Prusias; but this year Polybius was in Rome.

Masinissa himself trembled; he sent word to the Senate by his son that two things had grieved him,—one, that the Senate had sent by their ambassadors a request, instead of an order, for the supply of necessaries for the army; the other, that they had sent money in payment for the corn. Masinissa well remembered that he owed the Roman people his crown, and he contented himself with the management of it, acknowledging the sovereignty of the donors.¹ He also asked permission to come to Rome, that he might offer a sacrifice in the Capitol. The Senate, however, forbade him to leave Africa.

Other kings wished to come to Rome, but a decree forbade them to cross the sea; and when Eumenes presented himself at Brundisium, a quaestor ordered him to leave Italy at once. This incident was near costing him his crown, for as soon as his allies became aware that he was threatened with the displeasure of Rome, they at once abandoned him, in the midst of a war which he was carrying on with the Galatians. Meantime his brother Attalus was received with honor. The Senate offered him half of the estates of Eumenes; but he prudently refused, not wishing to dismember his own inheritance. This means of weakening the Pergamean kingdom having failed, the Senate permitted the Galatians to make war upon Eumenes, and later excited Prusias against him, and repeated towards the King of Pergamus the outrage practised upon Philip, of sending commissioners to receive complaints against the King and hear his vindication.³

The King of Syria, Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), had conquered a part of Egypt, and besieged Alexandria. A Roman deputy, Popillius, ordered him to return into his own territory. Antiochus required some days to deliberate; but Popillius drew a circle on the sand around the spot where the King stood, and said abruptly: "Before you go out of that circle, give me an answer to report to the Senate."

ANTIOCHUS IV.²PTOLEMY VI.
(PHILOMETOR).⁴

¹ Livy, xlv. 13.

² Tetradrachm in the *Cabinet de France*.

³ Polybius, xxxi. 6.

⁴ Intaglio from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,057 of the catalogue.

Upon this, the King, conquered by one man's firmness, agreed to withdraw his armies.

Egypt was saved; and to retain the country under the guardianship of the Senate, Popilius divided the kingdom between Philometor and Physcon; and ambassadors from all these kings at once set off for Rome to protest to the Senate their reverence and their humility. The contemplation of so much baseness makes us involuntarily side with Rome, in spite of her domineering and perfidious policy.

The merchants of Rhodes, molested in their commerce by the war, had undertaken to impose their mediation. They now regretted this imprudent step decreed by their popular assembly. They made haste to murder the partisans of Perseus and to send rich presents to Rome. The Senate did not declare war upon them, but Lycia and Caria, which gave them annually 120 talents, were taken from them. The prohibition of their export of salt into Macedon, and of their import of timber from that



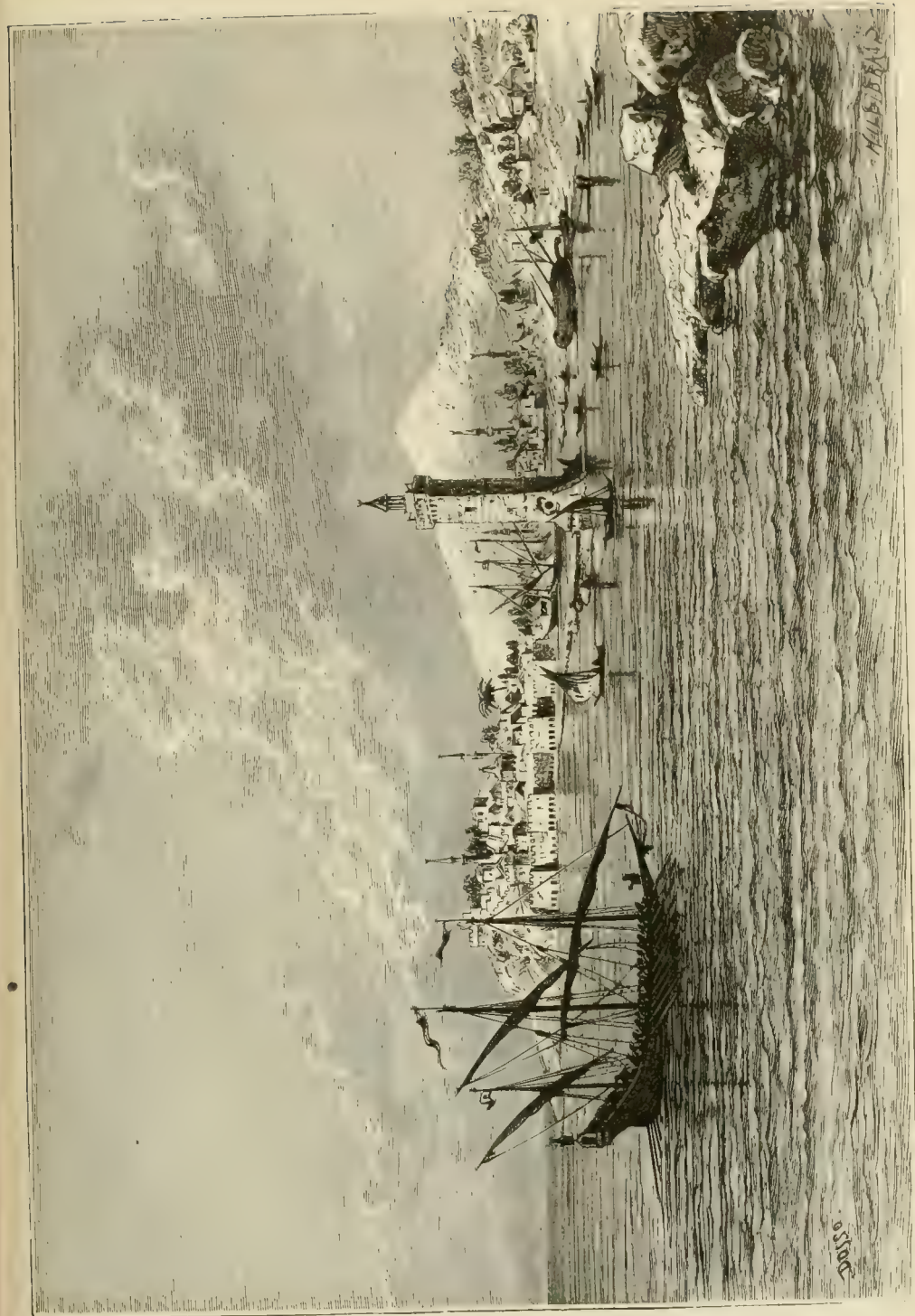
RHODIAN COIN.¹

country, and still further, the establishment of a free port at Delos, ruined their marine; in a few years the product of their customs duties fell off from 1,000,000 to 150,000 drachmae. The city, lately so rich and proud, was humbled; in 164 she solicited and obtained that title of ally which so rapidly reduced those bearing it to the position of subjects. Ariarathus of Cappadocia, in ascending the throne, also asked for this dangerous alliance, and in solemn sacrifices gave thanks to the gods that he had obtained it. His servility did not prevent the Senate from supporting a usurper against him, and assigning to this person half of Cappadocia (159).

In the Island of Lesbos,² Antissa was razed to the ground for having furnished some few supplies to the fleet of Perseus. In Asia the cities made haste to banish or inflict punishment upon the former partisans of the King. For some months the greatest

¹ Head of the Sun. On the reverse, ΡΟΔΙΩΝ ΕΥ, and a roose, the device of the Rhodians. Didrachme of Rhodes.

² The view of Lesbos (next page) is from a sketch by the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier. (*Bibliothèque nationale.*)



VIEW OF MITYLENE (CAPITAL OF LESBOS).

alarm weighed upon Greece.¹ All the evil instincts fermenting in these little cities, so long without moral or legal restraints, had free scope, sheltered by the name of Rome. For revenge upon an enemy or a rival it was only needful to say that he had sold himself to the Macedonian. It was enough for a man to be suspected of silent wishes in favor of Perseus to have him dragged before a pitiless tribunal. The Aetolian Lyciscos denounced 500 of his fellow-countrymen, the entire senate of Aetolia, and caused them to be led to execution, Rome lending only the sword of her soldiers for the butchery. Did these judicial massacres weary the victors? We may regard a desire to put an end to them as the motive which led to the transportation of all suspected persons into various cities of Italy. Whoever of importance yet remained in Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia, and Boeotia followed Paulus Aemilius to Rome; 1,000 Achaeans designated by Calliocrates were deported thither. One single prince received with astonishment a benefit at the hands of Rome; it was Cotys, a petty Thracian prince, who had valiantly supported Perseus. The Senate sent back to him his son, who had chanced to be among the prisoners. But Thrace lay on the high road from Europe into Asia, and it was well to have allies there.³



COIN OF THE AETOLIAN
LEAGUE.²

Macedon being effaced from the list of nations, Epirus being depopulated, and Aetolia ruined, there remained in Greece nothing but the Achaean League, also destined to perish. Philopoemen himself had not had any assured belief in its durability. When the Romans, says Polybius, demanded things conformable to laws and treaties, he instantly executed their orders; when their requirements were unjust, he advised remonstrances and entreaties to be made; then, if they still remained inflexible, the gods should be called upon to witness this infraction of treaties; and, finally, the Roman will should be obeyed. "I know," he said, "that

¹ To appreciate this terror, see the story of the accused Rhodian, Polyaratus, who vainly sought asylum in many Asiatic cities. (Polybius, xxx. 9.)

² Head coiffed with the *petasus*, cap peculiar to the north of Greece. The young man is sometimes called Meleager; the wild boar on the reverse would in that case be the boar of Calydon. Cf. Saglio, *Dict. des antiq. gr. et rom.* p. 128.

³ Livy, xlv. 43.

a time will come when we shall all be the subjects of Rome;¹ but I seek to postpone this time. Aristaenus, on the contrary, invokes its coming; for he sees its inevitable necessity, and would rather

it came to-day than to-morrow."

This policy of Aristaenus, which Polybius dares to call prudent,² Callicrates followed, but solely in the interest of his own ambition and with an odious cynicism in his servility. "The fault is



COIN OF EPIRUS.³

yours. Conscript Fathers," he dared to say in the Senate, "if the Greeks are not docile to your will. In all republics there are two parties, one who maintain that laws and treaties should be observed, the other who wish to have every other consideration give way to the desire of pleasing you; the opinion of the former is agreeable to the multitude: your partisans, therefore, are despised. But take to heart their interests, and soon all the chiefs of the republics, and with them the people, shall be on your side." The Senate replied that it was to be desired that the magistrates of all the cities should be like Callicrates; and, as if to justify his words, the Achaeans elected him strategus on his return from Rome.

This occurred some years before the war with Perseus. That prince restored hope to the partisans of Hellenic independence; the Achaeans, therefore, proposed at first to maintain a strict neutrality; but when Marcius had forced the defiles of Olympus, Polybius made haste to offer to him the assistance of an Achaean army.⁴ It was too late; the Romans preferred to conquer unassisted, that

¹ Livy also represents Lycortas saying to Appius: "I know that we are here as slaves who are seeking to justify themselves in presence of their masters."

² Book xxv. 8. However, Polybius and his father, Lycortas, were the leaders of the anti-Roman party. During the war against Perseus they narrowly escaped being accused before the commissioners, and after the battle of Pydna, Polybius was carried off into Italy. But seeing Greece so feeble and divided, covered with blood and ruins for two centuries, and deprived of real liberty, Polybius resigned himself to see her tranquil and prosperous [?] under that Roman rule which left to the cities so much interior liberty. We must, after all, respect the good sense and impartiality of the friend of Philopoemen.

³ Laurelled head of Jupiter joined to a diademed and veiled bust of Juno; behind, two monograms. On the reverse, ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ, and an enraged bull in a wreath of oak-leaves. Silver coin of Epirus.

⁴ Polybius, xxviii. 10, seq.

they might not be troubled with the necessity of recompensing their allies. Polybius himself was one of the thousand Achaeans detained in Italy, and he would have been interned in some obscure town far from his books and from the great affairs he loved so well to study, had not the two sons of Paulus Aemilius become responsible for him to the praetor.

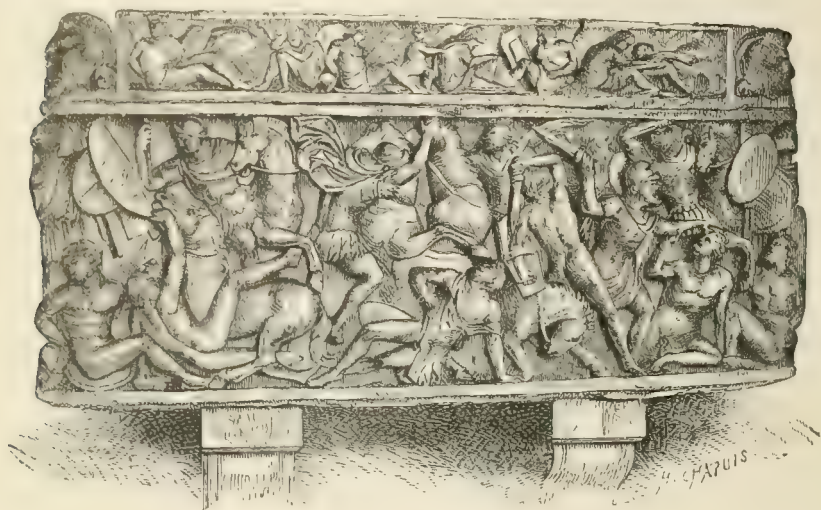
II. REDUCTION OF MACEDON INTO A PROVINCE (146).

DURING the seventeen years that the Achaean exiles were detained in Italy, upon which subject the Senate never would give any explanation, Callicrates remained at the head of the government of his country. He did much better for the interests of Rome than a pro-consul could have done. To leave to conquered countries, or to those submitting to the Roman influence, their national chiefs, to govern through native rulers, as the English do in India, was one of the most successful maxims of Roman policy. Content with this seeming independence, with these *municipal liberties* which accord so well with political despotism, the states dropped quietly into the condition of subjects, and the Senate found them broken in when Rome desired to tighten the bridle and apply the spur. Thus Greece, without any one's being aware of it, was on the way to become, like so many Italian cities, a Roman possession, when, at the death of Callicrates, Polybius, supported by Scipio Aemilianus, solicited on behalf of himself and the other exiles to be sent home to Achaia. There were now but 300 left. The Senate hesitated. Cato was indignant at prolonged deliberation upon such a trifle; contempt gave him humanity. "It is only a question," he said, "whether a few decrepit Greeks shall be interred by our gravediggers or by those of their own country." They were allowed to depart (150).¹ Cato was right; and Greece also, after one last struggle, was about to descend into the tomb, there to remain for twenty centuries.

¹ Polybius wished to ask from the Senate restoration to all the offices and honors they had enjoyed before their exile. Cato, whom he sounded on this subject, replied: "It seems to me, Polybius, that you do not follow the example of Ulysses; for you, having made your escape from the cave of the Cyclops, now propose to return thither to seek the hat and belt you left behind you." (Plutarch, *Cato*, ix.)

In the case of some of these exiles, age had neither chilled their ardor nor calmed their resentment. Diaeus, Critolaus, and Damocritus returned to their country embittered and turbulent, and by their imprudence precipitated her ruin.

Circumstances, it is true, appeared to them favorable. Andriscus, an adventurer, who gave himself out to be a natural son of Perseus, had just laid claim to the paternal inheritance (152). Repulsed by the Macedonians after his first attempt, he had taken refuge with Demetrius, king of Syria, who had given him up to the Romans. The latter, contrary to their habit, had guarded him



SARCOPHAGUS REPRESENTING A COMBAT.¹

negligently. He escaped, recruited an army in Thrace, and now, personating Philip, that son of Perseus who died in the country of the Marsians, he incited revolt in Macedon, and occupied a portion of Thessaly. Scipio Nasica expelled him from this province (149); but he returned thither, defeated and killed the praetor Juventius, and made an alliance with Carthage, at this time beginning her third war against the Romans. The affair was becoming serious. Rome was at this time fighting in Spain and in Africa; there was reason to apprehend that the movement would extend itself from point to point throughout all Greece and into Asia. A consular

¹ Sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum.

army was intrusted to Metellus, who gained a second victory at Pydna, and carried Andriscus in chains to Rome (148).

A year had sufficed to terminate this not very formidable war, which a second impostor vainly endeavored to renew a few years later (142). The Senate, believing the states, conquered fifty years before and since then inwrapped in a web of intrigues, to be now ripe for servitude, reduced Macedon to a province (146).



COIN OF
DYRRACHIUM.¹

The new province extended from Thrace to the Adriatic, where the two flourishing cities Apollonia and Dyrrachium, served it as seaports, and as points of connection with Italy. Its tax remained as it had been originally fixed, 100 talents, half of what Macedon had paid to her kings, and collected by her own fiscal agents; her cities preserved their municipal liberties, and in place of the civil and foreign wars which had so long devastated her, she was now to enjoy, for four centuries, a peace and prosperity² disturbed only at remote intervals by the exactions of some Roman pro-consul.

III. BATTLE OF LEUCOPETRA; DESTRUCTION OF CORINTH (146).

THE army of Metellus Macedonicus was still encamped in the scene of their conquest, when one of the Achaean exiles, Diaeus, returning to the Peloponnesus, was elected strategus. During his term of office, the eternal quarrel between Sparta and the League, which had been for some time smouldering, broke out afresh, by reason of the secret intrigues of Rome; Sparta again sought to break away from the League. Immediately the

¹ A club; above it the plan of the gardens of Alcinoüs, already represented on the reverse of a coin of Coreyra (Vol. I. p. 591), and the first three letters of the city's name, ΔΥΡ. Reverse of a tetradrachm (Corinthian currency) of Dyrrachium; the obverse of the coin represents a cow suckling her calf.

² [This so-called prosperity was, indeed, less intolerable than the separation into isolated departments, within which all commerce and industry ceased, and where the resulting poverty was such as to cause constant and irrepressible crime. But the Roman speculators, who had, of course, laid hold of the country during its piecemeal existence, still held their sway in the new province; and so this, like all other outlying countries under Roman sway, was gradually plundered out, till the population became sparse, and most of the land not worth tilling. — *Ed.*]

Achaean took up arms; but the Roman commissioners arrived, bringing a decree of the Senate separating Sparta, Argos, and Orchomenus from the League: the two former as of Doric race, the latter as being of Trojan origin,—all three, consequently, foreign by blood to the rest of the confederation. Upon the reading of this decree, Diaeus incited the people of Corinth to an outbreak;



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE AT CORINTH.¹

the Spartans who happened to be in the city were massacred, and the Roman deputies escaped only by precipitate flight. This people, who for forty years had trembled before Rome, now seemed to derive a certain courage from the very excess of the humiliation laid upon them. They involved with themselves Chalcis and the Boeotians, and when Metellus came down from Macedon with his legions, the confederates advanced to meet him as far as Scarpheia in Locris (146). In the battle which ensued, the Achaean force

¹ Chenavard, *Voyage en Grèce*, pl. xxix.

was cut to pieces; but, arming even to the slaves, Diaeus brought together a second army of 14,000 men, and, posted at Leucopetra, at the entrance of the isthmus of Corinth, he awaited the new consul, Mummius. Upon the neighboring heights the women and children had gathered to see their husbands and fathers conquer or die. They perished; Corinth was taken, pillaged,¹ given up to the flames; Thebes and Chalcis were razed to the ground, and the territory of these three cities united to the public domain of the Roman people. The Achaean and Boeotian leagues were dissolved; all the cities which had shared in the strife were dismantled and disarmed, and were subjected to tribute and to that oligarchical government which was easier for the Senate to hold in subjection than popular assemblies.³ Delphi and Olympia, as sacred territory, kept their privileges; but the credit of those divinities who could no longer save their worshippers was on the wane, and grass soon grew in their courts.

COIN OF METELLUS.²COIN OF ELIS.⁴

Yet another people struck from the list of nations! The Greeks, in fact, had reached the end of their political existence, and had not even the right to complain of their fate. It is a hard thing to say, and especially for a Frenchman to say it now; but those who are in the wrong—not that their conquerors are always in the right—are most frequently those who are conquered. If we look back at the picture hitherto drawn of Greece, before the Romans had set foot in the country, we shall see that this people had with their own hands made their grave. He who cannot govern must be governed; he who has no foresight must be exposed to all

¹ Cf. Strabo, viii. 381; Livy, *Epit.* 52; of Mummius we shall hear again.

² Diademed head of Apollo, and the legend ROMA. On the reverse, M. METELLUS Q. F., around a Macedonian buckler, in the centre of which is an elephant's head, the whole surrounded by a laurel-wreath. Denarius of the Caecilian family. (Cohen, *Monn. cons.*)

³ Paus., vii. 16.

⁴ Laurelled head of Jupiter. On the reverse, F. A. An eagle standing; before him, a serpent; behind, a thunderbolt; below, H. Didrachm of Elis.

accidents: this is the universal law. Anarchy justly reduces to the condition of slaves those whom, in better days, patriotism and discipline had made strong and famous.

In fact, this degenerate race did not merit the prudence that Rome exhibited in bringing them insensibly under her sway. As if forever mindful of the old deeds of Greece, forever dreading lest, if matters were in the least precipitated, some gallant desperation might renew the laurels of Marathon and Plataea, the Senate had been a half century in assuming the tone and attitude of mastery. Upon the conclusion of the Illyrian war, it had been scrupulously explained to the Greeks that for the purpose of delivering them from these pirates the legions had come across the Adriatic; and in the struggle with Macedon, the independence of Greece had been put forward as a motive for the war. After the battle of Cynoscephalae, Flamininus had quietly transformed into a protectorate this friendship of the earlier time; and it was not until every power had been broken down in Macedon, in Asia, and in Africa, that Mummius converted this protectorate into a domination. Even then, Greece was not reduced to a province.¹ Its name was still imposing. Moreover, the most famous cities, notably Athens and Sparta, had not been concerned in this struggle brought on by the Achaeans, and many of the latter had been but lukewarm in the strife. "If we had not been quickly ruined," they said on all sides, "we could not have been saved."² And once the executions of the earlier days were completed, and the authors and accomplices of the war punished in a way to destroy all desire to renew it, the Greeks were treated as conquered enemies, whose friendship Rome was anxious to secure. They lost their independence, it is true, but they preserved the outward forms of it, their laws, their own magistrates, their elections, even their leagues, which after a few years the Senate suffered them to renew. There was not a Roman garrison in any city, there was no pro-consul in the land. Only, far off in Macedon, the Roman officer listened to all sounds, kept watch upon every movement, ready to descend upon Hellas with

¹ The province of Achaia was not formed till after the battle of Actium. Cf. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenl.* i. 284, n. 2.

² Polybius, xl. 5, 12.

his cohorts, and to revive, if need were, the terror left in all men's hearts by the destruction of Corinth. In reality, Rome took from the Greeks nothing save the right to devastate their country by a perpetual succession of intestine wars.

Metellus had carried off from Pella twenty-five bronze statues which Alexander had ordered from Lysippus in memory of his "companions" who fell at the battle of the Granicus. These the consul placed in front of the two temples which he built to Jupiter and Juno, the first marble buildings ever erected in Rome. After these architectural expenditures, there was left of the spoils, which he had brought home to Rome, enough money to build a superb portico.

Mummius was a Roman of the primitive kind; he had preserved all the early rusticity of tastes and manners, and had no appreciation of Greek elegance. In accordance with the usual custom, much more than from any love for the masterpieces of art, he carried away from Corinth the statues and vases,¹ pictures and carvings which had escaped the flames, or which he had not been able to sell to the King of Pergamus,² and transported them to Rome, where they were placed in temples and public squares. For himself he kept nothing, and remained poor, so that the state was obliged to furnish dowries for his daughters. Never did he suspect that he had committed a crime in destroying the most beautiful city in Greece, after an engagement without danger or glory. He always believed himself to have achieved a memorable exploit; and in his consular inscription, which still exists, these words are to be read, as the chief praise of his

¹ The bronze of Corinth was famous, but not a piece of it now exists. We have, however, a great number of painted vases from that city, which were celebrated throughout the Greek world. It is possible some of these were carried away by Mummius, for they were greatly in demand in Italy. We give below an explanatory note, kindly furnished by M. Heuzey, in respect to the chromo-lithograph.

"These antique Greek vases, of which the Louvre possesses a remarkable series, from the Campana Collection, are called Corinthian, because they bear legends in the old local alphabet of Corinth. They have been found at Corinth, but a much larger number in the tombs at Caere, in Etruria. They bear important testimony to the relations existing at an early period between Etruria and Corinth and its colonies. The larger vase is a *hydria*, the painting representing Achilles exposed upon his bier, and lamented by the Nereids. The smaller is an amphora, representing Ismene slain by Tydeus at an assignation with the handsome *Periclymenos*."

² This prince offered 600,000 sesterces for a single picture by Aristides of Thebes. (Strabo, viii. 381; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 8.)

consulate: *delata Corintho*. This barbarian did well to erect, after his triumph, a temple to Hercules the conqueror, god of strength.

As for the authors of the Achaean war, one, Critolaus, had disappeared at Scarpheia; the other, Diaeus, had sought from his own hand the death which eluded him on the battle-field. From Leucopetra he had fled to Megalopolis, where he had slain his wife and children, set fire to his house, and poisoned himself. In stirring up a hopeless strife, these men had called down many woes upon their country; but they perished with her and for her. Self-devotion makes imprudence pardonable; and it was better to perish, as Greece did, on a battle-field, than to become extinct, like Etruria, in a lethargic sleep. For nations as well as individuals, it is a duty to die nobly. The Achaeans, left standing alone among the ruined Greek nations, owed this last sacrifice to the old glory of Hellas.

¹ Reverse of a bronze coin of Marcus Aurelius. The Acropolis of Corinth on the summit of a rock. The letters C L I C O R give the name of the new Corinth, a colony established by Caesar, *Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*. But the coin itself shows by the exuberance and disorder [absurdity] of the details how much the art of the second century A. D. had degenerated.



THE ACROCORINTHOS.¹

CHAPTER XXXII.

REDUCTION OF CARTHAGINIAN AFRICA INTO A PROVINCE.

I. CARTHAGE, MASINISSA, AND ROME.

THE middle of the second century B. C. brought the fatal hour to three of the greatest nations of antiquity: in the year 148 Macedon fell; in 146 Greece gave up her sword, and with it her independence; at the close of the same year Carthage became a heap of ruins. Two other nations of less importance gave way a few years later: in 132 the liberty of Spain was destroyed at Numantia, and almost immediately after, the kingdom of Pergamus collapsed. Within a period of sixteen years, Greece, Asia Minor, Carthaginian Africa, and Spain became peaceful provinces of the new empire.

Since the battle of Zama, the existence of Carthage had been but a protracted death-struggle.¹ Hampered by the prohibition not to make war without the consent of the Senate, she could not repulse the attacks of the rapacious Masinissa. "The Carthaginians are but strangers in Africa," said the Numidian, "who have ravished from our fathers the territory which they possess. What they bought was as much land as could be surrounded with a bull's hide cut into strips. All beyond this that they possess is the fruit of injustice and violence." And on every opportunity he plundered them of a province. As early as the year 199 he began; in 193 he deprived them of the rich territory of Emporiae,



NUMIDIAN
KING OR
PRINCE.²

¹ For the story of this war we have little more than the *Libyca* of Appian, some scattered fragments of Polybius, and the abbreviators. But it is probable that Appian borrows his account from Polybius, who was an eye-witness.

² Intaglio (clouded agate) in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,064 of the catalogue.

which opened to them the road into the interior of Africa. Eleven years later there were fresh encroachments. To these acts of violence Carthage opposed only complaints, which she sent to Rome. But the Senate, sure of Masinissa's fidelity, left him in possession of the stolen territory. Encouraged by this favor, the King invaded, in 174, the province of Tysca, and took seventy towns. "If we cannot defend ourselves," the Carthaginian deputies said to the Senate, "at least fix at once how much of our territory is to be taken from us." It was on the eve of the war against Perseus; the Senate appeared to be indignant, promised justice and arbitration,¹ but suffered the affair to drag on until the victory of Pydna had rendered the iniquity safe, when they despatched Cato and some commissioners with him into Africa. Carthage refused to submit to a tribunal already decided against her, and Masinissa remained possessor of the disputed territory. But Cato had found with surprise and displeasure that Carthage was rich, populous, and flourishing. On his return home the malevolent old Roman dropped on the floor of the senate-house figs which he had brought hidden under his toga; on the senators expressing surprise at the fineness of the fruit, "The land that bears them is but three days' journey from Rome," said Cato. And from that time, whenever he spoke in the Senate, though the subject in debate bore no relation to Carthage, he always took occasion to add, "Also, I am of opinion that Carthage should be destroyed," — *delenda est Carthago*.

The Scipios advocated a more noble policy. It did not displease those, who, after the battle of Zama, had not cared to demand the extradition of Hannibal, to suffer the greatest commercial city of the world to subsist as an ornament to their new empire.

Carthage might be useful, and she could no longer be dangerous, since all the countries whence she had been accustomed to draw her mercenaries were closed against her. It is said, further, that the Scipios feared for their country the intoxication of universal success; that they apprehended a failure in discipline and integrity amidst too great wealth and security; that they thought

¹ The Senate sometimes manifested a certain consideration towards Carthage; in 187 Minucius Myrtilus and M. Manlius, accused of having struck the Carthaginian ambassadors, were given up by the heralds into the hands of these envoys and sent to Carthage. (Livy, xxxviii. 42.)

it well for the Romans to have always a peril to fear, that thus they might be kept strong and united. This is more philosophic, but much less Roman. Cato obtained his object; and, in spite of the docility of Carthage and her eagerness to vie with Masinissa in liberality towards Rome, her ruin was determined.¹

This unhappy city was still torn by three factions,—the partisans of Rome, those of Masinissa, and the patriotic party. The latter in 152 drove out the partisans of the King, who, alleging an attempt upon the life of his two sons, seized upon Oroscopa, an important town. This time the Carthaginians despatched 50,000 men against Masinissa. Scipio Aemilianus was at the moment in Africa; he followed the two armies, and from the top of a hill, as a disinterested spectator, saw 100,000 barbarians destroy each other. This sanguinary contest was better than a combat of gladiators; the Roman confessed that he had tasted a pleasure worthy of the gods.² Masinissa, now eighty-eight years of age, riding a fleet horse bare-back, once more fought as the bravest of soldiers. The Carthaginian army was destroyed (151).

II. THIRD PUNIC WAR (149–146).

THE Romans promptly entered the lists, not to leave so rich a prey to the conqueror. It was, moreover, known at Rome that the Carthaginians had encouraged a revolt of the Lusitanians in Spain, and the attempt of Andriscus in Macedon. In vain did Carthage proscribe the author of the war and despatch embassies to Rome. “You must give satisfaction to the Roman people,” was the answer of the Conscript Fathers; and when the deputies begged to be told what satisfaction would be deemed sufficient, “You ought to know,” was the only reply vouchsafed them (149).

* Utica, seeing Carthage thus menaced, gave itself up to the

¹ [It was, of course, the commercial monopolists, and not old Cato and his figs, who destroyed Carthage. These horse-leeches of the world could not bear the modest rivalry of either Corinth or Carthage. — *Ed.*]

² Appian, *Lib.*, 69–75. In the *Epitome* of Livy it is said that the deputies of the Senate found at Carthage a great quantity of materials collected for ship-building; also that they escaped from the violence of the people only by speedy flight.

Romans, thus furnishing them with a port and fortress but three leagues away from Carthage itself. The two consuls, Censorinus and Manilius, at once set out with a large fleet and 80,000 legionaries. Ambassadors from Carthage were again sent to Rome. "The Carthaginians," they said, "place themselves at the discretion of the Roman people." The promise was given them that their laws, their liberty, and their territory should be left intact, but they were required to send to Lilybaeum 300 hostages. These hostages having been delivered up, the consuls declared that their final intentions would only be made known after they had arrived in Africa, and they crossed the sea with their formidable army, while Carthage, relying upon the promised peace, sent not a single war vessel to meet them. Upon arriving at Utica they required the Carthaginians to surrender their arms; more than 200,000 cuirasses, 3,000 catapults, and an infinity of javelins of every kind were delivered up.¹ "Now," said the consuls, "you will leave your city and go ten miles inland and establish yourselves there." It was an act of infamous perfidy, and the consuls added insult to injury. Censorinus extolled the advantages of an agricultural life, far from that deceitful sea, the sight of which would nourish regrets and dangerous hopes.¹

The Carthaginians were still 700,000 strong, and indignation roused them. The patriotic party seized upon the authority once more; the partisans of Rome were massacred; the gates were closed; the temples were transformed into workshops, and night and day the armorers plied their trade; women cut off their long hair to make ropes; the slaves were enfranchised and enrolled; and Hasdrubal, one of the leaders of the popular party, took the field with 20,000 men, whom he had not allowed to be disarmed. When the consuls advanced to take possession of the city, they found the walls manned with defenders, and were repulsed thrice. Their machines of war and part of their fleet were burned. Behind them the country was in insurrection, and Hasdrubal had collected in his camp at Nepheris as many as 70,000 men. Notwithstanding their 80,000 legionaries, the position was not without danger to the Roman generals.

¹ Appian, *Lib.* 74-81; Strabo, xvii. 833.

In the army served as legionary tribune a son of Paulus Aemilius, who had been adopted by the eldest son of Scipio Africanus, and had united the names of the two families, Scipio Aemilianus. He had already distinguished himself in Spain, where he had slain in single combat a warrior of gigantic size, and he had gained a mural crown by being the first man to scale the ramparts of a besieged city. On one occasion before Carthage an entire attacking column became involved, and would have been massacred, had he not brought reserves to its help. Another time, by a rapid advance upon the enemy's rear, he saved the camp of Manilius. Again, the army owed to him its safety in an ill-directed expedition against Hasdrubal. Other services increased his credit with the troops and his reputation at Rome. His integrity and fidelity to his word gained him the confidence of Masinissa; and the old Numidian king upon his death-bed (148) sent for the young Roman to intrust him with the settlement of the succession. By Masinissa's orders the royal authority was divided among his three sons, the youngest of whom, Gulussa, a skilful general, did the Romans good service against Carthage.

Calpurnius Piso, who was in command during the year 148, was very negligent in respect to discipline, and met with repulses before Clypea and Hipponium; it was, in fact, another year wasted. Scipio was at Rome soliciting the aedileship; he received the consulate and the charge of the war (147). With him it at once assumed a new aspect. He restored to the soldiers their old habits of obedience and courage and industry. Carthage was situated upon an isthmus; he cut this by a canal and a wall twelve feet high. To starve out the inhabitants it was needful also to close their harbor; he threw across its entrance a dyke ninety feet wide at the base and twenty-four at the top. But the Carthaginians excavated through the solid rock a new channel to the open sea, and a fleet built with the *débris* of their houses all but surprised the Roman galleys. After a long day's struggle Scipio forced the enemy to return back into the harbor, and guarded the new entrance by machines of war that swept with missiles the whole breadth of the channel.

Leaving famine to make frightful ravages in the city, Scipio

proceeded during the winter to storm the camp at Nepheris and destroy the army, which was the sole hope of the Carthaginians. In the early spring (146) he resumed the siege with activity, and carried the wall of the Port Cothon. The Romans were now in Carthage; but to reach the citadel Byrsa, in the heart of the town, long narrow streets were to be traversed, from whose houses the inhabitants offered the most desperate resistance. For six days and nights the Roman army fought its way towards the citadel, and upon its surrender 50,000 men gave themselves up, receiving the promise of their lives. Eleven hundred deserters still held out, having taken refuge with Hasdrubal in the temple of Aesculapius. Up to this time Hasdrubal, whatever Polybius may say, had conducted the defence with skill and gallantry. A moment of weakness disgraced him; he begged for his life of Scipio, and the latter called to the deserters to witness the humiliation of their leader. His wife had not consented to follow him. She ascended the top of the temple and called aloud to Scipio. "Do not fail," she cried, "to punish this wretch who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife, and his children! O vilest of men! go, adorn the triumph of the victor, and receive in Rome the reward of your baseness!" Then slaying her two children, she threw herself down into the blazing pile which the deserters had set on fire.

Scipio, after reserving for the public treasury the gold, silver, and gifts deposited in the temples, gave over the smoking ruins to pillage. For himself he took nothing; but he gave an invitation to the Sicilians to carry home the trophies which Carthage had brought from Syracuse and Agrigentum. Then came the Senate's work. Roman commissioners converted the territory of Carthage into a province. They overthrew whatever remained standing in the city, and under the most terrible imprecations devoted to eternal solitude the place where Carthage had stood. From the summit of a hill Scipio saw the work of desolation accomplished. In presence of this ruined empire, this great city, where soon not one stone would remain upon another, he was much affected, and instead of the intoxication of victory, a profound melancholy seized him. He thought on the future of Rome, and Polybius overheard him sadly repeating: "The day will come when sacred

Troy shall fall, and Priam, and the people of the warlike Priam."¹



Would it have been better if Rome, content with the possession of Italy, had lived in peace with her great African rival,

¹ Ἔσεται ἡμᾶρ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
καὶ Πριάμος καὶ λαὸς ἑυμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.

They are Hector's words in the *Iliad*, cited by Polybius (xxxix. 3). Scipio had no reason for his anxiety. Rome was stronger and better than Carthage. Empires created by commerce alone rest upon a frail foundation. For their destruction a violent shock is not always necessary. Some are crushed under the weight of their own wealth, others fall by an indirect blow. The Parthians, in closing the overland route to Oriental commerce, and the Ptolemies, in opening to it Egypt and the Red Sea, ruined Phœnicia; the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco di Gama struck a death-blow at Venice; the Hanseatic League fell because the importance of northern commerce was destroyed as soon as direct relations by sea were established with the East. Last of all, Holland, Portugal, and Spain, enriched by commerce with the East and with America, have been supplanted by England by reason of the extension of her relations in the East and West Indies. A day may come when the New World, placed midway between Europe and the East, will inherit the commercial prosperity of England.

² See Vol. I. p. 527.

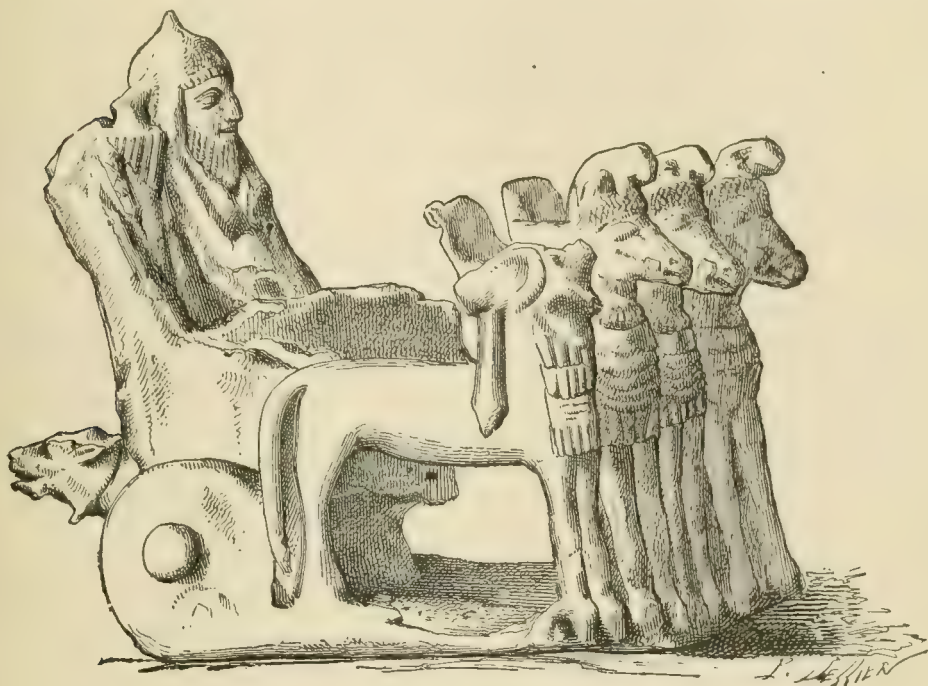
and the two nations on either side of the channel of Malta had followed each her own special destiny without collision, Carthage developing commerce, that great factor of civilization, Rome limiting her ambition to the giving of peace to Italy and to the carrying forward into the West the light she herself had borrowed from Greece? To put the question thus is to answer it. But when was ever wisdom like this shown in human affairs?

Hostile nations contend for dominion, rival cities for existence. Between the latter every war is a war of extermination, every means towards success seems to be legitimate. In this way had disappeared before the power of Rome the cities of Alba Longa, Veii, Volsinii, Capua, Syracuse; in this way Carthage fell. But the Romans put so much duplicity into the work of destruction, that history can no longer speak of Punic faith; it is Roman faith she must stigmatize.

At the same time, if the opinion of the men of those times, and the historic circumstances were such that one of the two cities must perish, we ought not to regret that Rome was victorious.

What progress does humanity owe to Carthage? In our time, when commerce is held, and justly, in great honor, men have sought to revise, in the name of political economy, the decision of the ages. Their devotion to material interests, turning backward into the past, calls upon us to deplore the destruction of that Power which might, they say, have united the world in the peaceful bonds of trade, as Rome bound it together by the bloody ties of victory. But there are fruitful wars as there may be a destructive peace; and nations, like individuals, live in posterity, not by what they do for themselves, but by what they bequeath to the generations that come after. Of what consequence are the commercial houses of Carthage in comparison with the Greek colonies that we know by the names of Miletus, Ephesus, Phocæa, Rhodes, Byzantium, Alexandria, Cyrene, and Marseilles? Of what consequence, in comparison with those great Sicilian and Italian cities, which knew how to find wealth as well as ever Carthage did, but were also glowing centres of art and of thought? Even upon that African soil which she held so long, what did she leave behind her? Her language, which 600 years later the contemporaries of Saint Augustine spoke, but not a

monument, not a book.¹ Her institutions remain a problem, of which Aristotle and Polybius give different accounts; her arts have produced only shapeless figures, worthy of the South Sea islanders,—a new proof of the iconoclastic temper of the Semitic



PHOENICIAN CAR.²

racés,—and to the sum of ideas already existing in the world she added nothing. If there had been left to us of Rome nothing save the inscriptions upon her tombs, we should have been able from them to reconstruct her civil and military organization, her philosophy and her religion; while the funeral columns of Carthage reveal only a sterile devotion. The heritage left to the world by Carthage is this,—the memory of a brilliant commercial success, of a cruel religion, of some bold explorations; a few fragments

¹ [Even this is not certain. The Berber dialects survived both the Phoenician and Roman occupation; and it was not till the third occupation by the Arabs that the original language may be said to have disappeared. Cf. Sismondi, *Littér. du Midi de l'Europe*, vol. i. — Ed.]

² Heuzey, *Les Figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre*, pl. v. The rude forms in this figurine confirm what has been said and shown (vol. i. pp. 539-543) of the barbarism of Punic art.

of voyages;¹ a few agricultural precepts, of which the Latins had no need; and lastly, the honor of having for a century retarded the destinies of Rome, with the generous example, at their last hour, of an entire people refusing to survive their country.

Greece and Rome have bequeathed us something very different. Let no one say that the Romans destroyed everything. Mummius and Sylla were not less terrible in Greece than Scipio in Africa; and yet Greek civilization did not remain buried under the ruins of Corinth and of Athens. Genius is like the sacred fire in the temple,—it survives, even under ruins.

¹ Sallust (*Jug.* 20) speaks, however, of some Carthaginian historians; but what he has borrowed from them is strange enough. The Senate, instead of destroying the books found at Carthage, had one of them translated, the work of Mago on agriculture, and gave the rest to the African princes, — recognizing, no doubt, that no advantage could be derived from them. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xviii. 22.) We have a Greek version of the voyage of Hanno and a Latin version of some fragments of the voyage of Himilco.

² Half a horse, running, and crowned by a Victory; a grain of barley and seven Punic letters, read by M. de Sauley, *Karth-Khadishah*, "The New City," the Phoenician name of Carthage. On the reverse, a palm-tree and four Punic letters, *Maknat*, "the camp." Silver coin, minted in Sicily for Carthage.



CARTHAGINIAN COIN FROM SICILY.²

CHAPTER XXXIII.

SUBMISSION OF SPAIN AND OF PERGAMEAN ASIA.

I. SUBMISSION OF SPAIN (178-133).

CARTHAGE, Macedon, and Corinth had yielded; Spain still held out. She had no great cities where she might be subdued, nor, among the inhabitants of Central and West Spain, was there great movable wealth, which, by inciting the greed of the peasantry of Latium, would render enlistments numerous; and, especially, she lay far distant from Rome. From Lilybaeum to Carthage, from Brundisium to Dyrrachium, the voyage was short and safe, and by way of Thrace and the Cyclades, Asia might readily be reached. It was not so easy to get to Spain. Instead of crossing direct from Ostia to Carthagera, across the Tyrrhenian Sea, the legions marched slowly up the Etruscan coast, as far as the superb Gulf of Spezzia, *Lunae Portus*,¹ where the Romans had established a maritime arsenal, which has become the Toulon of the modern Italians.² Embarking from this port, they sailed with great precaution along the Ligurian coast, running into shelter at the least suspicion of a storm, and guarding themselves against the ambuscades of the mountaineers every time that they were obliged

¹ The gulf extends into the land for a distance of more than seven miles, and a little city, which Ptolemy called the port of Venus (*Porto Venere*), still exists at its entrance.

² Strabo, who also calls it *Σελήνης λιμήν*, regards it as the first port in the world. Livy (xxxiv. 8, and xxxix. 21, 32) represents it as the rendezvous of the Roman fleets; Ennius had celebrated it, —

Lunai portum, est operae, cognoscite, cives!

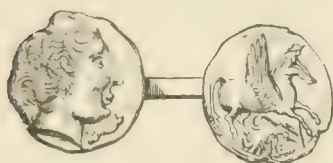
And Persius, who lived there, admires it, —

Qua latus ingens

Dant scopuli et multa litus se valle receptat.

Sat. vi. 7-8.

to land. From the Var to the Rhone they could advance more rapidly, past the friendly trading-ports of the Massiliotes; but from the Rhone to the Pyrenees extreme precaution was necessary in crossing that sea, which is so justly called the Lion's Gulf. The debarkation took place at Emporiae, or more frequently at Tarragona; thence the cohorts made their way to the positions occupied by the troops whom they came to relieve, often at the very extremity of Spain. These circumstances explain why Rome had need of three quarters of a century to put an end to the insurrections of the Spaniards, while in a few campaigns she had been able elsewhere to destroy famous kingdoms.



DRACHMA OF EMPORIAE.¹

From the time of the pacification of Spain by Sempronius Gracchus, in 178, until the year 153, the tranquillity of the two provinces was disturbed only by an outbreak among the Celtiberians. In 170, one of those religious and patriotic fanatics, of whom Spain has produced so many, went through the villages of Celtiberia exhibiting a silver spear, which he asserted he had received from Heaven, and from which, he said, the affrighted legions of Rome would flee in terror. One night this man attempted to enter the consul's tent, and was slain by guards, upon which the revolt ended. This disturbance shows that the Roman rule was not yet accepted in Spain. The country, in fact, contained too many mines of gold and silver not to excite the cupidity of the praetors, and these officers were too rapacious to recoil from any form of extortion. While the war with Perseus was yet undecided, the Senate was forced to assume an air of equity, and to interpose its authority. But the new nobility were seldom mindful of the austere virtues of the earlier days; the praetors still sought to repair in Spain their fortunes wasted in



COIN OF TARRAGONA.²

¹ This head of Pegasus—a little human head, stooped and with wings, which the Duc de Luynes had noted long ago, has been interpreted by Cavedone (*Bull. arch. de Rome*, 1841), as Chrysaor, brother of Pegasus, born of the blood of Medusa, the twin of Pegasus.

² AETERNITATIS AVGUSTAE, C(ivitas) V(ictrix) T(ogata) T(arraco). Temple with eight columns. Reverse of a bronze coin of Augustus, struck at Tarragona.

debauchery or in the scandalous outlays which preceded the elections.

In 153 an emissary of Carthage found the Lusitanians ripe for revolt. A praetor and 9,000 soldiers were killed; and to decide the defection of the mountaineers of the centre of the peninsula, the successful insurgents sent to them the military ensigns taken in the Roman camp. One of these Celtiberian tribes, reserved to a glorious destiny, the Arevaci of Numantia, took arms and thrice defeated the troops sent against the city. Galba, defeated by the Lusitanians, feigned a willingness to negotiate, dispersed them by the offer of fertile lands, then massacred 30,000 and gorged himself with booty.

This act of treachery appeared for the time successful; and in Celtiberia the consul Lucullus disgraced the Roman name by a similar expedient. He had had difficulty in finding soldiers. Since rather unproductive pillage could only be attained through a murderous war, no one presented himself for enrolment. It became necessary for Scipio Aemilianus to shame the Roman youth by offering himself to take the field. Lucullus made a causeless attack upon the Vaccaei, who were on friendly terms with Rome, and besieged Cauca, one of their cities, where a multitude of men had taken shelter. The inhabitants negotiated and opened their gates, upon which Lucullus destroyed 20,000 and sold the rest. In consequence of this, the inhabitants of Intercatia surrendered only upon the personal guaranty of Scipio (150).

From the massacre of the Lusitanians one man only had escaped, Viriathus, originally a shepherd, to whom all the mountain paths were familiar,—the first, we may say, of those heroic leaders whom in all ages Spain has found ready to serve her. Ten thousand of his countrymen having imprudently placed themselves in a position where they could not fight and whence they could not fly, Viriathus led them out by paths apparently impracticable. His people would accept no other leader (147); and for five years he carried on with the Romans a war of ambushes and surprises, in which they lost their best troops. Viriathus well understood, however, that the Lusitanians alone could neither save Spain nor even maintain their own independence, and he incited the Celtiberians to revolt. This union with the tribes

who held the centre of the peninsula, rendered the war serious. The Senate despatched against the Celtiberians one of their best generals, Metellus Macedonicus, who fought with them for two years (143-142), and took nearly all their towns. This powerful diversion served the designs of Viriathus by leaving the other Roman army, which was commanded by the consul Servilianus, exposed alone to his attacks.¹ Shut up in a defile, the army avoided complete destruction only by capitulating upon the terms that there should be peace in future between the Roman people and Viriathus, and that each party should retain that which he then possessed. The comitia ratified this treaty, which would have caused earlier Romans to die of shame (141).

A new general, Caepio, obtained the authorization of the Senate to violate this treaty. He surprised Viriathus, who was relying without suspicion upon the promised faith of the Romans, drove him back into the mountains, and caused him to be assassinated by two Lusitanians who had been won over to the Roman cause (140). For eight years Viriathus had checked the Romans in Spain. His death discouraged both his army and his people; and Caepio had not even the opportunity to fight, and thus cover with a little military glory the perfidy he had committed. The Lusitanians submitted. He transported them into the midst of tribes already disciplined to the yoke of Rome on the shore of the Mediterranean, where Brutus, his successor (138-137), caused them to build the city of Valencia. This latter general had still some partial resistances to overcome. Numerous bands scoured the country, and these he starved out by destroying the harvest, and penetrated into the territory of the Gallaeci as far as the seacoast, where his legions beheld the sun sinking into that mysterious western ocean which was forever heaving, as men then believed, with the mighty respiration of Terra, the earth-goddess.²

Brutus believed that the power of Rome had now reached

¹ This consul, passing by adoption into the Fabian *gens*, had, according to usage, taken the names of his adoptive family, Q. Fabius Maximus, and kept from his own, the *gens Servilia*, the *agnomen* Servilianus. In this way the second son of Paulus Aemilius, after his adoption by the son of Scipio Africanus, took the name, P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor.

² Pomp. Mela, iii. 1. The phenomenon of the Atlantic tides was astonishing to the dwellers by the Mediterranean. It is true, however, that the ancients had before this time remarked the influence of the moon upon the ebb and flow. [There is a slight tide in the Euripus, and also at Venice.—*Ed.*]

the very extremity of the world. Behind him, nevertheless, the strife stirred up by the Lusitanian hero still lasted. Metellus had left unsubdued in Celtiberia only two cities, Thermania and Numantia.¹ The Spanish war, terminated in the south by the death of Viriathus, and in the west by the expedition of Brutus, was now centred in the north in the mountains which, detaching themselves from the Pyrenees at the head-waters of the Ebro, enclose the basin of that river, and from their southwestern slopes send down the waters of the Tagus and the Douro. The inaccessible character of these regions, the indomitable courage of the mountaineers defending their liberty in its last asylum, above all, the incapacity of the Roman generals, gave to this last effort of Spanish independence the aspect of a dangerous war. In 141 Pompeius made with the Numantians a treaty which he dared not avow in the Senate, and his successor, Popillius Laenas, approached the city only to undergo a defeat (138). The following year the consul Mancinus repeated the disgrace of Servilianus; shut up in an impassable gorge by the Numantians, he abandoned to them his camp and baggage, and gave his word to cease hostilities. So great was now the distrust of Roman promises, that the Numantians required the oaths of the officers of Mancinus and of his quaestor, Tiberius Gracchus, son of that Gracchus whose name was so long venerated by the people of Spain (138). The Senate refused to consider itself bound by this treaty; and selecting from antiquity such precedents as suited the manners of the day, renewed the comedy which had followed the incident of the Caudine Forks; Mancinus, naked and bound, was delivered over to the Numantians, who refused to receive him.² The people would not allow Gracchus to share the consul's fate.

New leaders and a new army failed to wipe out this disgrace. To destroy the little Spanish town, no less a general was needed than he who had overthrown Carthage. Scipio began by banishing

¹ It is believed that the ruins of Numantia still exist at Puente de Don Guarray, a league from Soria, upon an eminence more than a league in circumference, and accessible only from one side.

² He returned to take his seat in the Senate, but was refused place by the tribune P. Rutilius, who maintained that Mancinus, delivered to the enemy as a captive, had thus lost the *jus civitatis*. His friends appealed to the *jus postliminii*, or right of secret return, in his favor; but a special law was needful before he could be reinstated. [Cicero discusses this case, *de Orat.* i. 40. — *Ed.*]

idleness and effeminacy from the camp. He drove away 2,000 idle women, fortune-tellers, and charlatans, who had transformed it into a licentious village fair. He set the troops to labor digging ditches and building walls, and then to undo the work. "Let them be covered with mud," he said, "since they



THE BALEARIC ISLANDS.

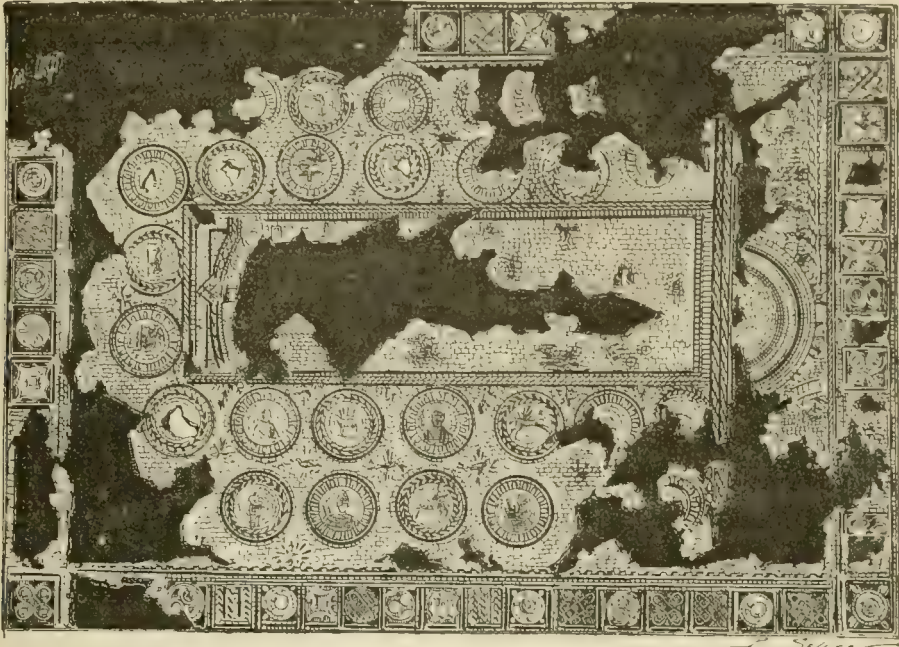
will not cover themselves with blood." Avoiding any general engagement, he attacked, one after another, the allies of the Numantians, by degrees drove back the latter into their city, and presently built a solid wall flanked with towers to shut them in. The Douro washed the base of the hill on which Numantia stood, and divers brought food to the besieged; Scipio threw into the river-bed beams of wood with iron teeth, and stretched nets across it. A Numantian leader, however, succeeded



COIN OF THE BALEARIS.¹

¹ Cabeirus. Reverse, a bull. Silver coin of the Balearis.

in passing through the Roman lines, and went to solicit aid from the people of Lucia. Scipio hastened to this city, required that 400 of the principal citizens should be given up to him, and ordered their hands to be cut off; at Carthage



MOSAIC FROM ITALICA.¹

he had thrown to the lions all the deserters whom he had taken.² The Numantians, hard pressed by famine, sought a battle, in which they might at least die gloriously; but Scipio would not come out from his impregnable entrenchments, and they were reduced to die by their own hands (133). But fifty Numantians were alive to follow his triumphal chariot at Rome.



COIN OF ITALICA.³

Exhausted with conflicts, Spain at last became tranquil. But the mountaineers of the north, the Astures, the Cantabrii, and the Vascones were not subdued. The Celtiberians and the Vaccaei

¹ Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*.

² Val. Max., ii. 7.

³ GEN. POP. ROM. The genius of the Roman people; before him, a globe. Reverse of a bronze coin of Augustus, struck at Italica.

These victories and these massacres do not explain how Spain came to be so completely Roman, in language,¹ in customs and institutions. Few colonies were sent thither. Only the military establishment of Italica² dates from this period, — a colony founded by Scipio's veterans, and later very flourishing, as we know by the fact that Trajan, Hadrian, and Theodosius came from it; there was another, founded in 171, at Carteia. The Senate as yet had not become willing to exile its citizens or even its allies to any point outside of Italy. But that which was not done with intention came about by the force of circumstances. If we seek to count the contingents arriving from Rome in the Spanish peninsula, we find that in a period of twenty-seven years only, from 196 to 169, more than 140,000 Italians crossed the Pyrenees; nor is the list complete.³ We cannot doubt that many of these soldiers remained in Spain and married women of the country. The colony of Carteia, at the head of the Bay of Gibraltar,⁴ is a proof of this, for it was formed of families of mixed race; hence they enjoyed only the *jus Latii*.⁵ The Senate might refuse to offer to the poor of Rome lands in a distant country, but her generals were certainly not slow in following the example of the first Scipio, and frequently granted estates to their veterans; so that, when the conquest by violence had been completed, a moral conquest by individual colonization at once began. These imperceptible but continuous infiltrations of Italian blood quickly Latinized the

¹ [In enumerating the causes of the Latinization of Spain, we must add, as perhaps the most important, that the old Celtic languages of both Gaul and Iberia were closely allied to Latin, — so much so that an ancient Gaul certainly, and an ancient Iberian probably, could learn it without difficulty. On the contrary, the most educated Greeks learned Latin with great difficulty. — *Ed.*]

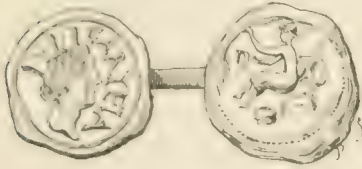
² Italica received the name of Old Seville (Sevilla la Vieja); it is six miles distant from modern Seville, whither its inhabitants emigrated in consequence of a change in the bed of the river. The ruins have almost completely disappeared; the mosaic, represented above, was discovered in 1799; it has since been destroyed, but was copied by M. Delaborde in his *Voyage en Espagne*.

³ These figures do not contradict the statement given on p. 211. The enrolments were numerous at first, while Baetica yet had the wealth accumulated there by Carthage and the Phoenicians in centuries of commerce. Later they became few and reluctant when there were only poor and warlike tribes to fight with.

⁴ In the place called El Rocadillo, where the remains of an amphitheatre are yet visible.

⁵ The son of a Roman father and foreign mother, *pergrina*, followed the condition of the mother, unless she belonged to a nation which had the *jus connubii* with Rome. On this account there was a *diminutio capitis* for the Roman colonists of Carteia, and the new city was not a Roman, but a Latin colony. See Vol. I. p. 484.

Transalpine provinces.¹ On the other hand, beyond the Adriatic, where the wars were short, and where the legions never sojourned,



COIN OF CARTEIA.²

the Greek language was never displaced. Also we shall observe that in the West the civilizing element was the Roman spirit, while in the East it was Hellenism. Each absorbed into itself the inferior elements upon which

it acted; Hellenism had long done this in Asia; Rome now begins to do it in Spain, and presently in Gaul. The West is on its way to become Latin; the East will remain Greek.³

II. REDUCTION OF PERGAMEAN ASIA INTO A PROVINCE (133-129).

FROM Spain we turn again to Asia, that we may follow the destructive work which the Senate was doing all round the Mediterranean, of which it intended to make a Roman lake.

From 188 to 133, not a Roman soldier appeared in Asia; but the commissioners of the Senate were always there, keeping



DEMETRIUS I., SOTER.⁴

watch upon the words and acts of the Asiatic princes; intervening with authority in all affairs, with the design of degrading the native rulers in the eyes of their subjects; exacting rich gifts,⁵ in order to keep them always burdened; taking



ARIARATHUS V.⁶

their sons as hostages,⁷ to send them back like Demetrius [of

¹ Later, Julius Caesar and Augustus sent many colonies thither.

² CARTEIA. Turreted head of the city. On the reverse, a fisherman on a height; beside him a basket. Bronze coin of Carteia.

³ Later we shall see Rome and the western provinces also undergo the influence of Hellenism, but under the form of philosophy and religion.

⁴ Gold coin of $2\frac{1}{2}$ staters (21.5 gr.).

⁵ Antiochus gave at one time 500 pounds of gold, at another fifty talents. (Livy, xxxvi. 4; xlii. 6.) Prusias offered a golden crown of 150 talents, etc.

⁶ Head of Ariarathus V., from a tetradrachm.

⁷ And with the king's sons, the sons also of the chief men in the kingdom. Antiochus gave twenty of these hostages, with the condition of changing them every three years.

Macedon], gained over to the interests of Rome; above all, forbidding them war, that the noise of arms might not awaken these people from their lethargy.

An impostor had risen up against Ariarathus V., and the Romans gave him possession of half of Cappadocia (147);¹ Prusias of Bithynia had conquered the King of Pergamus and pillaged his capital; they condemned him to pay a fine of



COIN OF METHYMNA.²

600 talents, 500 for Attalus II., and the remainder for Methymna and three other cities whose territory he had ravaged (155).³ Upon



ANTIOCHUS V.,
EUPATOR.

the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the legitimate heir of the throne of the Seleucidae, Demetrius Soter, was at Rome. The Senate caused a child, Antiochus Eupator, to be proclaimed, and despatched Octavius into Syria, with orders to burn the Syrian fleet, to kill their elephants, and disband their army.⁴ But Demetrius, aided by Polybius, who equipped a Carthaginian vessel for the purpose, made his escape; the Senate hastened to form an alliance with the Jews, at this time in revolt against the Seleucidae, under the leadership of Judas Maccabaeus, and recognized their independence (158). In Egypt, being called in as arbiter between Physcon and Philometor, they dismembered the kingdom, concealing the perfidy of the act under the show of impartiality, the heritage of the Ptolemies being thus divided into three separate states, Egypt, Cyprus, and the Cyrenaica.⁶



COIN OF DEMETRIUS I., SOTER.⁵

¹ Appian, *Syr.* 47.

² Head of Pallas, very ancient, in a hollow square. On the reverse, ΜΕΘΥΜΝΑΙ . . . in early Greek, and a wild boar. Silver coin of Methymna of very early date.

³ Polybius, xxxiii. 11.

⁴ Polybius, xxxi. 10.

⁵ *Aureus* from the *Cabinet de France*, — a unique specimen. Both obverse and reverse bear the horn of plenty; the letters ΒΞΡ, under the name of Demetrius, mark its date, the 162d year of the Seleucidae, that is, 150 B. C.

⁶ Polybius xxxi. 26. [Cf. also I. Maccabees on the treaty of Rome with Judas. — *Ed.*]

PTOLEMY VI. (PHILOMETOR).¹

The kings of Pergamus had rendered too many services in the wars against Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus, for the Senate to be able to show themselves openly hostile. But among states gratitude has very little permanence; and the Romans soon perceived that it was for their interest that the Attalids should not become the chiefs of a great Asiatic monarchy. Manlius contented himself, therefore, with humbling the pride of the Galatians, without taking away their liberty, that he might leave

CYPRUS.²

them to be forever adversaries to the Pergameans, and stumbling-blocks in the ambitious path of the latter. In the same intention the Senate never interposed effectively to hinder the disputes of Eumenes and Attalus with the Bithynians. It continued to be the policy of Rome to suffer these petty kings to exhaust their strength in vain quarrels, which her commissioners were sent to

¹ From a unique coin in the *Cabinet de France* (14.1 gr.).

² From the village of Cata Dicono at the base of the Cerina Hills. Albert Gaudry, *Géologie de l'île de Chypre*, fig. 72, pl. 28 (extract from *Mémoires de la Société de Géologie de France*, 2d series, vol. iii.).

arrest only when they seemed likely to end too favorably for one side or the other.¹

Of the two kings following Eumenes, who died in 159, the second, Attalus III., seems to have been a monster of cruelty. By turns sculptor, worker in metal, and physician, he murdered those who did not applaud his erratic acts, and he tried upon his relatives and friends, and upon his guards, the noxious plants which he cultivated with his own hands. Upon his death, in 133, the Senate declared that in his will he had made the Roman people his legatee, and the inheritance was no less than the kingdom of Pergamus. A natural son of Eumenes, Aristonicus, raised an insurrection among the people, defeated the consul Licinius Crassus, and would have made him prisoner; but the latter, not willing to be taken alive, struck one of the barbarian soldiers



VASE FROM THE CYRENAICA.²

in the face, and was instantly slain in retaliation for the injury. The consul Perperna easily made amends for this defeat

¹ In 1859 there were discovered a number of letters [on marble] from Eumenes and Attalus II., who died in 138, to the high priest of Pessinus, in which it is plainly manifest, notwithstanding much reticence, how miserable was the condition of these times. [Cf. Munich. Sitz. Ver. 1860.]

² Black vase from the Cyrenaica. It is fluted, and bears four similar medallions in relief, representing a winged genius holding a cornucopia. The two handles are twisted like rope; around the neck of the vase are wreathed sprays of ivy; where the handles are set on are masks of Medusa in relief. *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,333 of the catalogue.

(130), and Aristonicus, being sent to Rome, was put to death; peace being established, the kingdom of Pergamus was made into a province under the name of Asia (129).

The King of Cappadocia, Ariarathus V., who had aided the Romans in this war, perished in it; and the Senate rewarded his fidelity by restoring to his family the territory of Lycaonia and Cilicia. The gift was not one of which Rome was likely to repent. Ariarathus had six children; his widow murdered five of them, sparing the youngest, that she might reign in his name. But the people revolted, and she in turn perished. A kingdom like this was not a dangerous neighbor for the new province.

Thus, in the space of a few years, Rome had subjected to her sway the greater part of the countries lying upon the Mediterranean, at an expense of much less heroism than duplicity. Since the great struggle of the Second Punic War, there had been no serious danger for her, and she could have afforded to be generous. Such moderation, however, is not in human nature. A certain current of events sets in, and all give way before it, even those who recognize its peril. If, upon the conquest of Hannibal, the Romans had shut themselves up in Italy, with a resolution never to overpass its boundaries, they would have been a people of sages such as history cannot parallel.

¹ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΡΧ(ης) ΑΝΕΘ(ηκεν). ΟΤΡΟΗΝΩΝ. "Alexander the *Asiarch* has consecrated . . ." perhaps the city, perhaps a temple, or the statue represented upon the coin, which M. Cohen takes to be Cadmus stepping into a ship. Reverse of a bronze coin minted at Otrus in Phrygia.



PHRYGIAN COIN.¹

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ORGANIZATION OF ROMAN PROVINCES.

I. EXTENT OF THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC ABOUT 130 B. C.

A HUNDRED and thirty years before Christ the Roman Republic had ended its great wars and founded its empire. There remained to conquer only Jugurtha, Mithridates, and the Gauls.



WOUNDED GAUL KILLING HIMSELF.¹

Rome already held the three great peninsulas of Southern Europe, Spain, Italy, and Greece. Between Italy and Greece she had opened a way for herself around the Adriatic by the subjugation of the Istrians and the Iapodes in 129, of the Dalmatians in 154, of the Illyrians before the Second Punic War; it was a road as yet somewhat insecure, not to become safe until under the Empire, after fresh blows had been struck at these rude and barbarous populations. A praetor had even gone as far as the Danube in search of those Gallic nations that Philip and Perseus had hoped

¹ From the sarcophagus given on p. 192.

to set upon Italy.¹ Between Italy and Spain there was no route by land; but on that side Rome had long ago formed useful alliances, and a few years later she established a province there. Meanwhile, Marseilles furnished ships and a harbor, pilots from the Var to the Ebro, and put at Rome's service her influence over the neighboring barbarians. Massiliote spies had warned Rome when Hannibal crossed the Ebro, had kept watch on his march through Gaul, had guided Scipio's horsemen in their reconnoitring. In return, the Senate had sent its legions across the Alps as early as 154 to defend these useful allies against the Oxybii and Deciates, who threatened their trading-houses at Nice, Antibes, and Monaco.² Rome was under a necessity of securing, at all costs, her communication with Spain.

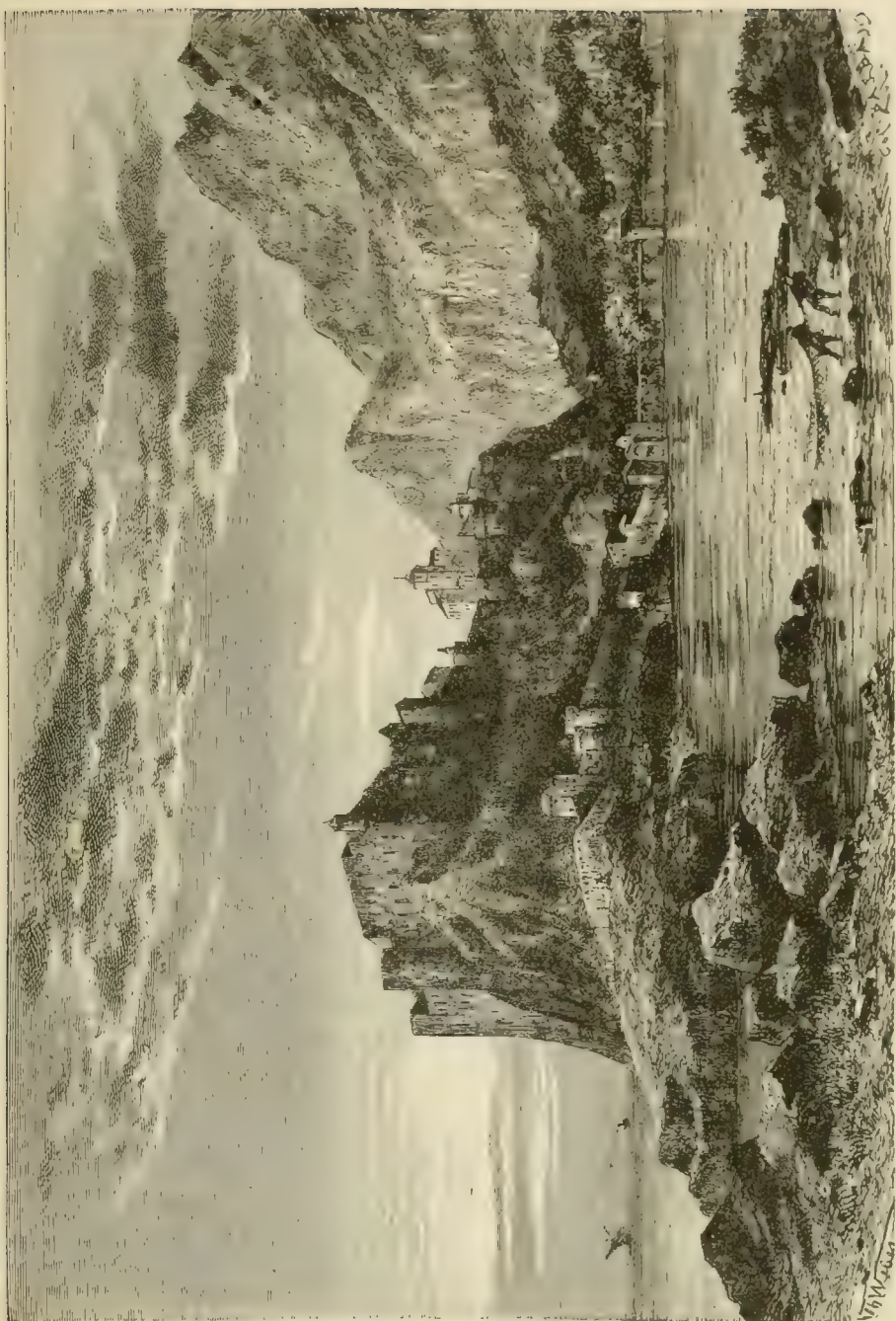
The independence left to some few mountainous districts in the north of Spain, of the Cisalpine, and of Illyria, does not prevent us from regarding the three European peninsulas as subject to the authority of Rome. In Asia Minor their sway extended as far as the Taurus; but ascertaining by means of Manlius' expedition how feeble the Galatians, formerly so dreaded, now were, Rome had not yet required of them the abandonment of a liberty which, on this far-off frontier, was rather a help than a hindrance to the Republic. Gavium, the great city of Ancyra, even Pessinus, which since Cybele came thence to the banks of the Tiber, was considered by the Romans a sacred city, were still left in the hands of Gallic tetrarchs. In Africa, Rome had retained the Carthaginian territory, which the Numidians, divided since the death of Masinissa among several kings, could now no longer molest. Egypt was under her guardianship, the Jews were in alliance with her, and the petty kings still remaining in Asia Minor were altogether at her discretion. Rhodes and the Greek cities of the Asiatic sea-coast rendered her divine honors;³ finally, before six years, Transalpine Gaul would be invaded. The rule of Rome, or her influence, extended from the ocean to the shores of the Euphrates,

¹ Expedition of Asconius against the Scordisci (135).

² See Desjardins, *Géogr. de la Gaule Romaine*, ii. 164.

³ Polybius, xxxi. 14. The Rhodians in 163 placed in the temple of Athene in honor of the Roman people a colossus thirty cubits high. As early as the year 170, *Alabandenses templum urbis Romae se fecisse commemoraverunt ludosque anniversarios ei divae instituisse.* (Livy, xliii. 6.) Smyrna had done the same twenty-five years earlier. (Tac., *Ann.* iv. 56.)

MONACO.



and from the Alps to the Atlas. But a few efforts more were needed to complete the stately structure of Roman supremacy.

It is now the proper place to examine the organization which the Senate bestowed upon the transalpine and transmarine provinces, as after the Samnite wars¹ we considered the arrangements made in respect to conquered Italy.

The territory of the Republic was divided into two parts, — Italy, south of the Rubicon and the Macra; and the provinces, or tributary lands,² of which there were at this time eight: —

Sicily, divided on account of its wealth into two quaestorships, whose seats were at Lilybaeum and Syracuse;³

Corsica and Sardinia;

Cisalpine Gaul;

Macedon, with Thessaly, Epirus, and Illyria;

Asia (the old kingdom of Pergamus);

Carthaginian Africa;

Further Spain;

Nearer Spain.

Achaea, that is to say Greece and her islands, may be regarded as a ninth province, although it had as yet no special governor.

To these domains of the Republic another should be added; the Mediterranean belonged to Rome, and the divine pair, Neptune and Amphitrite, whom the Greeks had so greatly honored, began now to receive homage on the banks of the Tiber. Neptune obtained at quite a late period a temple in the Campus Martius; and we know nothing of the worship paid him there, not even with certainty the day on which his festival was celebrated. But Greek artists, employed by wealthy Romans, delighted in multiplying graceful representations of Amphitrite and her nymphs, — deceitful representations of peace reigning upon the waves; for Rome was not destined to give to her maritime domain



NEPTUNE.⁴

¹ Vol. I. chap. xvii.

² *Stipendiaria facta est.* (Vell. Paterc., ii. 28.)

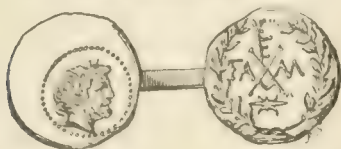
³ Cic., in *Verr.* ii. 4.

⁴ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (of the King Demetrius) and two monograms. Neptune standing, holding a trident. Reverse of a tetradrachm of Demetrius Poliorcetes.



COIN OF CISALPINE GAUL.

Laurelled head of Apollo. On the reverse, a horse's head. Barbaric imitation of Carthaginian and Campanian coins: ΚΑΣΙΟΣ (*Kasios*), chief's name. Gallic coin of Cisalpine Gaul.



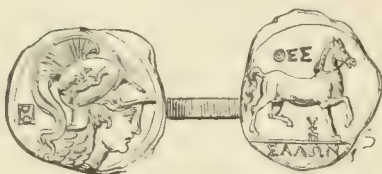
COIN OF THE ACHAEAN LEAGUE.

Laurelled head of Jupiter. On the reverse, AX in monogram, FAM, and a winged thunderbolt in a laurel-wreath. Triobol of Achaea (Achaean League).



COIN OF THE SECOND MACEDON.

Head of Diana on a Macedonian buckler. On the reverse, MAKEΔONΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΣ (*of the second region of the Macedonians*), two monograms and Hercules' club in an oak-garland. Tetradrachm.



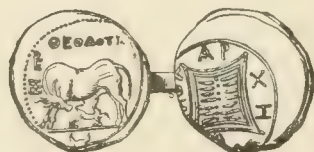
COIN OF THESSALY.

Head of Minerva; behind, a monogram. On the reverse, ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ, and a monogram. Horse passant. Didrachm of Thessaly.



COIN OF ILLYRIA.

Jupiter laurel-crowned. On the reverse, ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ, and an eagle standing in a laurel wreath. Didrachm of Epirus.



COIN OF EPIRUS.

ΘΕΟΔΩΤΙ (magistrate's name), and two monograms. Cow suckling her calf; below, the horns of a bull. On the reverse, ΑΠΟΛΑ (*Λαονιατῶν*) ΑΡΧΗ . . . (magistrate's name), and plan of the gardens of Alcinoüs. Drachma of Apollonia in Illyricum.



COIN OF PERGAMUS.

Head of Hercules. On the reverse, ΠΕΡΤΑ, Minerva standing, and a thunderbolt. Drachma of Pergamus. (14.1 gr.)

that peace which she secured to her continental provinces. She destroyed all foreign navies, without taking their place with vessels of her own, and she did nothing for the protection of the seas, where piracy henceforth raged with impunity.

II. THE PROVINCE.¹

IN ancient times the merciless law of war gave over to the conqueror the possessions, the lands, the life, the gods even of the conquered nation.²

The Senate had at first exercised this terrible right in all its rigor towards certain Italian peoples. Epirus, Numantia, Corinth, and Carthage had suffered the same fate,—destruction. But in general Rome left to her subjects their religion,³ their laws,⁴ their magistrates,⁵ their senate, and their public assemblies, the larger part or the whole of their lands and revenues,⁶—in a word, a very

¹ To render this exposition less incomplete, and to avoid returning to the subject before the Empire, facts and testimony will sometimes be cited of later date than the year 130.

² *Divina humanaque omnia*, says Plautus (*Amphitryon*, I. i. 102) and Livy (i. 38; cf. vii. 31, ix. 9, xxxvi. 28; Polybius, xx. 9, 10, xxxvi. 2). The soil was understood to remain to its former owners in the provinces, the superior right of the Roman people being reserved,—a right represented by the *tributum* or *vectigal*. (Cf. Gaius, ii. 7, and Cic., *Verr.* iii. 6.)

³ Tac., *Ann.* iii. 60–63, iv. 14, 43; Tertullian, *ad Nation.* ii. 8, *Apolog.* 24: *Unicuique provinciae et civitati suus deus est*: Boeckh., *Corp. Inscript.* No. 4474. The juriconsults recognized even the inviolability of religious property in the provinces. (Gaius, ii. 7: *pro sacro habetur*.)

⁴ This subject will be treated later in the chapter on Municipal Rule under the Empire.

⁵ Inscriptions and coins in great number mention in the Greek and Latin provinces magistrates elected by their fellow citizens and having entire jurisdiction, even the *jus necis*, except in a few cases, reserved for the governor's decision, to whom also there was a right of appeal from the local authorities.

⁶ The revenues of the cities consisted, first, in town-dues (Suet., *Vitell.* 14); secondly, in tolls (Strab., xii. p. 575, *Portorium Dyrrhachinorum*; Cic., *pro Flacco*, 3).—likewise at Tarsus (Dion Chrys., *Or.* xxxiv.); at Ambracia, but here with this exception, *dum immunes Romani ac socii Latini nominis essent* (Livy, xxxvii. 44); at Thermae the exemption was stipulated only for the farmers of the revenue (*Plebsc. de Therm.* lig. 74–75); at a later date Marseilles levied a toll upon the canal of Marius (Strabo, iv. p. 183).—thirdly, in largesses, which the customs of the time rendered obligatory upon citizens aspiring to municipal offices (Pliny, *Ep.* x. 94); fourthly, in interest upon capital lent out (*Dig.*, L. tit. iv. fr. 18, § 2); fifthly, in revenues drawn from public property, edifices, common lands, often situated very far away.—Capua had such lands in Crete (Vell. Patere., 11, 82), Emporiae in the Western Pyrenees, Byzantium in Bithynia. This city shared, Strabo says, with the Romans, revenues drawn from tunny-fishing in the Euxine Sea. Arpinum and Atella had lands in Gaul. (Cic., *Fam.* xiii. 7, 11.) Two little cities in Liguria had land in Beneventum. (*Bulletin de l'inst. arch.* for the year 1835.) The

considerable municipal freedom, even a lot less hard than in the days of their independence, for the Senate had often diminished the tribute they paid to the kings, their former masters,¹ and did not as a rule require from them military service, which was reserved exclusively for Romans and Italians.

These nations might therefore regard themselves as still free, and, moreover, as relieved from two evils which had rendered their existence intolerable: without, aimless and endless wars, where on both sides, and for the most trivial of motives, there was incessant destruction of harvests, and villages, and human lives; within, an envious populace, re-commencing the strife of the poor against the rich whenever the wars without were for the moment interrupted. Those who held property were constantly exposed to confiscation, to exile, or death. The Roman Senate restored tranquillity, causing peace between nations and order in towns; private wars were interdicted, and everywhere authority was reconstituted with a strong hand.

The word *provincia* has a twofold meaning,² expressing both the legal authority of the magistrate who held the military or the judicial *imperium*, and also the place in which that authority was exercised. The praetor, who determined cases at Rome, had only the judicial *imperium*; the pro-consul, who governed a country, had both the judicial and the military; and, finally, the country came to take the name of the function, *provincia*. When a people had made submission to Rome, a constitution was given to them, or, as it was called, a *formula*, fixing the quota of the tribute and

aqueducts and sewers (Cic., *adv. Rullum*. iii. 2), the common pasture-lands (Hygin, *de Lim.* p. 192), gave revenues often collected by publicans, to whom they were farmed out. (*Dig.* XXXIX. tit. iv. fr. 53, § 1.) To these sources must be added donations made by private individuals for the founding of public buildings, festivals, distributions, or perpetual public games. (Plin., *Ep.* x. 79; Tac., *Ann.* iv. 43; Orelli, *passim*.) And although a tributary city could not at that time be constituted heir or receive a legacy, it no doubt happened often that the law was forgotten or evaded, as in Pliny (*Ep.* v. 7).

¹ Antony said to the Greeks of Pergamean Asia: Οὓς ἐτελείτε φόρους Ἀττάλῳ, μεθήκαμεν ὑμῖν. (App., *Bell. civ.* v. 4.) Paulus Aemilius relieved the Macedonians of half of the tribute, *quod pependissent regibus*, and reduced by one half the price of leases for the contractors who worked the iron and copper mines. In Illyria also there was a similar reduction. (Livy, xlv. 26, 29.) Cicero said (*pro Lege Manilia*, 6): *Provinciarum vectigalia tanta sunt ut iis ad ipsas provincias tutandas vix contenti esse possimus*. In Sicily there was no new tax levied: *Eorum agris vectigal nullum novum imponent*. (Cic., *in Verr.* II. iii. 6.)

² [The origin of this word has given rise to long and unsettled controversies. — *Ed.*]

the obligations of the provincials towards the Republic. This formula, which varied in the different provinces, was drawn up by the victorious general or by the commissioners of the Senate, — generally ten in number. As a rule, in order the better to restore order in the conquered country, the victorious general gave it new civil laws. This was done by Paulus Aemilius in Macedon,¹ by Gracchus in Spain, Rupilius in Sicily, Lucullus in Asia, Pompeius in Bithynia. In Achæa it was Polybius who, at the request of the cities, received from the Senate a commission to regulate the form of their government.² These new municipal constitutions preserved the old forms dear to the natives; only these forms were made to resemble the aristocratic institutions of Rome,³ as the civil laws of the vanquished were by degrees assimilated to those of the victors.⁴ Thus the sixty-five cities of Sicily⁵ had each a senate, two censors, who took the census every five years, orders of citizens, and offices filled on certain conditions of age and fortune. It was allowed to the subject nations, especially in Greece and the East, to celebrate in common their religious festivals and to re-establish their inoffensive leagues.

Provinces where the turbulence of the people or the neighborhood of the enemy rendered soldiers necessary were governed by proconsuls; others, more pacific, by praetors.⁶ These offices might

¹ Livy, xlv. 30, 22. *Leges quibus adhuc utitur.* (Justin. xxxiii. 2.)

² Pausanias, VIII. xxx. 5. Mummius had already introduced some changes. (*Id.* vii. 16; cf. Polybius, xl. 10.)

³ Pausanias says this expressly (VIII. xvi. 9): 'Ἐνταῦθα δημοκρατίας μὲν κατέπαυσε [Μόμμιος], καθίστατο δὲ ἀπὸ τμημάτων τὰς ἀρχάς. Quintius did the same in Thessaly (Livy, xxxiv. 51). and Gabinius in Judæa: . . . 'Ἀριστοκρατία διφεκοῖντο. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* i. 8, 5.) The law made by Pompeius for Bithynia and Pontus, fixing the age of members of the provincial senate at not less than thirty, and requiring some previous service in public affairs, and making the duration of the office for life, also without doubt fixed a property qualification for the senators. (Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* x. 83; Athenæus, v. 51: Πύκν' ἀφηρημένην τοῦ δήμου.) Cicero wrote to his brother (*ad Quint.* I. i. 2, 8): *Provideri abs te civitates optimatum consiliis administrantur.* In Sicily the inhabitants were divided into classes, *ex genere, censu, ætate.* (Cic., in *Verr.* ii. 2, 49.)

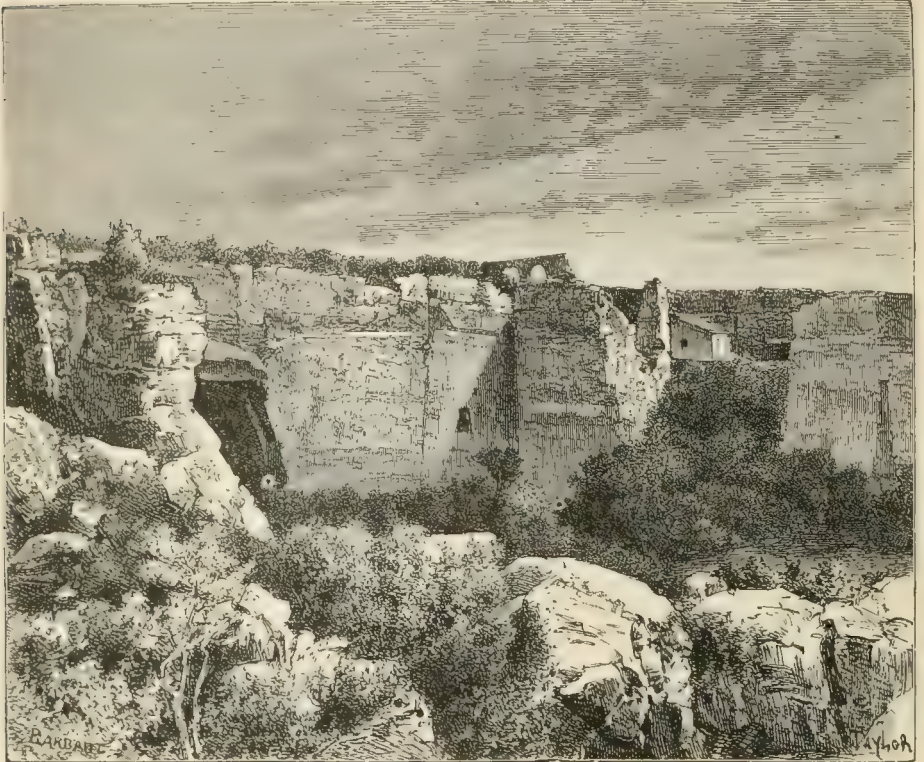
⁴ The edicts of the provincial praetors and quaestors (Gaius, i. 6), often, too, decrees of the Senate (Ulpian, *Fr.* xi. 18; Cic., *ad Att.* v. 21), caused this fusion.

⁵ Cic., *II.* in *Verr.*, ii. 15. We should, no doubt, add to this number the two confederate cities Messina and Tauromenium. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* iii. 8) says sixty-eight; Ptolemy (iii. 4) fifty-eight; Diodorus (xxiii. 5) sixty-seven; Livy (xxvi. 40) sixty-six.

⁶ The division into consular and praetorian provinces varied frequently. Macedon, a consular province under Piso, was praetorian in the time of his successor. (Cic., in *Pis.* 36, and *de Prov. cons.* 7.) Even the limits of provinces were sometimes changed. (Cic., in *Pis.* 16, 21, 24; Livy, xxiv. 44.)

be held for years. Sometimes even citizens without office obtained a province from the Senate or the people.¹

Aristocracies, which administer the government gratuitously, and democracies, which must administer it economically [?], do not multiply offices in the state; monarchy, on the other hand, swarms with them. Compare, for example, aristocratic England, which not long since had but 24,000 salaries on the estimates, and



QUARRIES OF SYRACUSE USED AS PRISONS.

the Empire of Constantine, where the army of office-holders was as great as the army of legionaries. Republican Rome was never willing to undertake in detail the administration of the provinces. She farmed out the taxes, to escape collecting them herself, the public works, to escape carrying them on; and she left the cities to manage their own affairs, with the intention of concerning

¹ Thus Scipio had obtained Spain: . . . *qui sine magistratu res gessisset*. (Livy, xxviii. 38; cf. Sallust, *Cat.* 19; Suet., *Caes.* 9; Polybius, vi. 13.)

herself therein only if the public peace should be in any way disturbed. She governed, she did not administer, — *regere imperio populos*. Hence a single man sufficed for a province vast as a kingdom.

III. THE GOVERNOR.

AT the very gates of Rome, as soon as he had crossed the sacred space of the *pomoerium*, the governor of a province took his insignia and his lictors with their axes bound in the rods, — six for a pro-praetor, twelve for a pro-consul, — and he was at once able to exercise “voluntary” jurisdiction,¹ but not the pro-consular authority, which he could exercise only within the limits of his province. His service was gratuitous. He received, however, from the Senate a sum, at times considerable,² for the expenses of his residence and journeys, and from the people of his province the corn required for his household, — a heavy tax, for a numerous company attended him: the praetorian cohort, that is, the soldiers composing his guard; the young nobles desiring to be initiated into public affairs under his guidance; his friends, *comites*, who



ROMAN HERALD.³

¹ But not “contentious” jurisdiction. *Jurisdictio voluntaria*: rendering valid certain acts done in the magistrate’s presence, as adoption or manumission; *jurisdictio contentiosa*: hearing and determining civil suits.

² This money was called *vasarium*. Piso received in this way 18,000,000 sesterces. The route into the province was determined in advance, and the journey was made in ships, on horseback, and in vehicles, the means of transportation being furnished partly by the state and partly by the countries through which the governor travelled. (App., *Bell. cic.* v. 45; Livy, xlii. 1; Cic., *in Verr.* II. v. 18; *ad Att.* v. 13, vi. 8; *in Pis.* 35.) In travelling within his province the governor lived in a tent, as Cicero did in Cilicia, when he wished not to be burdensome to the inhabitants, or he lodged at the houses of individuals. There seems to have been something like our modern system of billeting. (Cf. Cic., *in Ver.* II. i. 25: *Ostendit munus illud suum non esse; se quum suae partes essent hospitum recipiendorum . . . recipere solere.*) But the governor must always enter his province by the same city. Ulpian says in the *Digest* (I. xvi. 4. fr. 5): *Oportet ut per eam partem provinciam ingrediatur per quam ingredi moris est et quas Graeci ἐπιδημίας appellant sive κατὰ πλουν.*

³ From an engraved stone. A *fetialis* standing before a *columna bellica*, on which is a statue of Minerva throwing a javelin. (Rich, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 268, at the word *Fetialis*.)

came to share his honors or make capital out of his influence;¹ his familiars, his freedmen, persons whom he might employ con-



LICTORS.

fidentially for secret and delicate missions; scribes, to make copies of public acts; interpreters, physicians, soothsayers, heralds, and the like.²

¹ Vitellius, governor of Syria, having deposed Pontius Pilate, pro-curator of Judaea, gave the province in charge to Marcellus, one of his friends, τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 4.) These were the *contubernales*.

² Cic., in *Verr.* II. ii. 10, 30; Pliny, *Epist.* iv. 12. The governor was not at liberty to buy anything in his province (Cic., in *Verr.* II. iv. 5), nor receive any gift. (Cic., *de Leg.* iii. 4, and *lex Servilia*.) He was allowed to coin money for the needs of his army; we have gold *staters* of Flamininus. (Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité*.)

The governor, whatever was his title, was invested with political, military, and judicial authority; he had absolute control over the person and property of the provincial. At Rome each magistrate had also, in his sphere of action, a power almost unlimited; but the injured citizen might appeal to another magistrate of equal or superior rank, who by his veto might neutralize the action of his colleague or inferior. In the provinces there was nothing corresponding to this; the pro-consul having neither colleague nor superior, his authority was without limits, and his decisions were immediately executed, with this sole exception, that Roman citizens established in the provinces had a right of appeal to the tribunes at Rome.¹

These pro-consuls were sometimes rapacious, unjust, and cruel; of this we shall soon have proof. Two circumstances, however, checked the tyranny of these powerful personages: their assizes being public, the pleaders found in this publicity a certain safeguard, and the provincials, having the right of complaint to the Senate, the governor was restrained by fear of accusations which might be brought against him. Thus, during the war with Perseus, the Spaniards came to ask justice from the Senate against many Roman generals. "Do not suffer," they said, "that your allies should be treated more cruelly than your enemies." The praetor Canuleius, to whom the government of Spain had fallen, received orders to designate five senators, who should institute an inquiry into the conduct of magistrates accused of malversation, and to authorize the Spaniards to choose patrons who should defend their cause. Four were selected by the province,—Porcius Cato, Corn. Scipio, the son of Cnaeus, Paulus Aemilius, and Sulpicius Gallus. The first magistrates cited were acquitted; but two praetors, to escape condemnation, exiled themselves to Tibur and to Praeneste.³



PEDIMENT OF
THE TEMPLE
AT PRAE-
NESTE.²

Later we shall see that in 149 a tribunal was organized expressly to receive these complaints. No doubt the exercise of this

¹ In virtue of the Porcian and Sempronian laws.

² M. PLAETORIVS CEST. S.C. Pediment of the temple at Praeneste, upon the reverse of a coin of the Plaetorian family.

³ Livy, xliii. 2.

right was dangerous on account of the enmities it created; but it was useful, for condemnations might be obtained,—witness that of Verres; and there was always to be found at Rome, without counting the patrons of the provinces, who were under obligation to defend them, some ambitious man in search of a great cause to plead, in order to bring himself before the public, and prepare his candidature at the ensuing elections. Thus Caesar began his career; and a hundred others had done the same.

In short, the government, which was republican at Rome, was monarchical in the provinces; and we need not be astonished when we shall see what had been the law for 70,000,000 people becoming the law for that infinitesimal minority which was called the Roman people.

The governor was general, and supreme judge; he was also law-maker, for by his edict he declared what principles he should follow in the administration of justice.¹ In the tributary cities, which bore the heaviest weight of subjugation, he confirmed the action of the local magistrates,² watched over the maintenance of order and the proper management of municipal affairs.³ He prevented, either by arbitration or authority, the carrying on of private war, dispersed seditious gatherings, and made levies in case of need in the province, and all requisitions that war might make needful.

¹ Cic., *ad Att.* vi. 6. Each new governor might, if he preferred, issue a new edict (*perpetuum*), or he might retain, in part or wholly, that of his predecessor, *edictum tralatitium*. A collection of these manifestoes formed what the Romans called *circa vox juris civilis*. See curious details given by Cicero in respect to the edict which he put forth in his government of Cilicia. (*Ad Att.* vi. 5.)

² Pliny, *Epist.* x. 28, 35, 47, 50, 52, 53, 63, 85. Trajan repeats to Pliny many times that a governor, being the guardian of the cities, the person in charge of their property, it is his duty to examine strictly into financial details. Cicero said, in his edict for Cilicia: *Diligentissime scriptum caput est quod pertinet ad minuendos sumptus civitatum*. (*Ad Fam.* iii. 8.) The Julian and Titian law of the year 31(?) gave to the governor even more extensive rights in reference to the guardianship assigned by the magistrate than were exercised at Rome by the praetor in virtue of the Atilian law. (Cf. Giraud, *Hist. du droit Romain*, p. 253.) Augustus forbade the provincial cities to testify their gratitude to their governor until two months had elapsed from the date of his departure. (Dion., lvi. 23.)

³ Cicero made all the magistrates in Cilician cities, who avowed that for ten years they had shamelessly plundered the inhabitants, disgorge their ill-gotten wealth. (*Ad Att.* vi. 1.) Tacitus speaks of the extortions practised by the great in the provinces: *Ut solent praevalidi provincialium et opibus nimis ad injurias minorum elati*. (*Ann.* xv. 20.) The accounts of Apamea had never been examined by the governor of Bithynia before the time of Pliny. But Trajan, who desires to know about everything, directs Pliny to look closely into them, assuring the inhabitants, however, that this examination would not be regarded as establishing a precedent. (Plin., *Ep.* x. 56.)

Representing the public interest, he stimulated the construction of works of public utility and provided that they should be paid for from the city treasury.¹ Sometimes he even laid on new taxes or discontinued former ones;² but in all cases he was obliged to leave a copy of his financial report in two cities of the province.

As supreme judge, from whose jurisdiction there was no appeal except in the case of Roman citizens to the tribunes of the people at Rome, he decided civil and criminal cases in accordance with the rules he had himself laid down in his edict.³ To spare those within his jurisdiction costly journeys, he travelled through the country, holding his assizes at points designated in advance, *conventus juridici*.⁴ In Sicily (and these usages were repeated in the other provinces) the suits between citizens of the same town were settled by the local magistrates; between citizens of different cities, by judges whom the praetor designated, or else ordered to be selected by lot; between a private individual and a city, by the senate of another city; between a Roman and a Sicilian, by judges of the same nation as the defendant. In Sicily disputes between farmers of the revenue and proprietors were settled in conformity with the laws of King Hiero.⁵ But from all such decisions appeal could be made to the praetor. The subjects do not seem to have the right to take life except in case of slaves. The senate in Catana prosecuted a slave for a capital crime; but in Judaea the Jews, after condemning Jesus to death, were unable to execute the sentence without the authority of Pilate.⁶ The law formally prohibited the praetor from delegating to any other

¹ Pontius Pilate directed the construction of aqueducts at Jerusalem, and took money from the treasury of the temple to pay for them. (Jos., *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 4.)

² Vitellius, on his entry into Jerusalem as governor of Syria, abolished a tax levied upon all fruits sold in the city. (Jos., *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 4.) Piso imposed a tax upon everything sold in Macedon. (Cic., *in Pis.* 36.)

³ Sometimes they followed the Roman law, and sometimes the laws of the province. Thus Q. Cicero caused two Mysians, guilty of parricide, to be sewn up in a sack, after the Roman custom; and he threatened other guilty persons with being burned alive, — a punishment not in use at Rome. (Cic., *ad Quint.* i. 2.)

⁴ Cicero, governor of Cilicia, sent one of his lieutenants to Cyprus to render justice to the Roman citizens who traded there and had a right to find judges there. (*Id. Att.* v. 21.) Pliny gives a list, numerous, although incomplete, of these *conventus juridici*, which the Greeks call *διοικήσεις*. (Cic., *ad Fam.* xii. 57, 1; Strabo, xii. 629, etc.)

⁵ Cic., *in Verr.* ii. 13.

⁶ Εἶπον αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἡμῶν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀποκτεῖναι οὐδένα. (St. John xviii. 31.)

authority this right which had been especially intrusted to himself,¹ and he was to pronounce sentence only after consultation with his council. — a sort of jury selected by the praetor from his cohort and from citizens residing in the province.

In the Graeco-Roman world the religious authority was almost always subordinated to the secular power.² The latter, it is true, was extremely tolerant on the subject of religious beliefs, scarcely concerning itself with them at all; but it chose to hold the priests in strict dependence, especially the higher orders of them, who were required to answer for their subordinates. In Judaea — and this right was exercised throughout all the provinces as well — the governors inheriting the royal prerogatives disposed of the high priesthood at their pleasure.³

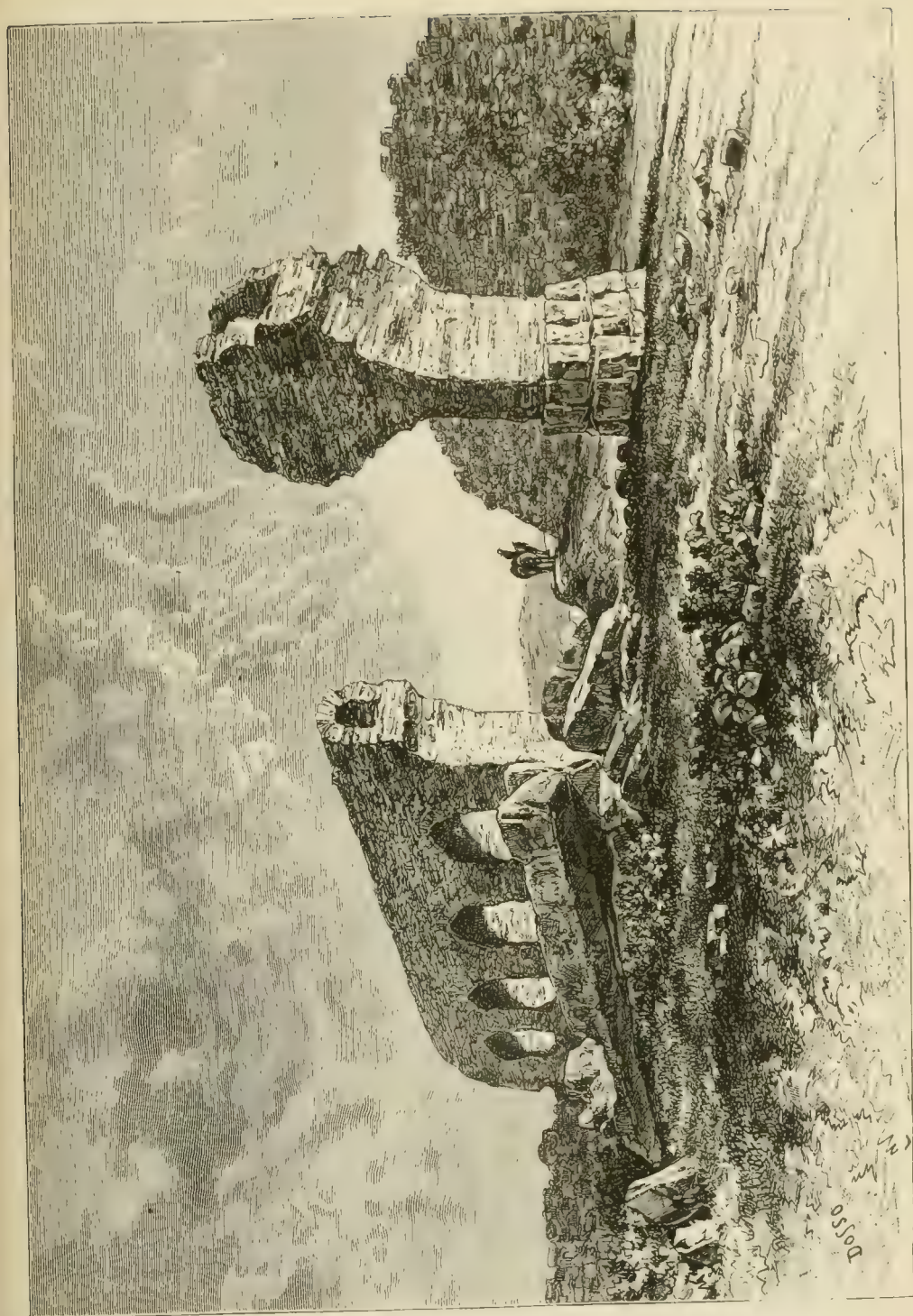
IV. THE LEGATES AND THE QUAESTORS.

IN the performance of his official duties the governor of a province was assisted by a few subordinates. Of these, the first in dignity were the legates, whose number varied according to the importance of the province. They were selected by the pro-consul, but it was necessary that the choice should be ratified by the

¹ *Nec enim potest quis gladii potestatem sibi datam ad alium transferre.* (Ulpian, *Dig.* I. tit. xvi. § 6, pr.)

² See in the *Acts of the Apostles* xviii. 14, 15, the judgment of Gallio in the case of Saint Paul and the Jews. Even monotheism, with its open condemnation of the worship of idols, was permitted. (Tertull., *Apolog.* 21.) Druidism was proscribed, because it strove to awaken Gallic patriotism, and Tiberius threw the statue of Isis into the Tiber (Jos., *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 3, 4), by way of reparation to outraged morality. The Eastern religions were, besides, always objects of suspicion to the Senate. There was in them a spirit of proselytism, which, acting secretly, caused alarm to the government, who took these religious associations either for secret societies, which the Roman law forbade (*Dig.* xlvii. 22, fr. 1, 3), or for societies formed for the practice of vices, like the hideous sect of bacchanals discovered in 186. In respect to inoffensive forms of worship they had full security, and the governors of provinces were to protect their temples, property, and rights of asylum. (Tac., *Ann.* iii. 60–63.) Gaius says distinctly (*Inst.* ii. 7): . . . *quod in provinciis non ex auctoritate populi Romani consecratum est (quantum) proprie sacrum non est, tamen pro sacro habetur.* (Cf. Cic., in *Verr.* II. ii. 50, 52, iv. 49.) Later we shall see where and why the Christians were persecuted.

³ Jos., *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 3, and in twenty other places. An officer of the government kept even, in the Fortress of Antonia, the ephod and sacred vestments of the high priest. (*Id.*, *Ibid.* 6.) In Italy, in respect to all that concerned worship, the cities were under the jurisdiction of Rome, *juris atque imperii Romani esse.* (Tac., *Ann.* iii. 71.) See in chap. xxxv. the decree in regard to the bacchanals.



ANCIENT AQUEDUCT AT CATANA.

Do 50

Senate,¹ so that they were understood to hold their appointment from the state, and in virtue of this their persons were held inviolable during their term of service.² Their duties were not strictly defined, but in general they owed to their chief the support of their counsel and of their military skill. Ordinarily, he divided with them the administration of the province. In this case they ruled, each in his district, and under the control of the governor, to whom they referred all doubtful cases, — never exercising, however, the *jus necis*, which belonged only to the magistrate invested with the *merum imperium*. “In the Tarraconensis,” says Strabo, “the pro-consul has under his orders three legions and three lieutenants. One, with two legions, keeps guard over the Gallaeci, the Astures, and the Cantabri; another, with the third legion, over the entire coast as far as the Pyrenees; the third has under his jurisdiction the tribes established in the interior and upon the two banks of the Ebro. The consul himself passes the winter either at Tarragona or at Carthagera, and there administers justice. During the summer he goes on circuits to rectify abuses which may have crept into the administration.”³



INSIGNIA OF THE
QUAESTOR.⁴

Below the legates, or beside them, was the quaestor, specially charged with all the details of the financial administration. He received from the public treasury the sums necessary for the pay and subsistence of the troops, for whatever was bought in the province, and for the expenses of the Roman administration. Certain taxes not farmed out to the publicans were levied by him. The Romans did not understand the principle of the subdivision of

¹ The Senate determined their number. Thus, in 56, Caesar had ten (Cic., *ad Fam.* i. 7), Pompeius fifteen. (Plut., *Pomp.* 25.)

² *Adimere mandatam jurisdictionem licet proconsuli non autem inconsulto principe.* (Dig. I. tit. xvi. fr. 6, § 2.) No accusation could be received against them during the time that they were in service (Cic., *in Vat.* 14), and they must await the arrival of their successor.

³ iii. p. 166. He might establish his tribunal wherever it seemed best to him. (Jos., *Ant. Jud.* xx. 5.) Quadratus established his in the city of Lydda. Pliny says also: *In publicis negotiis intra hospitium eodem die exiturus vacarem.* (*Epist.* x. 85.) In very serious cases, or if it were a question involving personages of distinction, the governor sent the accused to Rome. (Jos., *Ant. Jud.* xx. 5, and *Bell. Jud.* ii. 7.)

⁴ Reverse of a Macedonian tetradrachm, very probably of the legate Sura, who was quaestor. The *subsellium*, or quaestor's seat, is represented, and a *cistus* destined to receive the money for distributions.

power, and therefore the quaestor, although his principal duty was the charge of the finances, might be called to all other duties;



INSIGNIA OF THE
QUAESTOR.²

his experience and energy were at the service of the pro-consul, who employed him as judge, administrative officer, or general, as the exigency of the moment might require. Like the aediles at Rome, the quaestor had a jurisdiction of his own, and the right of issuing certain edicts.¹ At the end of the year, he made a report of his financial administration; and a Julian law required him to deposit at Rome in the *aerarium* a statement of receipts and expenses, besides leaving a copy of the same in two cities of the province. Sicily had two quaestors, one residing at Syracuse, the other at Lilybaeum.

V. OBLIGATIONS OF THE PROVINCIALS.

THE inhabitants of the provinces owed to their governors absolute obedience; to Rome, moreover, they owed a tribute, for the provinces were the estates of the Roman people, *quasi praedia populi Romani*.³ From the moment of conquest the Romans had appropriated all the royal domains, and sometimes the common lands, or even the whole territory, in cases where certain cities had by special courage and patriotism merited unusual severity from the victors. This land immediately became part of the domain of the Roman people, and fell under the same regulations.⁴ In respect to the lands left to the natives, their character was changed. By reason of the war, the inhabitants of the provinces, in lieu of ownership, had nothing left them but the possession of the soil;⁵ they were perpetual tenants, and the token

¹ The quaestor was not chosen by the governor, but was assigned to him by lot. (Cic., *ad Quint.* I. i. 3.) Nevertheless, the relations between the two were almost son and father. (Cic., *pro Planc.* ii.) The quaestor was *consulis particeps omnium rerum consiliorumque*. (Cic., *in Verr.* II. i. 15.) He had two lictors with the bundles of rods, but without the axes.

² OY (A) ΠΙΟ ΣΤΑΜΙΑΣ. The *subsellium*, a wand, and the vase which received the coins, or *tesserae*, to be distributed among the people in a *congiarium*.

³ Cic., *in Verr.* II. iii. 18. Cf. *ibid.* ii. 3, and *de Offic.* iii. 21. He calls the people of the provinces the colonists of the Romans: *Cum illis sic agere, ut cum colonis nostris solemus*.

⁴ Livy, xxv. 28; Cic., *adv. Rullum*, ii. 21.

⁵ *In eo solo dominium populi Romani est . . . nos autem possessionem tantum et usum-fructum habere videmur*. (Gaius, *Inst.* ii. 7; cf. Cic., *in Verr.* II. iii. 6; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 140.)

of this diminution of right was the tribute which the holders were obliged to pay to the real proprietor, the Roman people.¹

These contributions were of four kinds: the personal tax; the tax on land; duties and royalties; requisitions.

The personal tax was estimated upon the *census*, that is to say, upon each man's fortune.

The land tax, paid either in money² or in kind,³ was fixed at a tenth of the produce.⁴ This ratio seemed more favorable to those paying tribute, since, if Rome profited by good harvests, she incurred also all the risks of bad years; while, in the case of a money tax, the sum was fixed and must be paid, even though the land had given no return.⁵ The Roman citizen, holding lands in a province, paid the same tax as the provincials.⁶

There were requisitions of diverse sorts, some occasional, others permanent. Thus the people of a province must furnish to the magistrate who came to watch over their safety the corn necessary for his household, either directly, in which case the Senate fixed the quantity, or by a money tax; and again the Senate took care to determine in advance the price at which the corn should be reckoned.⁷ Sometimes, for the use of the armies, or in consequence of a bad harvest, the Senate required a second

¹ *Id autem imperium cum retineri sine vectigalibus nullo modo possit, aequo animo parte aliqua suorum fructuum pacem sibi sempiternam redimat (Asia) atque otium.* (Cic., ad Quint. I. i. 11.)

² Cic., in Verr. II. iii. 6.

³ App., Bell. civ. ii. 140. Certain nations paid only a tenth: *Δεκάτην αὐτοῖς μόνην καρπῶν ἐπετάσσομεν*; and Cicero, enumerating the principal sources of revenue that the Roman people possessed in Asia, says frequently: *scriptura, decumae, portorium.* (*Pro Flacco*, 8; *pro lege Manilia*, 6.)

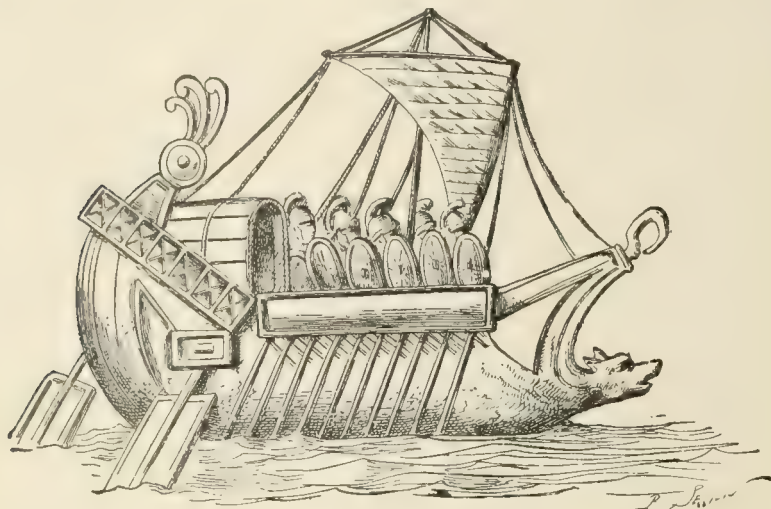
⁴ *Agri vectigales multas habent constitutiones. In quibusdam provinciis fructus partem praestant certam, alii quintas, alii septimas, alii pecuniam et hoc per soli aestimationem. Certa enim pretia agris constituta sunt, ut in Pannonia arvi primi, arvi secundi, prata, silvae glandiferae, silvae vulgares, pascua. His omnibus agris vectigal est ad modum ubertatis per singula jugera constitutum. Horum aestimio, ne qua usurpatio per falsas professiones fiat, adhibenda est mensuris diligentia. Nam et in Phrygia et tota Asia, ex hujus modi causis tam frequenter disconvenit quam Pannonia.* Ilygin., de Limit. Const., ed. Goes, p. 198. But these differences were not well established till after the register of Augustus.

⁵ App., Bell. civ. v. 4. But this was, however, the system which gave most opportunity for exactions; and Caesar was obliged to change it for a fixed tax. (App., *ib.* v. 5: Dion., xlii. 6.)

⁶ Cic., in Verr. II. iii. 12. *Tot Siculi tot equites Romani* (*ibid.* 14); *Septitio . . . equite Romano, affirmante se plus decuma non daturum* (*ibid.* 25, and *pro Flacco*, 32). The decree of the Senate giving liberty to Chios bears even: *Οἱ τε παρ' οὐτοῖς ὄντες Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς Χείων ὑπακούουσιν νόμοις.* (Boeckh., *Inscript.* No. 2,222.)

⁷ *Frumentum in cellam, and frumentum aestimatum.* (*In Verr.* II. iii. 81-85.)

tenth; but this was paid for.¹ If the governor judged it necessary to equip a fleet to protect his province against pirates, ships were to be built, sailors and soldiers furnished, all maintained and paid by the city which was under obligation to furnish them.² If an army was necessary, the province must furnish corn to feed it. The Senate paid for this contribution, but at a price of their own fixing, and the provincials were obliged to transport



SHIP EQUIPPED.

the corn to such points as suited the praetor's convenience. Huts for winter quarters were also due from them, and sometimes even auxiliaries for the legions.³

The Senate reserved for itself the mines of precious metals,

¹ Thus Cicero speaks of *frumentum emptum* as opposed to *frumentum decumanum*. (*In Verr.* II. iii. 81.) In three years Verres received 37,000,000 *sesterces* for the purchase of corn in Sicily at the expense of Rome. In provinces less fertile, the Senate required only a twentieth. (Cf. *Livy*, xxxvi. 2; xliii. 2; xlv. 31.)

² *Cic.*, *in Verr.* II. v. 17, 24; *Philipp.* xi. 12. Miletus, for example, was required to have ten ships always ready for service. (*Cic.*, *in Verr.* II. i. 34.) Messina owed one vessel; Syracuse made ready a number upon the order of Verres.

³ *Livy*, xxix. 1, xxxvi. 2; *Caesar*, *Bell. Gall.* i. 30; *Cic.*, *in Verr.* II. v. 47. Thus Rome levied cavalry in Gaul (*Caes.*, *ibid.* i. 15; *Plut.*, *Crass.* 17; *Ant.* 37; *App.*, *Bell. civ.* ii. 49, iv. 88), in Spain (*Plut.*, *Ant.* 37; *Caes.*, *ibid.* v. 26; *App.*, *ibid.* i. 89), in Thrace (*Sall.*, *Jug.* 38; *Plut.*, *Luc.* 28; *Tac.*, *Ann.* iv. 46), in Numidia (*Sall.*, *Jug.* 68; *App.*, *ibid.* i. 42). Crete and the Balearic Islands furnished famous archers and slingers. (*Livy*, *Ep.* ix.; *Sall.*, *Jug.* 105; *App.*, *ibid.* 249.) These auxiliaries were usually led by their native chiefs. (*Caes.*, *Bell. Gall.* i. 18, viii. 12; *Bell. civ.* iii. 59.) *Noricorum juventus* (*Tac.*, *Hist.* iii. 5); *Raetia auxiliia* (*ibid.* i. 67); *Raetorum juventus, sueta armis et more militiae exercita* (*ibid.* 68). The Helvetii supported at their own expense a garrison in a strong castle. (*Tac.*, *ibid.* i. 67.)

the quarries of marble, and even of certain other kinds of stone, the salt works, the fisheries, and the customs. These latter were of considerable importance; for Rome had maintained all the port-dues which she had found already existing. The duty in the harbor of Syracuse was 20 per cent *ad valorem*.¹

Still further, the money paid by private individuals for the right to send their flocks into the public pastures may be considered as a tax paid by the provinces, or at least as a source of revenue to the Roman people.²

VI. DIFFERENT CLASSES OF PROVINCIAL CITIES.

THE fundamental rule of Roman policy in relation to the vanquished was to divide the populations by diversifying the conditions of political existence bestowed upon nations, cities, and even individuals. By creating new interests, the Senate strove to efface the recollection of former independence; they separated what had been united, and united what had been separated, and made degrees in servitude, causing the yoke to weigh unequally, so that the different nations should not be by a common oppression united against the foreign ruler.³ *Divide et impera!* No people ever more skilfully practised this maxim, and in the case of none was it ever more conspicuously successful.

Each province, far from forming a homogeneous whole, had

¹ The Senate undertook directly the working of certain mines, and farmed out others where work had been already begun. The silver mines of Carthageria produced in the time of Polybius (xxxiv. 9, 8) an amount equal to 25,000 drachmae a day, and 40,000 laborers were employed there. An ancient decree of the Senate prohibited the working of the Italian mines: notwithstanding this, the censors farmed out a gold mine near Vercellae, on condition that not over 5,000 men should be employed in it. The mines of Asturia, Lusitania, and Gallicia gave annually in the time of Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 21) 20,000 pounds weight of gold. Caesar farmed out in Crete the whetstone quarries, *coctorias locaret*. (*Dig.* XXXIX. tit. v. fr. 13.) There were mines of precious metals in Macedon, but Paulus Aemilius forbade the working of them, but permitted it in the case of the iron and copper mines. In regard to the port-dues, see Cicero, in *Verr.* II. ii. 70, 75, and *pro lege Manilia*, 6. Being in Cilicia, he recommends to Atticus to send his letters *per magistros scripturae et portus nostrarum diocesium*. His brother Quintus had allowed the publicans in Asia to levy the *portorium circumvectionis*, custom paid on transporting goods: this Cicero declares was not due (*ad Att.* ii. 16).

² Festus, s. v. *Scriptuarius*.

³ Ῥωμαίων . . . οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκάστοις χρωμένων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν συνέχειν, τοὺς δὲ καταλύειν βολομένων. (Strabo, viii. 385.)

two classes of inhabitants, — the *tributaries*, subject to the sovereign will of the governor, while still retaining their particular institutions; and the *privileged*, who were, so to speak, placed outside of the province, and, in consequence, withdrawn from the action of the Roman magistrate.¹ The latter consisted also of several subdivisions, collected into two great categories, — the cities having a Roman organization, and those preserving their national constitution; the former more numerous in the West, the latter chiefly existing in the East.

1. The *Roman colonies*. They had citizenship, that is to say, all the legal rights of the Roman *jus*, but not quiritarian ownership; for provincial soil could not be raised to the same dignity with Italian, or possess like prerogatives,² of which the chief was the exemption from tribute.³ The colonists, being citizens *pleno jure*, exercised all rights as such during their sojourn in Rome, and might obtain the honors of their rank, that is to say, all public offices.

2. The *municipia*, whose inhabitants, *cives sine suffragio*, while retaining their own laws, enjoyed at Rome the prerogatives of the Roman citizen, except that they could not vote in the comitia, and could not aspire to public office. These cities were regarded as ranking below the colonies, and are always named after them by Pliny.⁴

3. The *Latin colonies*, whose magistrates, at the expiration of their term of office, were eligible for Roman citizenship.⁵ The inhabitants of these colonies had the *jus commercii*, that is, the right

¹ Strabo says (iv. 187) of Nismes: "It has the Latin law." Διὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῖς προστάγμασι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης στρατηγῶν ἐστὶ τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο.

² *Provinciale solum nec municipi est* (Gaius, *Inst.* ii. 27; see in chap. xxxvi.) . . . *Provincialia prædialia usucapionem non recipiunt* (Id., *ibid.* 46); these colonies were not at liberty to organize at their own pleasure. *Jura institutaque omnia populi Romani non sui arbitrii habent.*

³ There has been much discussion whether colonies of Roman citizens established in the provinces were subjected to the *tributum soli*. I have no hesitation in affirming that they were not, one reason for my opinion being that neither Caesar nor Augustus would have invented a new right, the *jus Italicum*, if it had not already existed in the Roman colonies of the provinces.

⁴ *Hist. Nat.* ii. 4, 25, seq.; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xvi. 13: *Quæ tamen conditio (coloni- arum), cum sit magis obnoxia et minus libera, potior tamen et præstabiliior existimatur propter amplitudinem majestatemque populi Romani, cujus istae coloniae quasi effigies parvae simulacraque esse quaedam videntur.* Colonies have been known to seek to be changed into *municipia*, on account of this first reason; for example, the Praenestines in the time of Tiberius: *Ut ex colonia in municipi statum redigerentur.* (Aulus Gellius, *ibid.* xvi. 13.)

⁵ Cf. Vol. I, p. 482.

to acquire and transmit quiritarian ownership;¹ but they had not the *jus connubii*, which would have given the *patria potestas*, or power of the Roman father over all his descendants. When they resided at Rome, they voted in a tribe to which they were assigned by lot.²



TEMPLE OF DIANA AT EVORA (FORMER LIBERALITAS JULIA).

4. The allied cities, *foederatae*,³ such as Messina, Massilia, Gades, Sparta, Athens, etc., who had concluded with Rome a

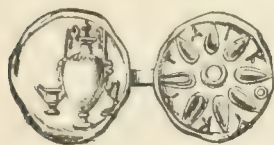
¹ By *usucapio*, in *jure cessio*, *mancipatio*, *vindicatio*, and the *testamenti factio*. Later, under the Empire there rose another class of cities, having the *jus Italicum*, which were exempt from the land tax, because their soil was assimilated to that of Italy.

² Livy, xxv. 3.

³ They were bound to furnish, in case of need, auxiliaries, ships, and in Sicily a part of the *frumentum imperatum*. Cf. Cic., in *Verr.* II. v. 21. We may also name *Tauromenium* in Sicily; *Tarragona* (Pl., *Hist. Nat.* iii. 3) and *Malaca* in Spain; the *Vocontii*, the *Lingones*, the *Remi*, the *Aedui*, and the *Carnutes*, in Gaul; *Athens* in Greece; *Rhodes* and *Tyre* in Asia; *Amisus* in Bithynia; *Utica* in Africa; etc., etc. These cities, which had contracted a solemn alliance with Rome, by a formal treaty engraved on bronze in the Capitol and read publicly every year (Boeckh., *Inscr.* No. 2,485), were the most truly independent in their internal administration of all that were comprised in the Roman provinces. Cf. Pliny, *Epist.* x. 94.

treaty on equal terms,¹ or an agreement implying an obligation to recognize the supremacy of the Roman people.

5. The *free cities*, having, like the allied cities, all the external show of independence, their own laws and entire jurisdiction, but holding this liberty by the good pleasure of Rome, and from a decree of the Senate, instead of retaining it in virtue of a treaty;² these cities owed to the Roman treasury a fixed tribute in money, the *stipendium*. Coreyra, the Adriatic station for Rome's naval forces, was free, but a coarse proverb marks what this liberty³



COIN OF CORCYRA.⁵

was worth. These cities were very numerous; they are found everywhere except in Sardinia.⁴

6. The cities exempt from taxation, *immunes*.⁶

We also find cities uniting several of these designations at the same time, being at once colonies and free, colonies and exempt, free and allies.

¹ Justin, xliii. 5: *aequo jure percussum*.

² App., *Bell. civ.* i. 102.

³ Ἐλευθέρα Κόρκυρα, χέζ' ὅπου θέλεις. (Strab., vii. 329, fr. 8.) In respect to political matters, this liberty was of no value; but we shall see elsewhere that it was very considerable as concerning the interior administration.

⁴ Cic., *pro Scauro*, 15. They were released from the onerous obligation of providing winter quarters. *Plebisc. de Thermens.* lig. 45: *Ne quis magistratus . . . milites . . . hiemandi causa intraducito*. They retained their own laws and magistrates, νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς πατρίοις (Polybius, xviii. 29), and the pro-consul was not to encroach upon their jurisdiction: *Omitto jurisdictionem in libera civitate contra leges senatusque consulta*. (Cic., *de Prov. cons.* 3.)

⁵ Three vases (*amphora cantharus prochus*) of different shapes. On the reverse, ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙ, between the spokes of a wheel (or the rays of a star). Triobol of Coreyra.

⁶ Immunity by no means followed the concession of liberty. Thus, in 168, the Macedonians are declared free, but must pay tribute. (Livy, xlv. 29, 32.) Many Illyrian tribes, on the other hand, received, besides liberty, immunity. (Id., *ibid.* 26.) Caesar granted the same favor to the Atrebatas (*Bell. Gall.* vii. 6), Claudius to the inhabitants of Ilium, Antoninus to those of Pallantium (Pausan., viii. 43; cf. Boeckh., *Corp. Inscr.* No. 3,610, and note). This was at that time the *immunitas plenissima*. Cf. Callistratus, in the *Dig.* xxvii. 1, 17, § 1. Antioch was free, but in addition, Caracalla gave to the city the title of colony, but *salvis tributis*. (*Dig.* l. 15, fr. 8, § 5.) I have said that these favored cities were regarded as outside of the province; this expression, however, must not be understood too literally, for the Romans would not have so understood it. Tarsus, a free city, was the residence of the governor of Cilicia, and a place where he administered justice; Panormus, in Sicily, was the same, notwithstanding its title of *civitas libera*. It is true that in this case the city had its own jurisdiction also. Sallust says (*Jug.* 31): *Indignabamini aerarium expilari, reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus rectigal pendere*; and Appian (*Bell. civ.* i. 102) says that in the time of Sylla nations and kings, friends or allies, and not merely the tributary cities, but also the allied cities with whom Rome had made treaty, granting them liberty and immunity, now all paid tribute and owed obedience, πᾶσαι συντελεῖν ἐκελεύοντο καὶ ὑπακούειν. Immunity released even from paying the tenth, at least in Sicily (Cic., in *Terr.* II. ii. 69, iii. 6, v. 21), and from certain onerous obliga-

Thus Patrae (Patras) had the right of citizenship when it became a Roman colony. Furthermore, it was free, because, a great number of the people of the country having come into it, it appeared to be severe and impolitic to subject it, as was done in the case of all colonies, to the civil laws of Rome. By the concession of liberty, the city had the right to organize in accordance with its own ideas. These colonies, however, paid the land tax and the personal tax,¹ unless specially exempt by grant of *immunitas*,² or later, by the concession of the *jus Italicum*, which gave to the provincial soil one of the essential attributes of the Italian, namely, the exemption from property tax.

Certain cities, finally, had a patron at Rome, such as were the Marcelli for Sicily, the Catos for Cyprus, etc., or ties of hospitality with some noble personage, and could count in all



SARCOPHAGUS FROM PATRAE.³

cases upon his powerful interposition. This was an advantage, at times onerous, and not, however, furnishing a distinct political situation, except in cases where a city had contracted these ties with Rome herself.⁴

tions, like that in respect to winter quarters. (*Plebiscit. de Thermens.* i. 45-55.) Furthermore, the immunity was personal, not territorial: *Halicyenses, quorum incolae decumas dant, ipsi agros immunes habent.* (Cic., in *Verr.* II. iii. 40.) The *incola* is the individual resident in a city, but not a citizen of it. When the state called for the double tithe from a province, the cities which were *liberae* and *immunes* were obliged to furnish corn at a fixed price. Cic., in *Verr.* II. iv. 9; iii. 73.) Strabo, speaking of the Eleuthero-Laconians, says (viii. 365): *πλὴν τῶν φιλικῶν λειτουργιῶν ἄλλο συντελοῦντες οὐδέν.*

¹ *Dig.*, l. tit. 15, fr. 8, § 7.

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 3, 4.

³ Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol. en Grèce et en Asie min.*, pl. 93, fig. 1.

⁴ *Hospitium privatum, hospitium publicum.* (Livy, i. 49; v. 50.) Caere is the only instance we are able to name of "public hospitality" with Rome. At the same time it is certain that this relation was often established with the cities or tribes on the frontiers, for the *Digest* speaks of it as a habitual condition. *Si cum gente aliqua neque amicitiam, neque hospitium, neque foedus, amicitiae causa factum, habemus* (xlix. tit. 15, § 4, 9, 2). In respect to patrons, they are referred to in countless inscriptions.

These cities prized distinctions as the men of that time prized personal honors. Among the cities in a province, there were ranks, and consequent precedence.

There was not merely difference between cities, but also between fellow-citizens of the same city; for the right of Roman citizenship, Latin rights, immunity and liberty might be granted, with hereditary succession, to families or to individuals.¹

Thus, a Liparæan having saved the life of some deputies sent into Greece by the Senate, his descendants, when, about a century and a half later, Rome made the conquest of their island, were declared exempt from all tribute.

We have not completed an enumeration of all the conditions of the subject. Rome willingly conferred her citizenship on the provincials,² but by degrees. Thus it was possible to have Roman citizenship, but without the right of aspiring to public office.³ To become a Roman citizen, an Egyptian must first be made a citizen of Alexandria.⁴ Again, this distinction existed among subject cities, that to some more favored their lands had been left or restored on payment of a certain royalty, the tenth (*civitates decumanæ*);⁵ while to others less fortunate the royalty was a variable sum,⁶ the collecting of which was farmed out by the censors (*civitates censoriæ*).⁷

The province, it will be seen, was far from forming a homogeneous whole. Still further, the provinces differed from one another, their position towards Rome not being the same. We

¹ Diodorus, xii. 39. As regards citizenship, examples abound everywhere. (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 3.) Josephus had obtained from Titus ἀτέλειαν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ μεγίστη τιμὴ τῷ λαβόντι. (Jos., *Vita*, 76.)

² *Stipendiarios ex Africa, Sicilia, Sardinia, caeteris provinciis multos civitate donatos videmus* (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 9) . . . *singillatim*. (Id., *Phil.* ii. 37.)

³ Tac., *Ann.* xi. 23-25.

⁴ Plin., *Epist.* x. 22. This obligation was imposed by Octavius.

⁵ Cic. *in Verr.* II. iii. 6.

⁶ Cic., *in Rull.* i. 4.

⁷ *Is ager a censoribus locari solet*. (Cic., *in Verr.* II. iii. 6.) Sicily had three allied cities, five free and exempt cities, thirty-four cities paying tithes, and about twenty-five whose dues were farmed out by the censors (Cic., *in Verr.* II. iii. 6); Sardinia had only cities paying the *stipendiarium* (Cic., *pro Scauro*, ii. 44); Corsica, two colonies (Sen., *ad Helv.* 8); the Tarraconensis, after Augustus, twelve colonies, thirteen *municipia* with right of Roman citizenship, eighteen with the *jus Latii*, one allied city, 135 paying *stipendiarium*, and 293 other cities or villages depended on them; Baetica, nine colonies, eight *municipia*, twenty-nine Latin cities, six free cities, three allied, and 120 paying *stipendiarium*. (Pl., *Hist. Nat.* iii. 1.)

have already seen that some had a governor of higher, and others of lower rank. The privileges of which we have just spoken had moreover been dispensed through each province in varying manner; their municipal institutions had nothing in common, and as their rights differed, their obligations also varied. It is not possible to determine what each paid to Rome, but it is clear they neither paid similar sums, nor in the same manner.

Thus Gaul and Macedon seem to have given only a fixed sum.¹ Most of the cities of Carthaginian Africa,² Egypt,³ Syria and Cilicia⁴ paid capitation taxes even for women, and in Egypt, as it seems, for slaves. This last province was later charged with feeding the Roman people for four months.⁵ Sicily and Sardinia paid their tithes in kind, and Sardinia besides paid a tribute according to property.⁶ Africa and Spain bought back their harvests at a price which never varied, whatever might have been the inclemency of the season.⁷ Asia and Greece paid the land tax.

It was difficult to introduce as much variety into the method of collecting the tax. The tax-gatherer must be either Roman or native. The Senate authorized the Spaniards,⁸ Caesar permitted the Asiatics,⁹ and Paulus Aemilius the Macedonians, to make their own collections. In Greece,¹⁰ in Asia before Caesar's time,¹¹ and in Sicily the tax-gatherers were publicans, who had bought

¹ *Vectigal certum quod stipendiarium dicitur.* (Cic., in *Verr.* II. iii. 6.) Macedon gave in this way a hundred talents—about \$100,320 (Plut., *Aemilius*, 28); Gaul, forty million sesterces—about \$1,440,000 (Suet., *Caes.* 25; Eutrop., vi. 17).

² App., *Lib.* 135. In Africa the tax was ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ ὁμοίως.

³ Jos., *Bell. Jud.* ii. 16. The tribute was more than 12,000 talents. (Str., xvii. 798.)

⁴ App., *Syr.* 50. The tribute was one per cent of the valuation. Cicero, *ad Att.* v. 16: *imperata ἐπι κεφάλαια.* *Ad Fam.* iii. 8: *acerbissima exactio capitem et ostiorum.*

⁵ Jos., *Bell. Jud.* iv. 10, 5.

⁶ Livy, xxiii. 32; Cic., *pro Balbo*, 18; Hirtius, *de Bell. Afr.* 98. Some have understood Cicero to place Sicily in the same category (in *Verr.* II. ii. 53). *Omnes Siculi ex censu quotannis tributa conferunt* (Id., *ibid.* 55, 56). But here we must understand by *tributa* the tax necessary to pay the expenses of the town, levied upon the citizens. In his oration *pro Flacco*, 9, Cicero again uses the word *tributa*, clearly to designate the private revenues of cities. This is also the view taken by Huschke, *Ueber den Census und die Steuerverfassung*, p. 8.

⁷ Cic., in *Verr.* II. iii. 6.

⁸ Livy, xliii. 2.

⁹ App., *Bell. civ.* v. 4: Ὑμῖν τοὺς φόρους ἐπέτρεψεν ἀγείρειν παρὰ τῶν γεωργούντων.

¹⁰ Cic., *de Nat. deorum*, iii. 19.

¹¹ Cic., in *Verr.* II. iii. 6; *ad Quint.* i. 10; *ad Att.* i. 17.

at Rome the right of collecting the tributes. In Sicily, certain tithes, those of wine and oil and of small crops, were farmed out, before the time of Verres, by the quaestors in the island itself.

When the Romans had conquered Latium, they prohibited all trade between the Latin cities. The same prohibition was laid upon the Macedonians, when they were distributed into four districts after the fall of Perseus; upon Illyria, divided into three cantons, which were to remain absolute strangers to each other;¹ upon Achaea, after the fall of Corinth.² An expression used by Cicero shows that everywhere the same policy was pursued: "Diocles of Panormus," he says, "had hired a field in the territory of Segesta, for between those cities there was a right of trading."³ The *jus commercii*, therefore, was the exception, and the prohibition was the rule, since the orator was obliged to explain how the inhabitants of one city could occupy land belonging to another city. It is true the two cities were free, that is to say, they were two so-called independent states; but this class of cities were very numerous, and it cannot be doubted that their independence was often limited in this respect. The Roman citizen, being able to buy and sell everywhere, found it too much for his advantage to be free from rival enterprises, for the Senate not to multiply these prohibitions.

The province, divided internally as we have seen, had no bond of union with adjacent provinces. They were a foreign land, — *aliena*. Thus a person might be exiled from his province.⁴ The pro-consul who crossed the boundaries of his province incurred the charge of treason; and a city — at least this was the case in Bithynia by the Pompeian law — could not give to the inhabitant of another province the right of citizenship.⁵ These prohibitions accorded so well with the narrow spirit of the ancient municipalities, that they were accepted without resistance.

Since feudalism, that is to say, the reign of the castles, has passed over modern societies, the country is separated from the city. A city now has but a narrow belt of suburbs surrounding

¹ Livy, xlv. 26, 29.

² Pausan., vii. 16.

³ Cic., in Verr. II. iii. 40.

⁴ Suet., Claud., 23; Pliny, Ep., x. 64; Tac., Ann. xv. 20. This is the same with the French *internement*.

⁵ *Non civitatis alienae.* (Plin., Epist. x. 115.)

it; formerly it had a province. At the present day the well-to-do class and a large proportion of the working class live and die in the city. A whole life is spent there, because there is trade, industry, intellectual activity, all the resources and all the pleasures of civilization. Among the ancients life was spent in the country in the rude labors of agriculture,—the only industry with which they were acquainted,—and in the solitude which such an existence imposes. At the same time there was need of a place of refuge in case of invasion, of gathering for the discussion of common interests, a fortress and a public square, the capitol and the forum, the acropolis and the agora. This was the city, usually placed upon a height easily susceptible of defence. This fortified enclosure (*urbs*, ἄστυ) formed, with the territory dependent upon it, the city (*civitas*, πόλις).

It is in many cases difficult to draw the dividing line so as to avoid, on the one hand, coming down to a lifeless atom, or, on the other, leaving a whole which is both heterogeneous and cumbersome by its bulk. The [French] *commune* is too small; France has 36,000 of them. But the Roman city was too large; in Gallia Comata, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, there were only sixteen. They were really small states, with a complicated administration, including many secondary cities,¹ with a budget, magistrates for taking of the census, for the administration of justice, for the superintendence of public works, of police, of public health, of all the interests of the city and of the territory, and ready, upon the withdrawal of the hand which kept the peace among them, to arm their militia and send them out against

¹ Nîmes had dependent upon her twenty-four towns. (Strabo, and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 5.) A hundred and seventy-nine cities of the Tarraconensis possessed 293 villages. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 3.) The towns of the Carni, in the Carnic Alps, were in the jurisdiction of Tergeste (Zumpt, *Decretum municipale Tergestinum*); Calatia was dependent upon Capua, Caudium upon Beneventum. (Becker and Marquardt, *Handbuch der Röm. Alterth.* iii. 3.) This was the Greek principle: for example, there was but one city in Attica and one in Laconia, though in these two provinces there were many towns. Accordingly, the Greeks often used the name of the city for that of the territory. These secondary places, *loci*, were called in Italy, *fora*, *conciliabula*, *vici*, *castella*. The principal places were generally called *municipia* or *oppida*. Where there were no cities, the country was set off into *pagi*, as in Pannonia, or into *regiones*, as in Maesia, both being again subdivided into *vici*. (Becker, *ibid.*) It would appear from the Julian law (*tabula Heracleensis*) that only inhabitants of *municipia*, colonies, or *praefecturae*, might be raised to the duumvirate or the quatuorvirate, the highest municipal offices (lines 15, 21, 24), but that the people living in the *fora* or the *conciliabula* could aspire to the decurionate (lines 35, 45, 50, 54, 56, 61, 63).

their neighbors, whom they loved no better than great states are wont to love those whose frontiers touch their own.¹

If this municipal organization left the governor little to do, unless he had the inclination to interfere in everything, it made the Roman Empire, instead of a homogeneous people, a union of little states, most of them living under different conditions. Wrapped about and held in restraint by the administration above them, these cities will remain united only so long as the binding force holds firm; as soon as it is weakened, all ties will break, and the barbarians, few in number though they are, will subjugate, one after another, these nations, which, having never had sentiments and interests in common, will not in the decisive moment be able to make common stock of their resources and their courage.

VII. PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES.

BETWEEN the state and the commune, even if the latter were not reduced to its present insignificant proportions, there was needed an intermediate division, a political representation of the province itself. There ought, therefore, to have been below the formidable government, whose seat was Rome, and above the humble and timid magistrates of the cities, men who could speak in the name of the province, — that is to say, in the name of an important interest which the Government was bound to treat with respect. Assemblies thus composed might no doubt have become embarrassing to the power of Rome, but they would have restrained its excesses. The institution would doubtless have been a good one; but was it possible?

The ancients were not so ignorant of the representative system

¹ See in Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 65) the bitter hate existing between Lugdunum and Vienna, who attacked each other the instant that the troubles of the Empire permitted them to do so with impunity, and the bloody combat between the people of Nuceria and of Puteoli (*Id.*, *Ann.* xiv. 17). Cicero, in a passage already cited (*ad Quint.* I. i. 11), shows all these little states ready to tear each other in pieces if Rome did not impose peace upon them. Tyre and Sidon had been free, and Augustus was obliged to deprive them of liberty (18 B. C.), on account of the seditions which desolated them. (Dion Cassius, lxiv. 7.) Nero restores to the Greeks their liberty, and they at once return to their civil wars, — 'Ες ἐμφύλιον στάσιν προήχθησαν. (Pausan., vii. 17. 4.) Vespasian, therefore, replaces them under the authority of a governor, saying that they have forgotten how to be free. (*Id.*, *ibid.*)

as they have been said to be.¹ The Greek race, it is true, were never willing to emerge from their little cities² and form a great state; yet its tribes never lost sight of their fraternal origin, and in token of this common blood they had certain national institutions, in which religion, art, and pleasure had more share, no doubt, than politics, but which formed a tie between the members of the Hellenic family. The Amphietyons at Delphi were not always limited to affairs of the temple, and the Lycians had a genuine parliament, — a wise people, “whose twenty-three cities,” says Strabo, “sent deputies to an assembly held in a designated place. The most important of the cities sent three deputies; those next in rank two; and the humblest one. They contributed in a like proportion to the public expenses. . . . The assembly begins by naming a chief of the confederation; it then proceeds to the appointment of the other officers of the Lycian body. It appoints also the judges of all the tribunals. Formerly peace and war and alliances were determined in the same assembly; but this cannot now be done save by the consent of the Romans, who accord permission only for deliberations concerning local interests. The number of magistrates and judges named by each city is in proportion to the number of votes it controls.”³

The Lycian body was not an isolated instance. Greece, which had been the great political school of the world, desired, after passing through all phases, and as if to leave nothing untried, also to make the essay of representative government.⁴ Commenced

¹ Concerning the ideas spread abroad in the ancient world in respect to a mixed and balanced government, see Cicero, *de Rep.* i. 45; Tac., iv. 33.

² In Greece, exclusive of the islands, have been counted ninety-nine distinct states, thirty of which were free under the emperors. (Kuhn, *Beiträge z. Verfass. des Röm. Reichs*, pp. 125-129.)

³ Strabo, xiv. 665. [See the interesting account of this constitution in Freeman's *Federal Government*, i. 208. — *Ed.*] Caria was organized in the same manner. “The cantons having the most towns have also,” he says, “the most votes in the general assembly; their association is known under the name of Chrysaoreon.” (Id., *ibid.* 660.) “If we want an example of a noble federative republic,” says Montesquieu, “I will indicate the Republic of Lycia.” (*Espr. des Lois*, ix. 3.) I cite Montesquieu, for Lycia came to a bad end (Dion., lx. 17; Suet., *Claud.* 25), and her institutions have been held responsible. See also Strabo, xiii. 631, concerning the tetrapolis of Phrygia, and Gruter (*Inscr.* No. 2,056) for the pentapolis formed by Odessus, Mesembria, Tomi, Istriani, and Apollonia.

⁴ [Mr. Freeman has shown (*Fed. Govt.* i. 266, *seq.*) with what limitations this statement should be introduced. Practically, because only rich and idle men attended the meetings, the government was representative; but every free Achæan had a right to go and to vote. — *Ed.*]

too late, and amidst unfavorable conditions, the attempt failed. However, the brilliancy which the Achaean League cast over the last days of Greece gave this system a durable popularity. When the conquest was completed and secured, Rome left her new subjects to re-unite one after another the bonds which she had carefully broken. Everywhere confederations were re-formed; and if politically these new leagues had not even the shadow of liberty, yet they preserved the memory of it; and its reality might any day reappear under the forms which for the moment were but a deceitful show.¹



COIN OF PERGAMUS.²

Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pergamean Asia had general assemblies; which were held successively in the principal cities of the province. Upon a coin of Pergamus is the temple of Rome and of Augustus with this legend, *Com-munitas Asiae*. Caesar gathered at Tarsus deputies from all the cities of Cilicia.³ Mention is also made in the *Digest* of assemblies of Thracians and assemblies of Thessalians held at Larissa; in the code, of a general priesthood or superintendence of the games of Syria and Phoenicia; in the medals and inscriptions of the province of Asia, of a supreme pontiff, ἀρχιερεύς; and of a president of the sacred games, Ἀσιάρχης, chosen by deputies of the entire province, κοινὸν Ἀσίας.⁴ At these meetings the deputies took a certain order, determined by the rank

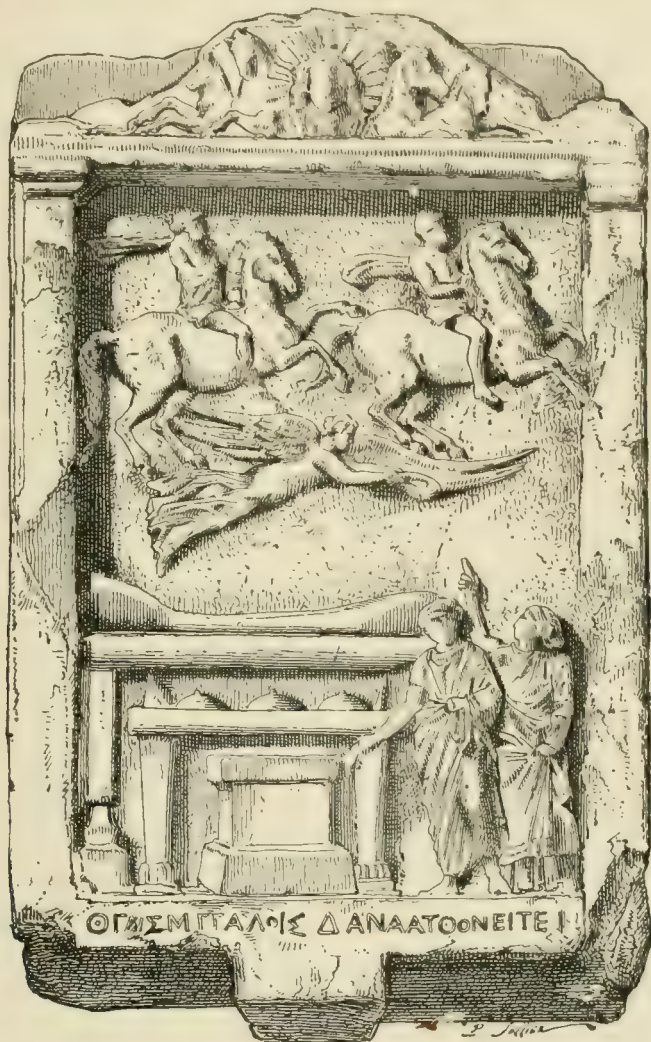
¹ The Ionians of the thirteen cities of Ionia (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.* ii. 508, and Strabo, xiv. 639) always met at the Panionium, the Achaeans at Aegium (Pausan., vii. 27), the Boeotians at Coronea (Boeckh., *Corp. Inscr.* i. p. 5 of the Introduction); the League of the Phocians subsisted (Pausan., x. 5), as well as the Amphictyonic Council. (Id., *ibid.* 8.) Hadrian instituted at Athens, in the Panhellenion, an assembly of all the Greeks. (Muller, *Aeginet.* p. 152, seq.; Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr.* No. 385; and Ahrens, *de Athen. statu.*)

² COM(munitas) ASI(ae). Fortune standing, crowning Claudius in a bi-columnar temple consecrated to Rome and to Augustus, the first letters of which names are upon the pediment, ROM. ET AVG. Reverse of a silver coin of Claudius.

³ *Ciliciae civitates omnes Tarsum evocat . . . ibi rebus omnibus provinciae et finitimarum civitatum constitutis . . .* (Hirt., *Bell. Alex.* 69.)

⁴ These provincial assemblies were formed of σύνεδροι, or deputies sent by each people, as we have seen in the case of Lycia, as Livy (xlv. 32) says in respect to Macedon: *Macedonum rursus advocatum concilium: promuntiatum quod ad statum Macedoniae pertinebat, senatores, quos synedros vocant, legemulos esse, quorum consilio respublica administraretur.* ("In regard to the high priest, ἀρχιερεύς, he belongs to the imperial epoch, and was the provincial chief of the worship of Rome and Augustus, which was the official religion of the Roman Empire." — Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol.*, sect. v. No. 885.) The *patroni provinciarum* at Rome represented also the unity of the province. (Cf. Orelli, n. 529, 3,058, 3,063, 3,661, etc.)

of their cities, some coming first, like Ephesus and Pergamus, others in the seventh rank, like Magnesia in Ionia.



VOTIVE COLUMN OF THE DIOSCURI FOUND AT LARISSA.¹

Testimony to this effect is abundant during the imperial period; but the usage was ancient, and anterior to the Roman conquest. Indeed it has been shown in the course of this history

¹ In the centre, a festal couch for the divine guests; in front, a table, with sacred cakes, a priest making a libation, a woman raising her right hand towards the gods, whom she invokes, and the Dioscuri going by at a gallop in the sky; beneath them, Fortune, bearing a crown for those offering the sacrifice; below, the inscription: "To the great gods," — a name often given to Castor and Pollux, — "Danaa, daughter of [I]thoneite[s]." (Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 419 and pl. xxv.) This votive column is in the Louvre.

that all the Italian races had similar assemblies, that the Romans took part in the Latin *feriae*, and that at one time a proposition was made that the allied cities should be allowed to elect two senators to sit at Rome with the Conscrip Fathers of the Republic. These ideas, therefore, were not foreign to the Roman mind, and were carried with the Roman domination into those western regions where they had germinated spontaneously.



IONIAN COIN.¹



COIN OF MAGNESIAN
IONIA.²

Caesar will presently convoke the deputies of Further Spain at Cordova, and of Nearer Spain at Tarragona. In Gaul he will call together every year the States-General of the country, and Augustus will assemble about him the deputies of the provinces through which he journeys. Before their time, Sertorius, in the Iberian peninsula, had pursued the same course. Respecting the rights of these assemblies we know but little. In the West, Julius and Augustus Caesar seem to have given them a political character by consulting them upon affairs of importance; in the East, they appear to have had, at least for the time with which our documents are concerned, authority only in matters of religion.³ We find the assembly of pro-consular Asia meeting in 165 A. D. in Upper Phrygia and appointing the asiarchs,

¹ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΤΩΝ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ (the Pergamean Ephesians [being] the first of Asia). Hercules seated and Diana standing, her quiver on the ground; beneath, ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΠΙ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ (the community [association] of thirteen cities), and ΠΡΟ ΜΚΑ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝ (being pro-curator [or pro-consul], Marcus Claudius Fronto). On other coins he is *asiarch*. The thirteen cities composing this community were Miletus, Ephesus, Erythrae, Clazomenae, Priene, Phocaea, Teos, Lebedos, Colophon, Myus, the two islands Samos and Chios, to which was added later Smyrna. Why are the Pergameans named in this inscription? No one can say. The cut represents the reverse of a very rare bronze of Antoninus, struck in Ionia. (Note of M. de Sauley.)

² ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΕΒΔΟΜΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ (the people of Magnesia, seventh city of the province of Asia). Bacchus, a child, upon the mystic cistus, surrounded by a wreath. Reverse of a bronze coin of Ionian Magnesia, of Gordian III.

³ In the inscriptions of Orelli, No. 3,144, we find a *praetor Hetruriae xv. populorum*. In No. 2,182 mention is made of the *sacra Etruriae*, and the Latin games lasted until the fourth century. (Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* i. 21.) *Pacarius, vocatis principibus insulae (Corsicae), consilium aperit*. (Tac., *Hist.* ii. 16.) United Sicily, *communis Sicilia*, decrees that statues shall be erected to Verres. (Cic., in *Verr.* II. ii. 59, 63.)

from whose number the Roman governor selected the one who should fill the very honorable but ruinous office of supreme pontiff for the entire province: a passage in Strabo proves the extreme antiquity of this usage.¹

There was certainly in these essentially popular customs a germ which might have been developed, to the great profit of the provinces and the Empire; but these assemblies were allowed to subsist, obscure and useless, so that the provincial government lacked the counterpoise which might so easily have been given it. If this idea be criticised, we may rejoin that history is by no means designed simply to register what has been done and to applaud it; that Rome, in becoming a world, was bound to suffer transformation, and that for a dominion so vast, one of two forms of government became inevitable,—either that which she did in fact adopt; namely, the absolute power of the ruler, subordinating the prosperity of the Empire to all the accidents of royal births, to all the hazards of an election in the barracks,—or else a close union between Rome and her provinces by the effective participation of the latter in the general administration. Doubtless an organization like this would have shocked the old Roman prejudices; but a great state cannot be founded without forethought. Julius and Augustus Caesar had this forethought for a brief time in Gaul. The Senate might have carried it everywhere; for with these assemblies, which existed everywhere, it would have been easy to unite counsel and action, to submit arbitrary will to control, and put a bridle upon power. Such a constitution Rome herself had with her Senate and consuls; it was a question of giving it to her subjects, and then binding the provinces fast to Rome by granting to their assemblies what Spurius Carvilius had



VEILED PONTIFF
CLOTHED IN A LONG
ROBE.²

¹ Aristides, *Orat.* xxvi. 344–346; Strab., xiv. 649. This is a very high dignity, says Philostratus (*Sophist. vitae*, lib. i. § 212), but very costly, ὑπὲρ πολλῶν χρημάτων. The asiarchs had the superintendence of the sacred games of the province; there were also asiarchs for the solemnities of the cities.

² Silver statuette in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,874 of the catalogue. See in Vol. II. p. 45, a bronze figurine almost similar, giving exactly the Roman pontifical costume.

asked, after the great massacre at Cannae, for the citizens of the Italian cities.¹ The question well deserved to be studied and determined, for had the Empire been better organized, there would have been no Middle Ages.²

The Roman Catholic clergy well understood the importance of this machinery for establishing over immense districts a community of interests and beliefs. They imitated with their synods of bishops these provincial assemblies, so that if the latter did not bring the representative system into the state, we may at least say that they aided in introducing it into the religious body. The Church crowned this work of deep sagacity by establishing above the provincial synod a supreme Senate, the œcumenical council; and this double institution long secured unity to its faith, its discipline, and its empire. What Christian Rome knew how to do, why could not Pagan Rome have done? Roman pride and the interests of two hundred families, whom we shall see in the last century of the Republic living upon the plunder of the whole world, did not permit it.

It is only fair, however, to recognize that the solution here indicated would have been extremely difficult in the face of those fatalities of education, of historic conditions and of hereditary prejudices which in all time reduce to a minimum true largeness of mind. The province, which never even succeeded in making itself recognized as a civil entity, capable of action and ownership, remained nothing more than a territorial division; and its governors, who regarded their appointment as a sentence of exile³ when they did not regard it as a means of repairing a fortune, ruined by pleasure or by the purchase of an office, found themselves surrounded by weakness and servility; for there was nowhere that union which gives strength, or that dignity which springs from

¹ See Vol. II. p. 4, the proposition of Carvilius in 216, and Vol. I. p. 417, the request of the Latin praetors in the year 340. Elsewhere we shall further consider this question of municipal and provincial organization.

² The Greeks of Asia were so far from being destitute of the desire to organize, that they had given numerical rank to their cities; some were *metropoles* and first, others second, seventh, etc. Thus Ephesus was *πρώτη πασῶν* (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.* ii. 521); Magnesia was *ἑβδόμη τῆς Ἀσίας* (Id., *ibid.* 527); Aspendus *τρίτη τῶν ἐκεῖ* (Cilicia). (Philostrat., *Vita Apoll.* i. 15.) Unfortunately, all this was only a matter of vanity, and this organization only regulated precedence at the games and feasts of the province. (Cf. Eckhel, *ibid.* iv. 288.)

³ See Cicero, *ad Att.* ii. 16, and all his letters dated from Cilicia.

the consciousness of possessing rights which ought to be and can be maintained.

Plutarch, in speaking of the Asiatic races, uses a strong expression,—“people,” he says, “who never can say No.” From one end to the other of the vast domains of the Republic, save in those inaccessible gorges where a few mountaineers still sheltered their liberty, not a nation now remained which dared to speak that word. Hence, in spite of constitutions and treaties, in spite of the long list of privileges just now enumerated, there existed in truth but one condition in the provinces, and that was the condition of subjects.

The Romans, then, had not been able to rise to any higher conception than that of force; and all their political wisdom expressed itself in the maxim, *divide et impera*. Still, under upright proconsuls and intelligent emperors, this principle of government was concealed beneath the noble name of justice — *jus* — which was to rule in all the relations of Rome with the provincials. When Pliny mentions a city, he only tells us what tribunal it was to which the city was accountable,—to which she could apply to obtain justice — *jura petere*. Later, another phrase came into use, expressing the compensating benefit of this imperious sway, — *pax romana*, that “Roman peace” which united all nations, and blended all languages, — the real divinity of the Empire, to whom all the greatest emperors — Augustus, Vespasian, Trajan — erected temples, and whose boundless sovereignty — *immensa romanæ pacis majestas*¹ — the nations honored with sincere devotion.

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxvii. 1. Under the Empire, the great care of all the governors was to maintain public order. Tiberius could not endure to hear of any disturbance. See, in the Acts of the Apostles, the alarm of the men of Ephesus, on account of a tumult excited by the preaching of St. Paul.

² Peace seated, holding an olive-branch and a sceptre; the legend, PAX AUGUST. Reverse of a gold coin of Vespasian.



PEACE.²

SIXTH PERIOD.

THE GRACCHI, MARIUS, AND SYLLA (133-79); EFFORTS AT REFORM.

CHAPTER XXXV.

HELLENISM AT ROME.

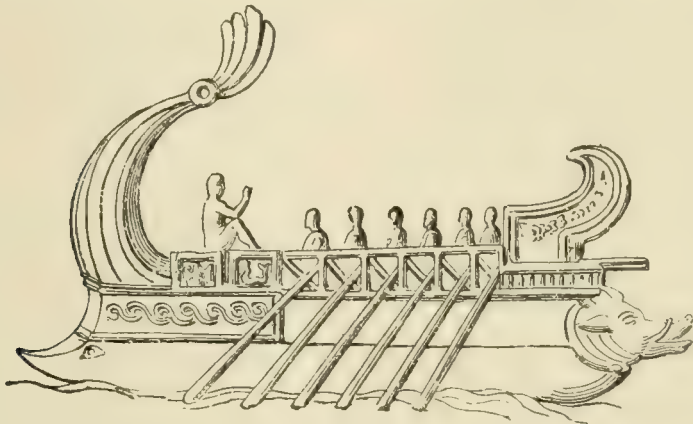
I. MORAL CONDITION OF GREECE IN THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

IN the year 146 B.C., about the ides of April, Rome presented a most animated aspect. For several days, says Appian, the Senate had not met, the tribunals were deserted, and in the streets and squares immense crowds were gathered, seemingly expectant of some great event. Suddenly the news spread that from Ostia had been seen, out at sea, a ship adorned with the most magnificent trophies,¹ and bearing wreaths of laurel on her prow. They dared not yet believe in the good news; but towards evening the ship had entered the Tiber, and from a thousand voices the cry burst forth, "Carthage is taken!" The whole night was spent in the wildest revelry. "She is fallen at last," they said, "this hated rival!" The crowd gathered to listen where a few old men, here and there, were telling of a time they could remember, when for sixteen years Numidian horses had trampled the soil of Italy, when across the smoking ruins of 400 cities, and plains strewn with 300,000 Roman corpses, a Carthaginian army had made its way to the very gates of Rome; and now the city whence Hannibal had

¹ Ναὺν . . . κοσμήσας λαφύροις. (App., *Libyca*, 133.)

come was destroyed by Scipio! Corinth also had just fallen, and two triumphs were preparing,—one for Metellus, the second conqueror of Macedon, the other for Mummius, victorious over the Achaeans. Looking eastward beyond subjugated Greece, there were to be seen only trembling nations and enslaved kings. Viriathus was scarcely a shadow in this brilliant picture of the prosperity of Rome.

And yet, looking upon the ruins of Carthage, Scipio had wept as he thought of his own city. His were not idle and poetic fears. These Romans of stern temper had not the chord in their hearts that vibrates to vague anxieties. Scipio knew his country: under the brilliant exterior he could see the slow disin-



TRANSPORT VESSEL.

tegration of morals, religion, and of the people itself,—the alarming decrease in the number of small landowners, the increase of slavery, the influence of the tax-farmers, the insolence of the nobles, the venality of the poor. In this inevitable transformation, the necessity of which he could not understand, he beheld dangers more formidable than Hannibal and Carthage. And he was right, for the old Rome was about to perish, and give place to a new.

In the preceding volume we have shown a patriciate taking the place of royalty, then constrained to share the government with the people, this fortunate union allaying internal discord. The best days of republican equality at Rome lie between the beginning of the Samnite war and the close of the second war with Carthage.

All was at that time common, — magistracies, honors, and devotion to the public good; and to this equality of rights corresponded very nearly a similar equality of fortunes. The great consuls, Cincinnatus, Curius, Fabricius, when they were not invested with the triumphal robe, wore the peasant's tunic and lived in the peasant's poverty and industry. Patricians and plebeians vied with each other in their zeal to serve the state; and if the former gave Fabius and Papirius and the Scipios, the latter could boast of Decius, Metellus, and Marcellus. The Romans of that time were indeed a great people, rough and rude still, but full of the spirit of civic duty, and keeping, with their strongly constituted family life, the stern morality of early days. Accordingly, it was the epoch of the difficult victories over the Samnites and Pyrrhus, over Carthage and Hannibal, which made easy all that came later.

In these wars Rome had fought for her existence; she obtained empire by their means, but at the cost of her institutions. Under the stress of circumstances, she retraced her steps, — she came back from equality to privilege, from the rule of a wise democracy, which was excellent for a city, to a centralized government, indispensable for a Power which reached so far. Unfortunately this revolution was complicated by another: the economic conditions of society were changed by the conquest of rich provinces. Rome, whose manners had long been those of poverty, suddenly assumed those of wealth, but of wealth acquired by pillage, not by industry. The strife of classes sprung up again, and as in the early time, the city contained two distinct peoples. If time and the law had almost effaced the distinction between patrician and plebeian, a higher barrier was now rising between rich and poor, the former every day growing prouder and more insolent, the latter more wretched and submissive.

We must study closely this transformation, by which are explained the revolutions of the last hundred years of the Roman Republic, — on one side, the invasion of Hellenism, modifying the faith and morals of the aristocracy; on the other, the incessant wars, wasting away the old plebeian stock (to be replaced by enfranchised slaves), and requiring for their successful termination a concentration of all authority in the hands of the Senate.

It was a moral and political revolution, less due to the ambition of men than to irresistible circumstances. Nations are not such masters of their fate that they can escape the consequences of their own deeds. Upon the world's theatre two unequal forces act, — the liberty of man and historic fate; I mean that force of circumstances which man himself creates, since it results from deeds which he himself has done, but whose remote results no human wisdom can foresee, and whose effects no human will can completely control. Thus the invasion of Hellenism was the inevitable re-action of civilized subjects upon the barbaric conqueror, and an oligarchy arose inevitably out of the popular assembly, which was unsuited to watch over the important interests which resulted from victory.

"After the transmarine wars," says Cicero, "a great wave of new ideas and of knowledge poured into Rome."¹ But what was it that the Greeks of that day could give?

We have shown the weakness of Greece at the time when it was invaded by the Romans, with the purpose of thus explaining the facility of its conquest.² In now showing, as the poet says, how the Greeks avenged themselves on Rome by giving her their vices, we shall do well to examine their moral condition at the time.

The Greek people had lived so intensely, that it had really had a long life, and at the epoch of which we speak was far advanced in age, — the dishonored old age of a people wasting in factiousness and turbulence the little strength that remained to it, and having lost the virtues of the time when all had jointly labored for the common good. The youth (*ephebi*) still received their severe training; but upon their entrance into active life they quickly forgot what they had learned, for since Alexander had given the treasures of Persia to the Greeks, and since his successors offered them innumerable places at court, in which complaisance towards the master led to complaisance towards one's self, public morals, formerly preserved by poverty and danger, declined; and with all its brilliant exterior, this civilization seemed

¹ *De Rep.* ii. 19. He says again, in the *pro Archia*, 3: *Erat Italia tunc plena Graecarum artium ac disciplinarum.*

² See Vol. II. p. 78, *seq.*

at last to aim at nothing but multiplying for man the means of satisfying his lowest desires.¹

The chief object was to live well, not as Phidias and Plato had understood it, but after the manner, to quote Horace,² of those swine of Epicurus who declared that reason and nature command us to refer everything to the pleasures of sense.³ The poets of the middle and new comedy at Athens return endlessly to this theme; one of them represents a cook explaining the important influence of the culinary art upon human affairs:—

“What is all this nonsense you are talking?” says the poet Alexis.⁴ “The Lyceum and the Academy and the Odeon, and the Amphictyonic Council,—follies of sophists, in which I acknowledge nothing of value! Let us drink, my dear Sico, let us drink to excess and lead a merry life while we have the means to do so. . . . Virtues, embassies, commands, ’tis all vainglory and a vain rumor out of the land of dreams. Death will lay his icy hand upon you on the day the gods have appointed. What will then remain to you? What you have eaten and drunk, and no more. The rest is dust,—dust of Pericles, of Codrus, or of Cimon!”

This is but a poet’s freak, you say? Yes, certainly; but it is also a sign of the times. Ennius had just translated for the Romans the *Gastronomy* of Archestratus, and we know that to arrange a banquet skilfully was an object of ambition even to the severe Paulus Aemilius.

For this merry life gold was needful, and the men of that time sought it everywhere, in all things, even by vice and fraud. For many of them, their word was but a pawn in the game,⁵ and there were those who dared to say: “O divine metal, gift

¹ *Graeci vitiorum omnium genitores.* (Plin., *Hist. Nat.* xv. 4.) See in Plautus, *passim*, the definition of Greek life, *pergruaccari*. [We must remember that there were many noble exceptions. — *Ed.*]

² . . . *Epicuri de grege porcum.* (*Ep.* I. iv. 16.) Cicero had also said: *Epicure noster, ex hura producti, non ex schola.* (*In Pis.* 16.)

³ Athenaeus, xii. 67. [Cf. also my *Social Life in Greece*, chap. xi., for further details. — *Ed.*]

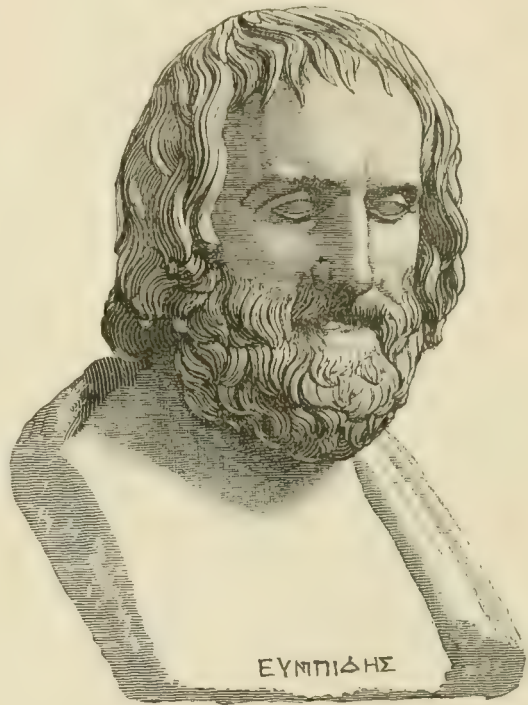
⁴ Fragment preserved by Athenaeus. (See *Fragm. Comic. Graec.* ed. Didot, p. 524.) Alexis was born at Thurii (Suidas, s. v. Ἀλεξίς) shortly before the destruction of that city by the Lucanians in 390. By birth, therefore, he was Italian; but he lived at Athens and died about 288. Aulus Gellius (ii. 23) says that some of his numerous plays were translated or imitated at Rome. [Cf. my *Hist. of Greek Lit.* i. 476. — *Ed.*]

⁵ See in Plautus, *Asinaria*, v. 199, and elsewhere what was meant by “Greek faith.”

most precious made to mortals, a mother is not so dear as thou art!" or again: "Call me a swindler, provided I win!"¹ An expression habitual in Greece was: "Lend me your testimony, and I will do the same for you."² What dishonesty, moreover, what depravity in public and in private life! Polybius has already shown this to us.³

COIN OF MALLOS.⁴

But all things answer one another; mental power declined with moral tone. To the serious working of the intellect had succeeded a research after subtleties. The imagination, so powerful with young nations, was lost; and Greek genius, exhausted and no longer able to create, observed, analyzed, criticised. Commentators succeeded poets; Aristarchus ruled at Alexandria, Crates of Mallos at Pergamus.⁵ Poetry and eloquence were gone; Demosthenes and his rivals had been the last of the Athenian orators, Euripides and Aristophanes the last poets. Since the fourth century opened tragedy was dead; down to the third, certain

EURIPIDES.⁶

¹ Diodorus (xxxvii. 30) says that these lines were in everybody's mouth.

² See how Cicero arraigns the Greeks in the *pro Flacco*, especially in § 4.

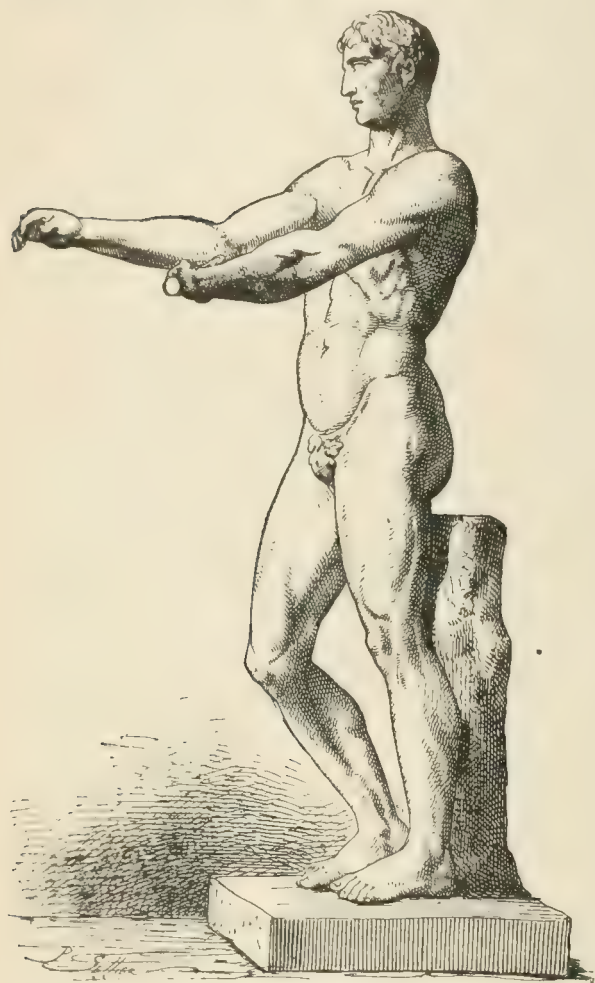
³ See chap. xxvi. For the frightful corruption of the Greek world, consult especially Athenæus, — upon Demetrius of Phalerum, xii. 60; upon Antiochus Theos, vii. 35 and x. 10; upon the cities of Syria, xii. 35; upon the philosopher Anaxarchus, xii. 70, etc.

⁴ Satrap's head; reverse, a bull in a parallelogram, (M)ΑΑΛΩΤ(ω)N. Silver coin of Mallos.

⁵ Crates was sent, about 152, by Attalus on an embassy to Rome, where he gave numerous lectures. (Suet., *de Illust. Gramm.* 2.)

⁶ Bust in the Museum of Naples. [This poet marks the transition from the old to the new. — *Ed.*]

writers may still claim a place apart, such as Menander, the best type of what is called the new comedy, which Terence was to imitate at Rome, such as Callimachus and Theocritus, poets of elegies and pastorals, two forms which flourish in the decay of



ATHLETE WITH THE STRIGILLUM (ATTRIBUTED TO
LYSIPPUS).

societies and literatures. The principal merit of Apollonius of Rhodes, the epic poet of this period, is a sustained mediocrity,¹ and Lycophron, the most celebrated of the members of the Alexandrian Pleiad, executed designs with his verses, — eggs, axes, etc. One of his poetic caprices is to represent Hercules in the belly of a whale,² borrowed perhaps from the Septuagint; and to complete his record, he invented the anagram. Among the Greeks of the decadence, letters, once the city's glory, the dazzling sign of religious and political life, because they

were the homage of genius to the gods and to the fatherland, were reduced to the mere amusement of a frivolous society. In the second century one name alone is noteworthy, — that of Polybius, who might stand beside the greatest writers of Greece,

¹ Quintilian, x. 1; Longinus, *On the sublime*, xxxiii. 6. [But cf. my *Greek Lit.* i. 49. — *Ed.*]

² Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 31, *seq.*

had he united literary skill to his conscientious and penetrating historic faculty.

In art, the powerful impulse given by Phidias, Polyclethus, Praxiteles, and Lysippus, had not yet ceased to make itself felt.¹

These great men had bequeathed to the schools of Rhodes and Pergamus, at that time the most flourishing in the world, incomparable models, a skilful manner of handling, and technical methods which would for a long time support the faltering of genius. But already signs of decadence were appearing; some sculptors made statues colossal, believing they should thus make them great. At Rhodes ships under full sail could pass between the legs of the statue of Apollo, whose feet rested on the two piers of the harbor; others took from statuary its character of repose and serenity in striving to make it rival painting, not alone in the expression of emotion common to both, but in the representation of varied and violent scenes. They overwrought the marble so as not to leave a space where some muscle did not show, and overstrained the dramatic effect of the figures, as in the over-praised statue of the Laocoön, which has been called a tragedy in three acts, and that of the Farnese bull, lauded as a poem in stone.



THE FARNESE BULL.²

After all, the progress or decline of art mattered little to the Romans, who left to their subjects the work of keeping them

¹ No actual piece of Lysippus is extant; but we know there are several Roman copies, of which two are given above. [The famous Venus of Melos dates from late in the 3d century B. C. — *Ed.*]

² Museum of Naples. The denouement of the tragedy of Euripides, *Antiope*, has furnished the subject of this fine group. The sons of Antiope, Amphion and Zethos, are tying to a wild bull the Queen Dirce, who has maltreated their mother. The tragedy was imitated by the Roman Pacuvius.

supplied with statues and pictures. Greek art, accordingly, which at first was a worship, now becomes an industry; but although all that was once its inspiration declines and perishes, it will yet keep strength enough to live four centuries longer, and to embellish that new world of the West which Rome is destined to draw into civilized life. It is a memorable example of the power of schools and of traditions,—a phenomenon which, for the same reasons, is reproduced among us, where during nearly three centuries, the French school has suffered only partial eclipses, while others have entirely disappeared.

Religion, on the contrary, having never had doctrinal teaching, nor a clergy constituted into a powerful corporation, was incapable of retaining the minds of men in the chains of the early faith.

The enlightened class went to the temples only through habit, and uttered the names of the gods only as an oratorical device. The Olympians were dying; Aeschylus had already attacked them in his *Prometheus*, and Aristophanes, the audacious mocker, in his *Birds*, where he sports with the race of gods as with men. In the *Knights*, Nicias, the faithful servant of the worthy Demos (the people), desperate at the misfortunes which happen to him, can think of nothing better than to prostrate himself before the statue of some god. "What statue?" says Demosthenes to him. "Do you really believe that there are gods?" "Certainly." "What proofs have you?" "The proof that they have a spite against me. . . ." "Well, there is nothing to say against that."

Greece seemed to lose the memory of her past; she forgot even her great men. Cicero prided himself for having discovered at Syracuse the tomb of Archimedes hidden under thorns; he saw the temple of Delphi deserted, the Pythia mute;¹ and an Aetolian had burned that of Dodona, the most venerable sanctuary of the Hellenic race.

During the brilliant days of Greece, the oracles had played a great part, both religious and patriotic. But how laborious was the existence of the prophetic divinities now, interrogated every

¹ *Cur isto modo jam oracula Delphis non eduntur, non modo nostra aetate, seu jam diu; jam ut nihil possit esse contemptius?* (Cic., de *Divin.* ii. 57.)

moment about wretched personal interests; and what suppleness of mind was needed for their priests to prepare ambiguous oracles which would satisfy the worshipper without compromising the credit of the god! There has lately been found under the ruins of the temple of Dodona a large number of appeals to the protection of Zeus Naïos.¹ A woman asks for a remedy which shall restore her to health, and private individuals apply for information as to which of three courses is best to follow; a shepherd promises tangible proofs of gratitude if the god will bring success to some speculation in sheep which he proposes to make; an Ambraciote wishes to know which divinity will give him health and fortune; Agis, how to recover the pillows and coverlets which have been stolen from him. The Jupiter of Homer and Phidias is fallen to the level of a fortune-teller!

PRIEST AT
DELPHI.²ANTIOCHUS II.,
THEOS.³

As the last outrage, this religion no longer erected temples to any but the men of the time, and in bitter derision, as it were, vice had the honors of apotheosis. Thebes consecrated altars to the courtesan Lamia; Antiochus, "the god" (Θεός), ordered the worship of his unworthy favorite, Themison Heracles;⁴ and "the virgin city" bestowed divine honors upon the sharers of the infamous pleasures of Demetrius Poliorcetes. The prayers of Athens to this prince were at once blasphemous and cowardly. At the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries a choir of Athenians in white robes crowned with flowers came forward singing in their city's name: "The other gods are sleeping or on a journey; perhaps they do not even exist; to thee only, who art not made of wood or stone, to thee, present and living divinity, I address

DEMETRIUS POLI-
ORCETES.⁵

¹ M. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, pp. 72-83.

² Young man inscribing upon a patera the oracle's answer. Gem (cornelian) in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,899 of the catalogue.

³ Diademed head of Antiochus II., "the god," from a gold coin.

⁴ Athenaeus, vi. 62.

⁵ Diademed and horned head of Demetrius Poliorcetes, from a tetradrachm whose reverse is given p. 225.

my worship. Oh, well-beloved! make me enjoy peace, and save me from my enemies, for I can fight no longer.”¹

We shall now inquire whether philosophy could offer to the souls of men the consolations which religion failed to give.

The Greek philosophy had already passed through the three glorious phases of its history. It had studied, —

Nature, considered as a harmonious whole by those whom Aristotle calls “the physicists;”

Mind, asserting its claim, since Anaxagoras, to be considered separately from matter, and becoming in the two great systems of Plato and Aristotle the universal cause;

And finally, *Morals*, striving, through the schools of Epicurus and Zeno, to take away from pure reason the primacy in the guidance of men’s minds.²

We need not explain these doctrines, with which Greece was intoxicated, but in which the Romans took but little interest, the wisest among them agreeing with the words of Ennius, “One should only sip philosophy, not drink deep draughts of it.” Their social results, however, we must follow out, because these made a part of Roman life.

Philosophy had been with Socrates and Plato more speculative, and with Aristotle more experimental. The latter gave indeed to the science of being the importance which it has kept, — nay, its very name, metaphysics, and found therein a divine unity; but in allowing nature a spontaneous power, and in separating all nature from the Deity, he seemed to deny a providential government of the world; finally, his system destroyed one of the strongest principles of moral responsibility when it granted immortality to the soul only on condition of its losing its personality. Busied with the necessities which are imposed by our human condition, he brought elements which Plato had disregarded into the ideas of virtue and happiness, and seemed to lower the moral ideal. In reality he brought this ideal more within the reach of men,



SOCRATES.³

¹ Athenæus, vi. 63: . . . κοῦκ ἔχω μάχεσθαι.

² Cf. Ravaisson, *Métaphysique d'Aristote*, and Zeller, *Philosophie des Grecs*, vol. i. p. lxiil. of the *Introduction* by M. Boutroux.

³ Cornelian of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,038 of the catalogue.

and his theory of expediency would have been harmless¹ if he had not deduced from it the lawfulness of slavery.² It was not from Aristotle, therefore, that men could ask what they should believe; he only taught what they should know; he was the man of science, as his master, Plato, will be the man of faith. These two mighty minds, who had laid open the twofold road in which we yet walk, are the two immortal adversaries who claim possession of the human mind; but Rome was not destined to know anything of these mighty conflicts.

False to the true spirit of their master, the disciples of Aristotle ended by closing heaven and that future full of hope which Plato had opened. Theo-

PLATO.³

phrastus, who succeeded him as chief of the Lyceum, inclined in morals towards the doctrines which Aristotle had disavowed;⁴ he makes Fortune (*fors*) the mistress of the world, and replaces God in the midst of creation, where Strato, his successor, will not even recognize him. "All divine life," says the latter, "resides in nature, and I have no need of gods to explain the formation of the world. There is nothing which does not result from motion and weight, *naturalibus ponderibus et*

CHANCE.⁵

¹ The useful was to the peripatetic philosophers identical with the right: *honesta commiserent cum commodis*. (Cic., *de Nat. deorum*, i. 7.)

² *Polit.* i. 2; *Mor.* viii. 2. He even combats (*Polit.*, i. 2) certain philosophers who were maintaining that slavery was a state contrary to nature. Aristotle believed that this institution was useful to the state, to the citizens, whom it freed from mercenary occupations, to the slave even, who, he maintained, never fell into slavery save through the inferiority of his moral nature. [He further maintained radical distinctions of race as its natural basis. — *Ed.*]

³ Museum of Naples.

⁴ Cic., *Acad.* i. 10: *nervos virtutis incideret* . . . Cf. *Id.*, *Tuscul.* v. 9. In his *Characters* [if genuine], not a single virtuous one is to be found.

⁵ M. PLAETORI CEST. S. C. Bust of Chance, placed on base bearing the word *Sors*. Reverse of a denarius of the Plaetorian family.

motibus”¹ This became the doctrine of Epicurus, and is to-day the formula of scientists who dispense with a first cause. Strato was called in the school “the physician;” two others also merit this name, Dicaearchus, who denied the existence of the soul, and Aristoxenus, who held it to be a certain harmony of the body, *intentio quædam corporis*. We thus come upon blank materialism; and Demetrius Phalereus showed at once by his political skill and the depravity of his life² that if the Peripatetic school did much for science, it ended by doing too little for morals.

The Greeks of that time having no longer a country nor the two things which had made it, liberty and religion, were teaching in all their schools that the wise man should detach himself from public life and take refuge in a tranquil indifference. It would seem that, fatigued with having for four centuries traversed the world of thought and of history in every direction, they now, like the Italy of Michael Angelo, desired only to rest and sleep.³

This teaching was especially the work of Epicurus. This hero disguised as a woman, as Seneca calls him,⁴ deserves better than his reputation. But in writing over his school, “Passer-by, thou wilt do well to rest here; pleasure is the supreme good,”⁵—he placed his disciples upon a path where the descent was easy, and Pleasure, seated upon a throne attended by all the Virtues,⁶ remains a dangerous image. In vain did Epicurus place the pleasures of the soul above those of the body, or aver that the strictly needful was enough for happiness; that, with barley bread

¹ Cic., *de Nat. deor.* i. 13; *Acad.* ii. 38.

² See in Athenæus, xii. 60, what is said by Duris of Samos, whose testimony on this subject has vainly been called in question.

³ Beneath the noble statue of Night, whom Michael Angelo represents as sleeping, Strozzi wrote these words: “She lives; if you doubt it, waken her; she will speak.” To whom the great sculptor, who was also a great patriot, replied:—

*Non veder, non sentir, m'è gran ventura!
Però non mi destar; deh! parla basso.*

(“To see nothing, to feel nothing, is a great happiness to me. Wherefore do not awaken me; I beseech you, speak low!”)

⁴ *Eph.* 33.

⁵ *Ibid.* 21.

⁶ Cic., *de Finibus*, ii. 21. We must agree upon the meaning of this word *pleasure*. Religion and morality have for their end happiness, *εὐδαιμονία*. Has not Bossuet himself said: “All the doctrine of morals tends solely to render us happy” (*Méditat. sur l'Év., Les huit béatitudes, X^e Jour.*) But we must examine by what means a system of religion or morality

and water, a man might be as happy as Jupiter,—he had merely founded the theory of selfishness, with its disastrous consequences. Religion he destroyed, because the fear of the gods was a constraint; patriotism, devotion to the state, family affection, all perished, because they disturbed the tranquillity of the sage.

These doctrines, the natural product of an epoch when so

many spirits longed for repose, were the very opposite to all that the Romans of early days held in honor. Two centuries earlier they would have been heard with horror by the inhabitants of the Seven Hills; but we shall see that there remained but few Romans in Rome, and that these degenerate sons of the great consuls were ready to



EPICURUS (FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM).

accept from Epicurus all the encouragements to self-indulgence which could be drawn from his teaching, leaving untouched the lessons of his life and his true teaching.¹ His school added one more element of dissolution to those already fermenting in the midst of this society, covering, as it did, with an aspect of philosophy a disorderly or listless life, which had nothing philosophic about it. How many Romans, and I speak of the

proposes to lead to happiness. The doctrine of morals as taught by Epicurus is summed up in four rules:—

1. To take the pleasure from which no pain results;
2. To avoid the pain which brings no pleasure;
3. To avoid the gratification which deprives of a greater enjoyment, or causes more pain than pleasure;
4. To accept the pain which delivers from a greater pain, or will result in a great pleasure.

The true basis of morals, therefore, duty, was absent in this dangerous teaching.

¹ Cic. (*de Fin.* i. 48) says of Epicurus: "This man whom you represent as the slave of pleasure cries out to you that there is no happiness without wisdom, honor, and virtue."

best among them, will live away from the city, like that friend of Cicero, who laid aside his father's name to call himself "the Athenian," like that Hortensius, so occupied with his fish-ponds, and that Asinius Pollio, resigned in advance to become the spoil of the conqueror! There are always sages of this kind, who leave to others the struggles of life, without believing themselves the Epicureans they are, and there were many such at Rome. But the school of pleasure is punished for its enervating doctrine by

its sterility; no superior man is ever born of her, and of the school of duty there are many.

The downward path which the Greek mind was descending led to the deepest abysses; never was moral destruction so complete.

"We know nothing," said Metrodorus, a disciple of Epicurus; "we do not even know that we know nothing."

These negative doctrines, which made a void in the soul, gained a hearing even in the Platonic school. Arcesilas, reviving Pyrrhon's scepticism, established it in the New Academy, and the teaching was carried to Rome by Carneades when he was sent thither as ambassador by Athens (155). "Who," says



METRODORUS.¹

¹ Museum of the Louvre, No. 139 of the Clarac catalogue. A double-headed "Hermes" presenting a head of Epicurus on one side and of Metrodorus on the other. The Hermes and busts often had, like this one, projections to be used in lifting them or to hang crowns upon. A Hermes of this kind, found at Rome in 1745, having the names on it, has made known the originals of these two portraits. (Cf. Clarac, *Description des antiques du Musée du Louvre*, p. 64.)

Aelian, "will not praise the wisdom of the races we call barbarians? They at least never bring in question whether there are or are not gods; whether they watch over the world or no. Among these nations no one has ever imagined systems like those of Euhemerus and that of Epicurus!"¹

The doctrines of the Porch, especially since the direction given them by Chrysippus and Panaetius, were a reaction in the name of the moral instinct and of common sense.² Zeno did not destroy the national religion, all whose divinities were to him manifestations of the One Being; and in virtue of this principle, he was able to respect popular beliefs, especially the very lively faith in genii. Of his successor, Cleanthes, we have the magnificent hymn to Jupiter: "Hail to thee, most glorious of immortals, adored under a thousand names, Jupiter eternal and omnipotent! hail to thee, lord of nature, who rulest all things according to thy law! . . . Jupiter, god whom the dark clouds hide, withdraw men from their fatal ignorance; dissipate the darkness of their souls, O our Father, and give them to know the thought whereby thou rulest the world in justice. Then shall we render to thee our homage in return for thy benefits, celebrating forever as we ought the works of thy hands, the common law of all beings!" An echo of this noble strain rings in the soul of the last of the great Antonines; and if, instead of Jupiter, we read Jehovah, the prayer will be a Christian one.

At Rome, says Hegel, Stoicism was at home. We have seen, in fact, in more than one Roman of the early days, the Stoic virtues which were naturally developed in this hard and energetic race. Under the Empire we shall see them again. But in the last century of the Republic the austere faith of the Porch gained but a few superior minds; men were more ready to listen to the voices which cried, "Doubt all things, and believe only in pleasure."

Apart from philosophy, the human mind had opened other paths for itself. Under the powerful impulse given by Aristotle, the sciences of observation had made great progress; men knew more, and knew more accurately. Ambitious minds went in search

¹ *Hist. Var.* ii. 31.

² *Cic., Acad.* i. 2, iv. 6.

of adventure. In the school of Epicurus men believed that they knew how the world was made; a little later Cicero ridicules those persons who "when they speak of the universe have the air of men just returned from an assembly of the gods." These audacities sometimes hit upon truths, and germs of theories at the present day accepted, may be found in the writings of those times: thus the principle of the conservation of force, the foundation of modern physics, of which Epicurus reasons almost as well as Leibnitz; and this other, that everything suffers transformation, nothing perishes; also the molecular theory, the negation of spontaneous generation, and the assertion that all bodies fall with equal rapidity in a vacuum.¹

Unhappily these germs were not developed, because the scientists of that time were mere philosophers; they had the intuitions of genius, but they guessed, and did not demonstrate. They lacked the experimental method, without which all science of nature is impossible, and their systems were logical constructions, which logic overthrew, setting out from different *à priori* premises. In those sciences, on the contrary which proceed from immutable axioms, geometry, mechanics, and astronomy, Greece had produced Euclid, Archimedes, and Hipparchus, three men whom the history of physical science places among her greatest names. But the sciences have no moral influence, save for the minds capable of seizing the harmonious order of the double *cosmos* in which we live, and of feeling that a man ought to be so much the better as he is the more intelligent. Never had Greece been so learned, and never so debased,—a grave warning to those ages in which the physical sciences assert an undivided empire.²

In conclusion, we find in certain sciences, for which Rome cared nothing, great splendor; but in art and poetry, no mighty inspiration, in eloquence a vain chatter of words and images (the rhetoricians), in religion, habits but no faith, in philosophy the materialism which came from the school of Aristotle, the doubt born of Plato, the atheism of Theodorus,³ and the

¹ See upon this question Martha, *Le Poëme de Lucrèce*, pp. 242-317.

² Montaigne (i. 24): *Je treuve Rome plus vaillante avant qu'elle feust sçavante.*

³ One of the leaders of the Cyrenaic school, which later melted into that of Epicurus, as the Cynical school ended by being absorbed in that of Zeno; Cic., *de Nat. deor.* i. 1: . . . *plerique*

sensualism of Epicurus, vainly combated by the moral protests of Zeno; and, lastly, in private and in public life the enfeeblement or the total loss of all those virtues which make the man and the citizen. Such were Greece and the East. And now, we say with Cato, Polybius, Livy, Pliny, Justin, and Plutarch, that all this passed into the Eternal City. The conquest of Greece by Rome was followed by the conquest of Rome by Greece:¹ *Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit.*

II. GREEK MANNERS AND ORIENTAL LUXURY IN ROME.

THE austerity of the early Romans was due to their poverty rather than to their conscience; two or three generations had sufficed to make of the city which had known nothing but meagre banquets and rustic holidays, a city of feasting and pleasure. There was now gluttony and drunkenness and debauchery hitherto unknown. Listen to Polybius, an eye-witness. "Most of the Romans," he says, "live in strange dissipation. The young allow themselves to be carried away in the most shameful excesses. They are given to shows, to feasts, to luxury and disorder of every kind, which it is too evident they have learned from the Greeks during the war with Perseus."² "See this Roman!" says Cato; "he descends from his chariot, he pirouettes, he recites buffooneries and jokes and vile stories, then sings or declaims Greek verses, and then resumes his pirouettes."³ This imitation of degenerate Greece became a rule in the education of the young

deos esse dicerunt, dubitare se Protagoras, nullos esse omnino Diagoras Melius et Theodorus Cyrenæus putaverunt.

¹ Plut., *Cat.* 6. Justin says (xxxvi. 4): *Asia, Romanorum facta, cum opibus suis ritia quoque Romam transmisit.* Cicero (*de Orat.* iii. 33): *politissimam doctrinam transmarinam atque adventitiam*; and Horace (*Epist.* II. i. 156) adds:—

et artes
Intulit agresti Latio . . .
. . . post Punica bella quictus quaerere coepit
Quid Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus utile ferrent.

² Polybius, xxxii. 11: . . . *alii in meritorios pueros, alii in meretrices effusi.* He adds: πολλοὺς ἐρώμενον ἡγορακένι ταλάντου.

³ Fragment of Cato appended to the translation of Fronto by M. Cassan.

nobility. "When I entered one of the schools to which the nobles send their sons," cries Scipio Aemilianus, "great gods! I found there more than five hundred young girls and lads who were receiving among actors and infamous persons lessons on the lyre, in singing, in posturing, and I saw a child of twelve, the son of a candidate for office, executing a dance worthy of the most licentious slave."¹

Greek vices, hitherto unknown in Rome, now became naturalized there. Yet Roman sobriety gave way slowly, and the law punished with death an outrage of this kind committed upon a citizen.² But the slave had no protection against his master's brutality, and we shall shortly see how greatly war had increased the number of these unfortunate persons. Now at Rome, as everywhere, slavery was a very active cause of corruption. Some slaves remained in the master's house and often drew profit from his vices; others labored outside for his benefit, and in employments that were not always honorable. The freedwomen,³ who had gained their liberty by subservience to their master's vices, crowded the houses of ill-repute, and when they fell victims to their debauchery, the master legally inherited their property. In and about these houses is laid the scenes of almost all the comedies of Plautus and of Terence. Women of free birth imitated this vicious life, we know, for in the year 114, to bring back modesty,

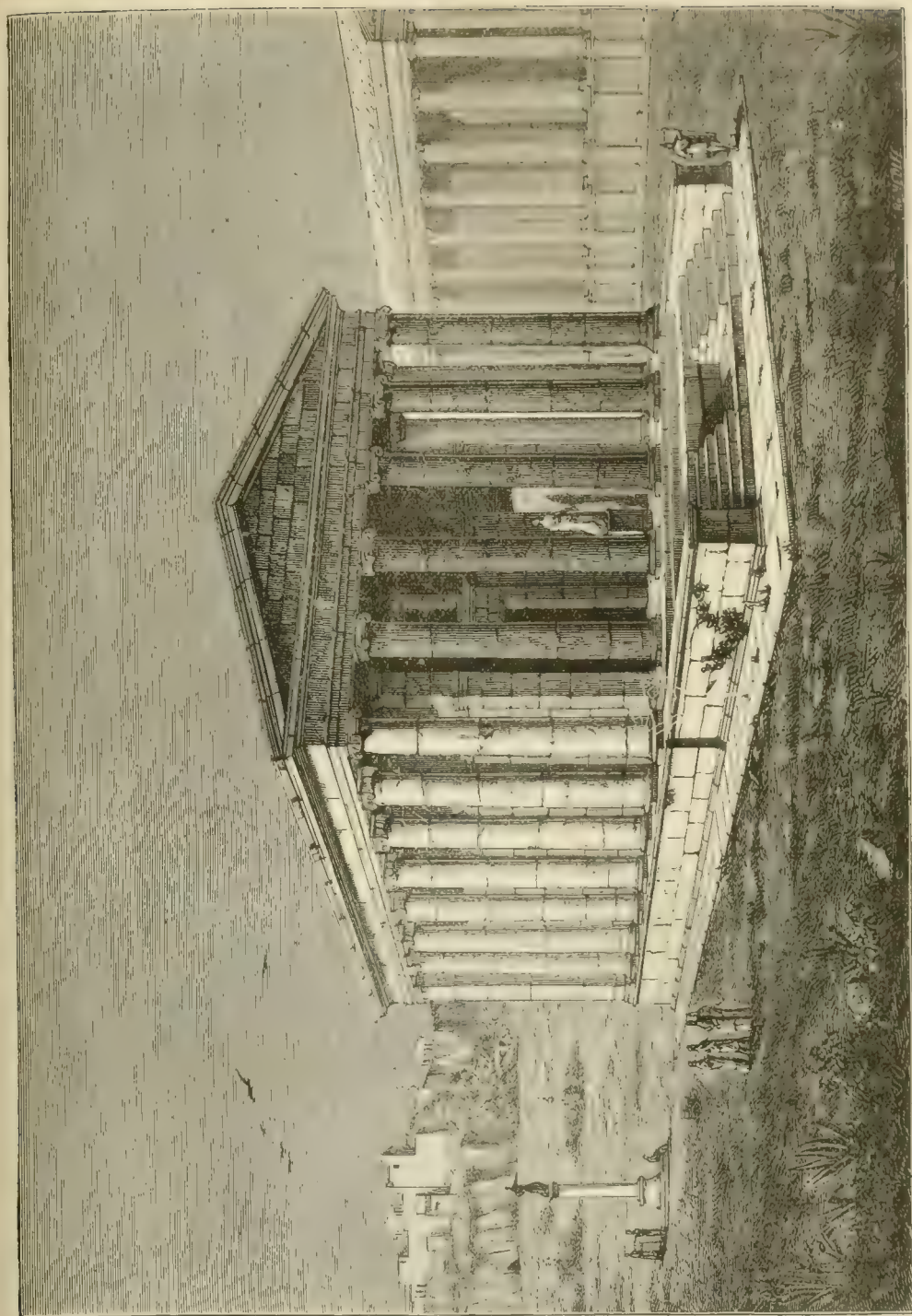
¹ Macr., *Saturn.* ii. 10. The verses of Sotades fortunately are lost, but not the *Epigrams* of Strato.

² Val. Max., VI. i. 5, 7, 9-12.

³ Eucharis, enfranchised by a lady of the Licinian family, died at the age of fourteen; her portrait, made in the sixteenth century by Fulvio Orsini from a marble original now lost or destroyed, represents her as three times that age. We give the inscription that the father caused to be engraved upon her tomb, calling attention to the fact that these words, *Graeca in scena prima populo apparuit*, give reason to believe that Eucharis lived in the time of Nero, who in the year 60 instituted games of this name:—

"O thou, who with careless glance perceivest this house of death, stay thy foot, and read. It is a father's love which has consecrated this monument to the ashes of his daughter!

"Alas! while my youth flourished in the culture of the arts, and my fame was increasing with my years, the fatal hour made haste and deprived me of the breath of life. Skilled in music, brought up, as it were, by the hand of the Muses, I was the ornament of the chorus in the shows given by the nobility; for I was the first to appear in Rome upon the Greek stage, and the cruel Parcae have plunged me into the tomb. The affection of my mistress, love, praise, beauty, all are silent upon my funeral pyre and swallowed up by death. I leave tears only to my father, whom I have preceded to the tomb. My fourteen years are bound in chains with me in Pluto's eternal dwelling. In departing, wish, I pray you, that the earth lie lightly on my ashes." (*Visconti, Iconogr. gr.* t. i. p. 181; *Orelli*, No. 2,602.)



TEMPLE OF JUNO MATUTA (RESTORATION OF M. LEFUEL).

the Senate ordered the construction of a temple to Venus Verticordia, the Venus who turns hearts to virtue!¹ But this new Venus was less powerful than she who presided over unchaste loves. The matrons were no more successful against her fatal influence when they buffeted in the temple of Juno Matuta,² at the feast of the Matralia, a female slave representing the whole class dangerous to conjugal fidelity.³

An *Atilian* law belonging to this epoch recognizes in the urban praetor and a majority of the college of tribunes the right of assigning a guardian to a woman having none. This was by way of protection to her interests, and also of discipline for her conduct.⁴ Another, in the year 204, rendered squandering difficult by submitting it to public formalities,⁵ which it was not agreeable to fulfil when a courtesan was to profit by these gifts at the expense of the family of the giver. Finally, it was forbidden by the Voconian law (169) to any one registered as possessor of 100,000 *ases* to make a woman his heir.⁶ These attempts were all in vain. Courtesans became daily more numerous, and concubines obtained at last, in the time of Augustus, a legal recognition to their union.

Another scourge did perhaps more harm, because it increased the former. "The army of Manlius returning from Asia imported foreign luxury into the city. These men first brought to Rome gilded couches, rich tapestry, with hangings, and other works of the loom. At entertainments likewise were introduced female players on the harp and timbrel, with buffoons for the diversion of the guests. Their meals also began to be prepared with greater care and cost, while the cook, whom the ancients considered as the meanest of their slaves, became highly valuable, and a servile office

¹ Ov., *Fast.* iv. 160; Val. Max., VIII. xv. 12.

² The cut represents the restoration of this temple by M. Lefuel. The site of the temple of Juno Matuta is near the church of San Nicolo in Carcere Tulliano.

³ Plut., *Quaest. Rom.* No. 16.

⁴ Ulpian, *Fragm.* xi. 18. He says in § 1: *Tutores constituuntur . . . feminis tam impuberibus quam puberibus et propter sexus infirmitatem et propter forensium rerum ignorantiam.* This was the tutor *Dativus* rendered necessary by the disorganization of the *gentes*.

⁵ *Lex Cincia* or *municipalis*. It treated also of honoraria of advocates, who were not to receive from their clients. (Cf. Cic., *de Orat.* ii. 71; Tac., *Ann.* xi. 5.)

⁶ Gaius, *Inst.* ii. 274: . . . *neve virgo, neve mulier.* Cf. Cic., in *Verr.* II. i. 41, 42.

began to be regarded as an art."¹ Then was seen a young and handsome slave costing more than a fertile field, and a few fishes than a yoke of oxen.² We have not yet come to the time of Apicius, and yet the most successful enterprises were those which



MEDITERRANEAN FISH, FROM A POMPEIAN MOSAIC.³

undertook to provide the tables of the rich and satisfy their capricious desires.⁴ The great even found distinction in inventing new dishes. Hortensius boasted of being the first to have peacocks

¹ Livy, xxxix. 6, and Diod., xxxvii. 3. The price of a good cook rose to four talents; for two, Caesar redeemed his life from Sylla's assassins. (Cf. Montesq., *Esprit des Lois*, vii. 2.)

² Polybius, xxxi. 18.

³ Niccolini, t. ii. "House of the Faun," pl. 2.

⁴ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* x. 23, 27.

served at table; Metellus Scipio, a consul, and Seius, a rich knight, disputed for the honor of having invented the *foies gras*.¹ Formerly all the senators had in common one silver service, which they used in rotation when they entertained foreign ambassadors.² Now some of them had as much as 1,000 pounds weight of plate, and a little later Livius Drusus had 10,000 pounds.³ They required for their houses and villas, ivory, precious woods, African marble, and the like.⁴ In 131 a certain Metellus built a temple entirely of marble, for these nobles disposed of royal wealth.⁵

In twelve years the war indemnity levied upon Carthage, Antiochus, and the Aetolians had amounted to nearly \$28,800,000. The gold, silver, and bronze borne by the generals in their triumphs represented as much more.⁶ These \$57,600,000 will be easily doubled if we add all the plunder that was taken by the officers and the soldiers,⁷ the sums distributed to the legionaries,⁸ and the valuables, furniture, stuffs, silver ware, bronzes brought to Europe from the depths of Asia, for nothing escaped the rapacity of the Romans. L. Scipio exhibited at his triumph 1,231 elephants' tusks; Flamininus and Fulvius more than 500 marble and bronze statues,⁹ massive bucklers of gold and silver, and chased vases. Acilius even carried off the wardrobe of Antiochus, Manlius his small

¹ Varro, *de Re rust.* iii. 11, 15; Colum., viii. 10, 6.

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 11.

³ Vell. Pat. i. 21.

⁴ Vell. Pat. i. 12, 14.

⁵ *Ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisse.* (Cic., in *Verr.* II., *de Supp.* 48.)

⁶ This statement is derived from the last fifteen books of Livy, and includes the sums directly deposited in the treasury or borne in the triumphs of these twelve years. The figures probably are not absolutely exact, but the sums were certainly enormous. Carthage paid 10,000 talents, Antiochus 15,000, the Aetolians 500, Ariarathus 300, Philip 1,000, Nabis 500, — in all, 27,300 talents. M. Macé (*Lois agraires*, p. 26) has made an estimate for the forty years, 208–167, which reaches nearly \$192,000,000. Mengotti (*Del Commercio de' Romani*) has two chapters on this subject: *Prede immense de' Romani*.

⁷ See, p. 285, the condemnation of Acilius Glabrio. The Scipios were accused of speculation, and Manlius was threatened with prosecution.

⁸ C. Cornelius gave his soldiers 70 *ases* apiece, Marcellus 80, Lentulus 120, Flamininus 250, Cato 270, Scipio 400, Manlius Vulso 420; Paulus Aemilius 200 *denarii* in Epirus and 100 after his triumph; Lucullus 950 *drachmae* (Plut., *Lucullus*, 54), Pompeius more than 1,500. (Plutarch, *Pomp.*, 47.) The centurions had twice as much as the legionaries, and the horse-men three times as much. (Livy, *passim*.)

⁹ Livy, xxxiv. 52. Polybius (xxii. 13) speaks of a crown of 150 talents offered by the Aetolians to Fulvius, and Josephus of another weighing 4,000 gold pieces given to Pompeius by a king of Egypt. (*Ant. Jud.* xiv. 5.)

tables and sideboards.¹ In Ambracia, once the residence of the kings of Epirus, Fulvius left nothing but the bare walls, — *parietes postesque nudatos*.²

The years which followed were no less productive. From one campaign Paulus Aemilius brought back nearly \$9,600,000.³ Then came the wealth of Corinth and of Carthage and the treasures of Attalus. According to the Capitoline Fasti there were in 283 years

SILVER CUP.⁴

181 triumphs, or nearly one every two years. The principal interest of this celebration was the exhibition of the booty. It was not allowed to a pro-consul to return with empty hands, though he

¹ *Monopodia et abacos*. (Livy, xxxix. 6.) Polybius blames this pillage severely (ix. 10).

² Livy, xxxviii. 43. This Fulvius Nobilior, who had distinguished himself in Spain, gave while censor in 175 a great example of severity. He expelled from the Senate his brother Fulvius because the latter had, without order of the consul, abandoned a cohort of the legion of which he was tribune. (Val. Max., II. vii. 5.)

³ *Unius imperatoris praeda finem attulit tributorum*, says Cicero strikingly. (*Off.* ii. 21.) It was customary, however, still to pay the twentieth of the price of enfranchised slaves; customs and port-dues were not suppressed until the year 62 or 61 by the tribune Metellus Nepos. This tribute was re-established under the consulate of Hirtius and Pansa in 43.

⁴ *Cabinet de France*, Nos. 2,807 and 2,808.

had been making war upon the poorest of men, upon those intractable tribes from whom he could not even make prisoners that might be sold as slaves. There was no profit so small that the Romans disdained it; in 197 Cethegus deposited in the treasury 79,000 denarii, and Minucius 53,000,¹ which they had extorted, one from the Insubri, the other from the Ligurians.

To these revenues arising from the plunder of the world must be added the gifts made willingly, it was said, by the cities and provinces. The Aetolians offered Fulvius a gold crown of 150 talents; a king of Egypt sent one to Pompeius which weighed 4,000 gold pieces; and there was no city favored by exemption from tribute, no people declared free, who did not feel itself obliged to offer to a victorious pro-consul one of these crowns, whose weight was measured by the servility of the giver. At his triumph Manlius carried 200 of them.² As the republican usage of largesses to the soldiers prepared the way for the imperial usage of *donativa* to the legions, so these gold crowns of the pro-consuls became the *aurum coronarium* of the emperors, — a tax which European royalty inherited under the title of “gift of happy accession.” The state, for its part, received every year the tributes of the provinces, the product of the enfranchisement of slaves, the revenue from the public domain, from customs, and from the mines, which latter was very considerable, that of Carthagera furnishing an amount equal to 25,000 drachmae daily.³

What was to be done with all this gold? Public works consumed part of it; the gods had a share, which was laid up in the temples against public emergency;⁴ the people also claimed their share. The idle were numerous: above, there was too much wealth; below, too much poverty. To occupy them and amuse them

¹ [The denarius, a Roman penny, was about seventeen cents of our money. — *Ed.*]

² Livy, xxxix. Cf. Festus, s. v. *Triumphales coronae*. The governors even who had not fought required them. (Cic., in *Pis.* 37.)

³ Polybius, xxxiv. 14. To the taxes regularly paid are to be added the special tribute of the *aerarii* and that of the *orbi* and of the *viduae* for the *aes hordiarum* of the *equites eque publico*, that is to say, for the support of the horses furnished by the state to the cavalry.

⁴ This usage lasted as long as pagan Rome. Aurelian consecrated in the temples a part of the spoils of Palmyra. Recently has been found in Cyprus a treasure hidden in a chamber several metres below the mosaic floor of a temple, which the heathen priests had been prevented from carrying away by the sudden attack of the persecution to which they in their turn had been subjected by the Christians.

public fêtes were given incessantly, some still of a serious character, others in which license was a part of worship; in the circus were countless chariot and horse races and coursing of hares and foxes. But these amusements of the good old times seemed no longer worthy of the grandeur of Rome. Men who had run the world over sword in hand, killing and pillaging, had need of keener excitements, and did not seek them from Greece, still gracious and graceful even in her decline, who would have for her fêtes only songs and garlands and beautiful dancing-girls, all the splendors of luxury and of nature, but no bloodshed. The Roman had shed so much blood, however, that he loved to see it flow, even in his pleasures. In this way it came about that the great carnivora from Africa began to appear in Rome, lions and panthers who were let loose upon each other, and soon let loose upon human prey;¹ and this spectacle of living flesh torn, of limbs crushed by wild beasts, caused such a thrill of delight through the amphitheatre, that to satiate the eyes of the public a new kind of punishment was devised, and the condemned criminal was thrown to wild beasts in the arena.

Ennius says: "It is by the virtues and the men of ancient days that the Republic is preserved."

"Moribus antiquis stat res romana vireisque."

This theme of the old poet has been adopted by those who do not see that the renewal of all things is the world's law, and that the life of nations, as of individuals, is a perpetual "becoming." How many are the declamations against the present as compared with the past, against luxury and the perils hidden under sumptuous carpets, expensive vases, and all beautiful useless things! We will not renew the old complaint made under this head against the Roman nation; but we will unite with the wisdom of all nations in saying, that wealth which is not the fruit of labor and its kindred virtues profits not to its possessor; that an ill-acquired fortune goes as it came, leaving much moral ruin behind it; and we will add, with the experience of political

¹ In 186 the first *venatio* of lions and panthers was given by M. Fulvius. (Livy, xxxix. 22.) In 168 were seen at the *ludi circenses* sixty-three panthers, forty bears and elephants. From this time on, the curule aediles were obliged to furnish wild beasts in the shows that they offered to the people.

economists, that gold is like the water of a river: if it comes with sudden overflow and inundation, it devastates; if it comes through a thousand channels slowly circulating, it brings life everywhere. Europe, in this second half of the nineteenth century, has seen such an inundation of gold from American and Australian mines. But this enormous increase of capital produced by labor has served to refit all its industrial apparatus, and there has resulted a vast addition to public wealth and individual comfort. But it was by war, by pillage and robbery, that Rome passed suddenly from poverty to opulence; and the conquered gold served only to increase the sterile luxury of those who possessed it. We can therefore easily picture to ourselves the disturbance caused by this sudden change;¹ morals could not stand against it, and the contagion of example, the facility of finding new pleasures, rapidly carried corruption into the larger number of the old Roman families. "After the conquest of Macedon," says Polybius, "men believed themselves able to enjoy in all security the empire of the world and the spoils thereof."²

We must, therefore, accept as historic fact these words of Juvenal: "You ask whence arise our disorders? An humble life in other days preserved the innocence of the Latin women. Protracted vigils, hands hardened by toil, Hannibal at the gates of Rome, and Roman citizens in arms upon her walls, guarded from vice the modest dwellings of our fathers. Now we endure the evils of a long peace; luxury has fallen upon us more formidable than the sword, and the conquered world has avenged itself upon us by the gift of its vices."³ Since Rome has lost her noble poverty, Sybaris and Rhodes, Miletus and Tarentum, crowned with roses and scented with perfumes, have entered within our walls."⁴

This plague, corrupting the high society of Rome to its very core, lasted two centuries and a half, from Paulus Aemilius to Vespasian. We shall see that from five to six generations of profligates were needed to waste the spoils of conquest, to satiate the thirst for pleasure, and to wear out that senatorial aristocracy which, near

¹ See the sketch of these disorders given by Diodorus (xxxvii. 3), and what is said by Velleius Paterculus (i. 11), Valerius Maximus (ix. 1), Sallust, and others.

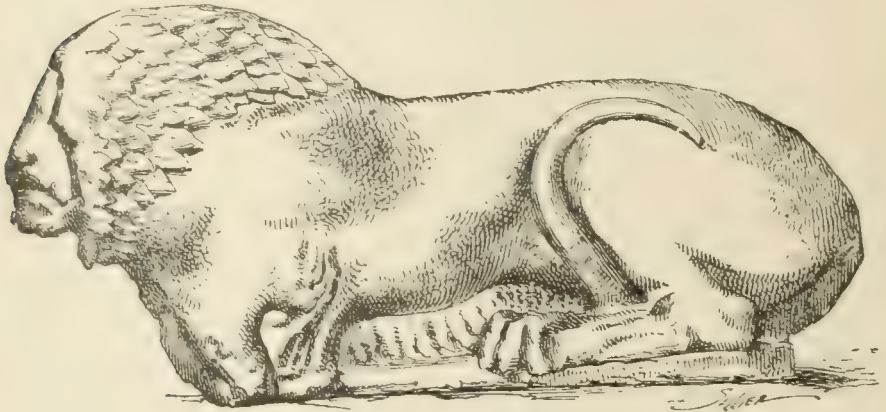
² Polybius, xxxii. 11.

³ Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* v. 7; xxxiii. 11) and Tacitus (*Ann.* iii. 53) say the same.

⁴ *Sat.* vi. 286-297.

the close of the first century of the Christian era, came to be replaced in the government by a provincial aristocracy of better stamp. In his prologue to the *Trinummus*, Plautus represents Indigence as the daughter of Luxury. Let a century pass, and we shall see these nobles as mendicants in the palace of Augustus and Tiberius; a hundred more, and they will have disappeared.

Some of the old Romans made a vain effort to stay this contagion. In 204 seven senators were degraded from their position by the censors; seven also by Cato; nine in 174, and a still larger number in 164.² But the censorship itself became the



MARBLE LION FOUND AT MILETUS.¹

reward of intrigue; from that time all disorders seemed authorized, and until the year 116 there was not a single erasure from the list of the Senate. That year, however, Metellus at one blow removed thirty-two senators.³ Among those who were expelled in 174 was a former praetor and an acting praetor, the son of Scipio Africanus. A Fabius Maximus was leading so scandalous a life, that the praetor Pompeius interfered and put him under a guardian.

The most illustrious personages disgraced themselves with a scandalous shamelessness. In 181 the censor Lepidus, a prince

¹ Found in the necropolis at Miletus in excavations made at the expense of M. de Rothschild by MM. O. Rayet and Alb. Thomas (*Milet et le golfe latmique*, vol. i., pl. 22).

² Val. Max., iii. 5; Livy, xlv. 15.

³ Livy, *Epit.* lxii.

of the Senate, and also pontifex maximus, employed the money of the public treasury in constructing a dike at Terracina to preserve his lands from inundation. Another censor, Fulvius, carried off the marble tiles from the sanctuary of the Lacinian Juno to cover a temple which he was building at Rome. Public indignation having forced the Senate to condemn this sacrilege, the censor contented himself with carrying the tiles back into the court of the temple. A former consul, Acilius Glabrio, was soliciting the censorship, when he was accused of peculation. Cato swore that there were certain vases of gold and silver which he had seen in the camp of Antiochus that were not produced in the triumph, and the candidate for the censorship was condemned to a fine of 100,000 ases. This may have been the revenge of the nobles upon a parvenu,¹ but these peculations were only too frequent. A commissioner of the Senate, Decimus, being sent into Illyria, allowed himself to be bought over by the King of that country to make a favorable report.² In 141 a Metellus was recalled from Spain, where the war at this moment promised fame and booty; in his rage, the general disorganized the army, destroyed the provisions, and killed the elephants. Others, again, refused the provinces assigned them, because they had no hope of gaining anything from them.³ In Greece, Licinius was turning everything to his own profit, selling even furloughs to his soldiers, trafficking in the honor of his army and the safety of the province. A Fulvius Nobilior disbanded by one order an entire legion. Two consuls were disputing for a province. "I think," said Scipio Aemilianus, "we ought to exclude both; for one has nothing, and the other has never enough." From the time of Plautus, Roman faith had come into discredit. "If Jupiter," says the poet, "should open his temple to perjurers, there would not be room enough for them in the Capitol."⁴ At a later period Laberius says in the open theatre: "What is an oath? It is a plaster to heal debts."

The censors and aediles, charged with the care of the public morals, having no means of action at their disposal, only from time to time made an example, which, however, gave no general

¹ Livy, xxxviii. 48.

³ Livy, xli. 15.

² Livy, xlii. 45.

⁴ *Curcul.* 276; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ii. 5.

alarm. In other days there had not been need of incessant watchfulness. In the first place, the old Latin religion did not legalize disorder; and secondly, in these little states, where each lived under the eyes of all,¹ a chaste and laborious life, frugality, disinterestedness, appeared virtues necessary to the state, and the citizens themselves kept watch over their own morals.² But in this immense Rome, the capital and the sewer of the world, how many vices must have been openly practised! how many crimes have been committed with impunity! The absolute inefficiency of the administration of public morals and general security was at Rome one of the causes which precipitated the destruction of the Republic. All excesses being permitted, numberless people gave way to them; and when there is no virtue left in social, there is none in political life.

Montesquieu says, and human reason admits the truth of his remark, that a republic, where the executive is always feeble, cannot endure without morality, which is the self-applied curb of liberty. The governing class at Rome having it no longer, and that which was called the people not possessing it, all the ties which once held society together were relaxed, and religion, the strongest of all, was soon to break.

III. DECLINE OF NATIONAL RELIGION AT ROME.

PHILOSOPHY had by no means caused these innovations, but in many of her schools had furnished reasons for regarding them as legitimate. The old Romans held her responsible for the changes which were produced by "historic fatality." "As for me," said Pacuvius, "I hate those men who pass their time in philosophizing, not in acting." This was the protest of the Roman conscience.

¹ The Orchian law, as late as 198, ordered that during late dinner, which was the principal meal of the day, the doors of houses should stand open, so that all might see if the directions of the sumptuary laws were observed. (Macr., *Sat.* ii. 13.) The Romans, says Plutarch (*Cat.* 23), did not believe that there should be left to each man liberty to marry, to rear children, to choose his method of life, to make banquets, — in a word, to follow his own tastes and inclinations, without regard to the judgment and observation of any, etc.

² Aulus Gellius, xiii. 8.

Cato, who regarded Socrates as a babbler, and would have condemned him over again for seeking to modify the manners and customs of his fathers, said to his son: "Remember this, and bear it in mind as the utterance of an oracle: when this race shall have invaded us with literature, Rome will be lost." He was certainly one of the authors of the famous decree of 161 which expelled philosophy.¹ Six years later, the exile returned.

The Senate desired to keep peace among its subjects; the Athenians having pillaged the territory of a Boeotian city, the affair was referred to the arbitration of Sicyon, and Athens was condemned to an enormous fine of 500 talents, which she was unable to pay. She solicited an abatement from the Senate; and in order to obtain it, sent as ambassadors to Rome the chiefs of the Porch, the Lyceum, and the Academy, or, as Pliny says, "the princes

THE ORATOR.²

¹ Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xv. 2.

² Museum of the Louvre, No. 712 of the Clarac catalogue. Cf. Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du musée national du Louvre*, pp. 213-215. In this statue, one of the best preserved that we have, has been seen by turns Mercury, Germanicus, Flamininus, etc. Upon the shell of a tortoise, an animal consecrated to Mercury, an inscription in characters of the last century of the Republic gives us the sculptor's name, Cleomenes, son of Cleomenes the Athenian. The Venus de' Medici is the work of Cleomenes, son of Apollodorus, hence it has been supposed one was the father of the other. By common consent, the statue is now called the Orator; it was bought by Louis XIV. through the agency of Poussin.

of wisdom." The three philosophers were, — Diogenes the Stoic, Critolaus the Peripatetic, and Carneades [of the new Academy], a great dialectician and orator, to whom nature had given "all the weapons of strength and grace" (153). While awaiting the discussion of the affair, the three envoys gave public lessons. The Roman youth crowded about them, surprised and charmed at this new world which the Greeks unveiled to them. At the same time, with the Romans, a people of action, Greek philosophy could succeed only by its direct influence upon ideas which were limited, and morals which were already becoming corrupt. For them Aristotle was too abstract, Plato too much an enthusiast; indifferent to the atoms of Epicurus as to the *catalepsies* of Zeno, they left dogmas and concerned themselves only with results. Critolaus might indeed say to them: "The object of life is the perfect exercise of reason;" and Diogenes: "Virtue is the only good, vice the only evil;" they admired without really comprehending this austere morality and philosophy, which sought to carry the idea of absolute right into matters where the old Latin spirit recognized only practical wisdom, — that is to say, for the individual, a consideration of his personal interest, for the state, that of the public advantage. But they listened attentively to the founder of the third academy, Carneades, who undermined all schools of philosophy by showing their weak side; who destroyed religion by pointing out that the great proof of the existence of the gods, namely, the general consent of mankind, had been acquired by a thousand foolish mistakes; — the worship of the gods, by proving that there was no more reason for accepting one divinity than another; the oracles, by opposing to them human freedom; and morality, by victoriously supporting contradictory cases.

Thus, trifling with the most formidable questions, Carneades exhibited his brilliant talents before a Roman audience, and gained a popularity useful for his embassy. His famous discourse on political sagacity was an indirect defence of Athens, which, in pillaging Oropus, had committed an expedient, but unjust, act, as Rome had done so many times. It has been said that this school, of which Cicero was the pupil, did not merit all the discredit into which it has fallen; and this dangerous sentence of the great orator has been quoted: "To plead all that can be said, for and

against, is the surest method of arriving at the truth." To plead it, no; to seek it, yes; for doubt and the examination of all sides of a question are *par excellence* the scientific method, that which eliminates false hypotheses, and leaves only true theories. Still further, it is essential that from these controversies, which make so many ruins, something should remain intact, like the lamps beneath the broken pitchers of Gideon. But how often, when the mind is drawn in opposite directions, and confused by subtle discussions, the conscience wavers, and faith in abstract right is lost! With this scepticism taught by the new Academy, the minds of men lost those firm principles so necessary for living an honorable life. Not denying, therefore, that [even in dogma] the chemical changes of death may be those also of a new life springing from it, I can understand the alarm which Cato, that resolute defender of the past, felt at this destructive logic, which, to men weary of their superstition and of the darkness in which they had lived, appeared a weapon for combat and deliverance.

After the great success of Carneades, Cato adjured the Senate to answer these philosophers as quickly as possible, and send them back to their own country. "They persuade men," he said, "to believe whatever they will; and truth and falsehood are so blended in their arguments,¹ that no one can separate the two. Let them go and teach the youth of Greece; let us keep our children submissive, as heretofore, to laws and magistrates." But it was too late, the initiation had been effected; and Carneades, in leaving Rome, left behind him a fatal curiosity,—that philosophy of doubt which two centuries later disquieted Cicero, even when he was speaking no longer as a philosopher, but as a statesman. "In respect to the new Academy," he said, "I seek not to challenge it, and I implore its silence; for if it should fall upon these principles which we are now establishing, it would soon leave nothing but ruins."²

The influence of Carneades was maintained by his successor Clitomachus, who, if he did not teach in Rome, at least propagated scepticism there by his writings, one of which he

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 30.

² Cic., *de Leg.* i. 13: *Nimias edet ruinas; quam quidem ego placare cupio, submovere non audeo.*

inscribed to the poet Lucilius, and another to the consul Censorinus.¹

The invasion was rapid. Less than two generations after the *senatus-consultum* had decreed, in that imperative fashion the Senate was wont to employ: "Let these people depart from Rome; *uti Romæ ne essent*," Pompeius went to Rhodes to salute the philosopher Posidonius, and lowered the consular emblems before science, forbidding his lictors to strike, as was the custom, at the door of the house.²

The impulse towards this new way was, however, independent of Carneades and of all schools of philosophy. The enfeebling of the national religion dates from an early day. When any misfortune, pestilence or famine, fire or military disaster, fell upon the city, the Romans were more exasperated at the evil which their gods had not prevented, than grateful for the victories in which they were well aware that the courage of their soldiers had the chief part; and they came to feel that these protectors of their ancestors had grown powerless. In vain during the disastrous times of the Second Punic War had they multiplied their temples and sacrifices, their expiations and sacred games; Heaven had long remained deaf to their supplications, and they had taken refuge in foreign superstitions. Then, Hannibal being dead and the danger past, the credit of these divinities of the conquered had in its turn diminished,—at least among the nobles, for whom Ennius, a dependent of Cato, had translated into Latin the work of Euhemerus.³ This traveller asserted that he had seen in an island off the coast of Arabia a golden column, upon which were inscribed the actions and the death of Saturn, Jupiter, and other gods, former kings of the country, deified by popular credulity. To people Olympus with deified men was to destroy at one blow all the heathen religions. Ennius was no more respectful towards the priests than towards their gods. His sarcasms, which professed to be aimed only at charlatans, struck higher. "I despise," he says, "the augurs of the country of the Marsi as

¹ Cic., *Acad.* ii. 31, 32.

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 31, on Carneades. (Cf. M. Martha in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for 1868.)

³ Ἰερὰ ἀναγραφή. Euhemerus was a disciple of Theodorus, surnamed the Atheist. (Diod., v. 44–46.)

well as the fortune-tellers of the village, and the astrologers of the market-place, the prognosticators of Isis, and the interpreters of dreams. They have neither divine art nor human knowledge. They are impudent liars, idlers, and fools, or beggars urged by hunger. They know not whither to go, and they assume to lead us; they promise treasures while they beg an obol! Let them raise their obol upon the credit of this promised wealth, and give us what remains."¹

But we must speak seriously of things which believers hold as serious. That which Ennius despises, and with such good reason, was, nevertheless, the very foundation of the Latin religion, since the ancient Romans considered the signs interpreted by the priests as a divine *revelation* constantly renewed by gods ever present in the midst of their people. For this reason the Roman statesmen, while they left the poets and men of letters at liberty to say whatever they pleased, for their own part carefully supported the ancient institution. "It is not well," said the pontifex Aurelius Cotta, "to deny in public the existence of the gods; but in private it is a different matter;" and he did not hesitate to do so.²

Polybius, who was a friend of Cato, the counsellor of Scipio Aemilianus, and the most honest man of his time, being disgusted with the popular religion, which had become for some a school of scandal, while it remained for others a rude and gross superstition, banished Providence from his history, substituting instead a stern sentiment of personal and public duty. He denied that there was suffering reserved for the wicked, but he maintained a severe responsibility to society and to a man's own conscience. Finally, with that proud scorn of the crowd so common to superior minds, he regarded a system of worship merely as a useful method of governing and restraining men.³ When we see Cato, augur and censor, unable to comprehend how two soothsayers could

¹ Cic., *de Divin.* i. 58.

² Cic., *de Nat. deor.* i. 26; ii. 3; and *de Div.* ii. 24. Caesar, pontifex maximus, was an agnostic. [This was very much the attitude of many ecclesiastics in the Renaissance, notably at the court of Leo X.—*Ed.*]

³ Polybius, vi. 56. To Varro, to the pontifex Scaevola, to Cicero himself (cf. *de Nat. deor.*, and *de Divin.*, *passim*), the old religion was no more than this. We have already seen that Flamininus feared being detained by pretended prodigies.

look each other in the face without laughing, we are no longer surprised that the Government should allow the gods to be insulted with impunity, so long as the magistrates were held in respect.¹

Clever reasoners, Varro, for instance, and the pontifex Scaevola,² who was consul in 95, escaped from the difficulty by distinguish-

ing many kinds of theologies; that of the poets, at most good for the theatre; that of the philosophers, discussed by reason; that of the state and the people, which the laws were bound to respect and defend. The last, as we have seen,³ consisted only in dry and empty formalities which touched neither the intellect nor the heart; the second remained inaccessible to the crowd, and brought forth nothing but doubt; the first alone, that of the poets, was dear and vital. But what instruction could be derived from those scandalous imitations of the licentious plays of Athens, where the gods were given up to the ridicule of their worshippers?



PROVIDENCE.⁴

It was in vain that the philosophers and rhetoricians had been expelled from Rome, their influence remained there; and Greek education, taking the place of the Etruscan, spread abroad in families and in the heart of new generations contempt for the old customs and the religion

¹ Saint Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, ii. 12: *Poetas Romanos nulli deorum pepercisse*. (Cf. Cic., *de Nat. deor.* i. 26.)

² Saint Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, vi. 27: *Prima theologia maxime accommodata est ad theatrum secunda ad mundum, tertia ad urbem*.

³ Vol. I. p. 216, *seq*

⁴ Statue in the Louvre, No. 323 of the Clarac catalogue.

of their forefathers. Besides, decrees of expulsion reached only the distinguished masters, and not the obscure crowd gathered in the great city,¹ those *Graculi* who entered everywhere as slaves, as sculptors, painters, teachers, parasites. — a crafty and deceitful race, greatly in demand for their acuteness of mind and skill in speech.² In ancient Greece the education of the young was one of the chief cares of the government;³ the Romans, with rare exceptions when the magistrates intervened, left this matter to private enterprise. Poly-

bios reproaches them for it, and it appears from a sentence in Plautus what fruits were borne by this liberty:

“Am I your slave, or are you mine?” says a scholar to his tutor in the *Bacchides*. Consider also the lamentations of poor Lydus, and his comparison of the new manners with the old.⁴

Terence, enumerating at random the tastes of fashionable young men, places philosophers along with horses and hunting-dogs.⁵

Meanwhile the most illustrious Romans of the time, the Scipios, Paulus Aemilius, all

the nobility and all who strove to copy fine manners, surrounded their children with Greek instructors. But how could conquered men, slaves bought in the market, bring up the sons of the conquerors



SCULPTOR.⁶

¹ Πολὺν δὲ τι φῶλον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπιρρεῖον ὄρω κατὰ τὸ παρὸν των τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων. (Polybius, xxxii. 10.)

² See Cic., *de Orat.* i. 22, 51; also the *pro Flacco* and his letters.

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 11. Cf. Suet., *de Ill. gramm.* See the *Éphébie attique* of M. Albert Dumont.

⁴ *Bacchides*, 202, 473, seq.

⁵ . . . *Aut equos alere aut canes ad venandum, aut ad philosophos.* (Andr. 55.)

⁶ From the museum in the *Villa Albani*.

in the strong virtues of the earlier age? "The Romans," said Cicero's father, "are like the Syrian slaves; he who knows Greek best is the worst."¹

IV. INCREASING POPULARITY OF ORIENTAL RELIGIONS.

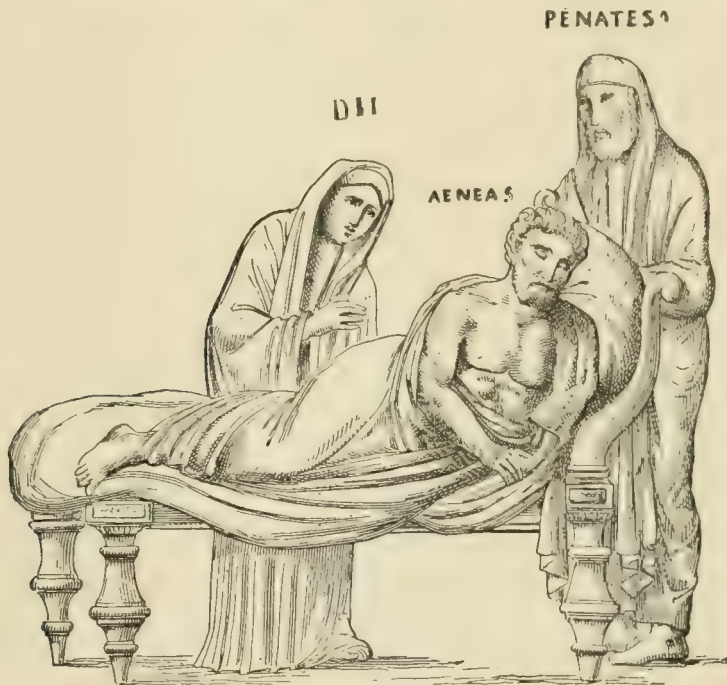
IF we must deplore the degeneracy of morals and the introduction of new vices into the Roman life, is it right also to regret the work of destruction accomplished in the matter of religious beliefs?² In the first place, the decay of the old faith was inevitable, and this alone is a reason for resigning ourselves to it. But, further, the place these errors occupied in men's minds was now ready to be filled by a better idea of divinity,—an idea of which Cicero had a glimpse. This death then was but a renewal of life. A certain amount of time must pass, for the doubt which was the herald of a purer faith came as yet but to few, and the old religion had too strong a hold on all the habits of life to be easily wrenched from them. Although Roman polytheism gave very little comfort in this life or hope for another, although it was worn out by hard usage, the crowd could not free themselves from the superstitious fears they had so long entertained. The future was still sought in the entrails of victims and in the flight of birds,—a strange superstition, which has not long been extinct, if indeed it be so now, since it yet survives in Greece.³ Prodigies were still regarded, and must be solemnly expiated upon the altars of the gods; the senators themselves were filled with terror when the consuls made known to them that a five-legged calf had been born; and two men of iron will, Marius and Sylla, were no more than children before omens. One took counsel of a Syrian prophetess named Martha, and an ass seeking to drink, and two scorpions fighting, showed him what he must do; the other had faith in dreams and in amulets. Such are the unbelievers of our day who are afraid of bad luck, and that personage in the play who is frightened at the sound of his own thunder-machine which he has just had mended by the

¹ Cic., *de Orat.* ii. 66.

² Polybius, ix. 10.

³ Perrot, *Mém. d'archéol.* p. 388.

blacksmith round the corner. Superstition and free-thinking keep house together in certain minds, as do the two Masters in others. Some, after being sceptical, recover their faith under the stroke of misfortune: this is common to all times. As for the mass of the population, it kept its Lares and Penates, its rustic gods, and its faith in that Jupiter *optimus maximus* who reigned in the Capitol, and who caused Rome to reign over the world. But many whose religious sentiment was not fully

PENATES.¹

satisfied by the arid formalism of the national religion, sought new heavens, and called down from them foreign gods. Already had Apollo, Aesculapius, Venus Erycina, and the Phrygian Cybele received rights of Roman citizenship,² and the old Italian

¹ The Penates are represented on coins and medals in different aspects. The Vergil of the Vatican, from which the above representation is taken, has given to the protectors of Aeneas a venerable air and the costume of priests and priestesses offering sacrifice, without, however, assigning them any names. See, upon these divinities, Vol. I. p. 208.

² See Vol. I. p. 636, *seq.* In the worship of Cybele, the liturgy was altogether Greek (Serv., in *Georg.* ii. 394); it was nearly the same with the mysteries of Ceres. (Cic., *de Leg.* ii. 9; in *Verr.* II. v. 72.) The priests of Ceres were generally called from Naples or Velia. (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 24; Val. Max., i. 1.)

divinities had lost their special character, assuming a Greek form and less austere manners. Faunus and Sylvanus¹ had become Pans,



MATUTA OR LEUCOTHEA (THE DAWN).²

Satyrs. and Silenuses. Djanus Djana gave up the double form, and Rome retained the huntress Diana. Tages had given place to Mercury, Libitina to Proserpine, Sancus to Hercules. Matuta,

¹ Sylvanus had lost much in the esteem of the higher classes, but this guardian of the house and field (see Vol. I, pp. 203, 263) retained the confidence of the poor. The *sanctus sacer* had brotherhoods in all the provinces, *cultores Silvani*; there were some in Lutetia, and some have been found in Macedon. See two curious inscriptions on one of these colleges in Heuzey, *Mission de Macé.* p. 71, and in Orelli, 1800.

² Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iv. 3rd series, pl. 39.

the goddess of the morning, had been changed into Lencothea, and Portumnus into Palaemon or Melicertes.

An example will show the effect of this transformation. The ancient Faunus, the revered divinity of fields and flocks,¹ the infallible oracle, revealing the future now by dreams, now by mysterious voices, assumes horns and a goat's tail, and becomes the merry and amorous satyr of Greece, pursuing the nymphs when intoxication did not retard his footsteps.

Following these Greek divinities, the more dangerous gods of the East slipped into the city: as early as 220 Isis and Serapis had temples which the Senate ordered to be destroyed.²

An attempt was made, even in 181, to establish these innovations by a pious fraud. "Some la-

borers on the farm of Lucius Petilius, a notary, at the foot of the Janiculum, digging the ground deeper than usual, discovered two stone chests, about eight feet long and four broad. Both the chests had inscriptions in Greek and Latin letters, one signifying that therein was buried Numa Pompilius, the other that therein were contained his books. . . . In the latter were found two bundles, each containing seven books; seven were in Latin, and



SATYR.

¹ Hor., *Carm.* iii. 18; Verg., *Aen.* vii. 81; Cic., *de Nat. deor.* ii. 2, iii. 6.

² Val. Max., i. 3.

related to the pontifical law, and seven in Greek, containing philosophy. . . . The praetor, on reading the contents" [of the



WORSHIP OF ISIS AND SERAPIS.¹

Latin books], "perceived that most of them had a tendency to undermine the established system of religion,² . . . and declared

¹ From a painting in Pompeii. The temple is built near a sacred wood; the statue of Isis stands upon a little column. Egyptian in character; in front, a sphinx with human head seems to represent Serapis-Bacchus, or Liber, a priest of whom, carrying a cymbal and the mystic basket, seems to be conversing with the priestess of Isis. (Cf. Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. i. pl. 58.)

² *Pleraque dissolventiarum religionum esse.* (Livy, xl. 29.) The same historian asserts that certain of these books appeared to be entirely new: *recentissima specie*. Numa could not

that he was ready to make oath that those books ought not to be read or preserved; and the Senate decreed that they should without delay be burned in the Comitium," which was done (181).

The oriental divinities gave a new cast to the religious convictions of men to whom a very crude form of worship had so long sufficed.¹ Born in the scorching East, these deities required savage rites and pious orgies. Dramatic spectacles, intoxicating ceremonies, affected violently the dull Roman mind, excited religious frenzy; and for the first time the Roman felt those transports which, according to the character of the doctrine and the condition of the mind, produce effects diametrically opposite, — absolute purity of life, or the excess of debauchery sanctified by religious belief. Asiatic slaves, now numerous at Rome, certainly carried on an unnoticed proselytism, as happened later in the beginnings of Christianity. We may clearly indicate by describing the rites of two of these faiths into what new and hitherto untried paths the religious spirit of the Romans had drifted. Lucretius thus pictures the feasts of Cybele, omitting the scandalous details :

"The Greek poets when they sing of the earth represent her seated in a chariot drawn by two lions, her brows girt with a mural crown. . . . Mutilated priests accompany her . . . ; drums resound under their hands; cymbals and trumpets mingle their strident tones with the intoxicating harmonies of the Phrygian flute. . . . Javelins they bear, the weapons of their fury, and the mute image of the goddess traverses the great city without manifesting her silent beneficence. Silver and bronze coins and flowers strew the route by which the procession moves. The goddess and her priests are, as it were, enveloped in a cloud of roses. Then a troop of armed men with crested heads dance,



SERAPIS AND ISIS.²

have written in Greek, and the praetor of the year 181 could not have understood the Latin of Numa.

¹ See Vol. I. p. 216.

² Serapis, coiffed with the *modius*, and Isis, with the lotos-flower, standing face to face, each bearing ears of corn, — symbols of fertility. Reverse of a bronze coin of Antoninus, struck at Alexandria.

leaping in time to the music, while the blood runs from the wounds they give each other."¹

These strange solemnities made part of the public worship,² and a certain decency was observed in them. But the mysteries of Bacchus, carried on secretly, had no such restraints. We give the story nearly in the words of Livy :



CYBELE.³

A Greek of mean condition came into Etruria, bringing with him these secret and nocturnal rites. They were at first imparted to but a few, but afterward communicated to great numbers, both men and women ; the infection of this mischief, like the contagion of disease, spread from Etruria to Rome, where the size of the city, affording greater room for such villainies, and more means of concealment, cloaked it at first ; but information of it was at length brought to the consul Postumius in the following manner : Aebutius, whose father had held equestrian rank in the army, was left fatherless, and, his guardians dying, he was brought up by his mother, Duronia,

and his stepfather, Rutilus. Duronia was entirely under the influence of her husband, and Sempronius having so dealt with his ward's property that he could not give a good account of

¹ *De Nat. rer.* ii. 601-634.

² In 205 a decree of the Senate established the worship of Cybele.

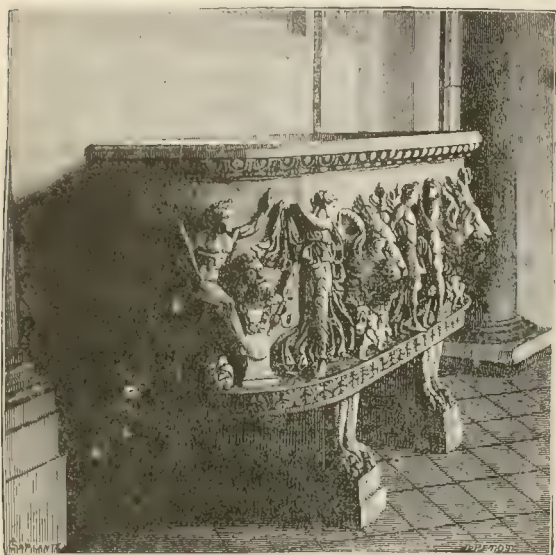
³ Cybele, crowned with towers ; bronze statuette in the *Cabinet de France*, No 2,919.

it, wished to have the young man made away with or bound by some tie to submission. The Bacchanalian rites furnished a way to effect the ruin of the youth. His mother told him that she had made a vow in his behalf during a recent illness that if he should recover she would cause him to be initiated into the Bacchanalian mysteries. This vow she called upon him to fulfil; the young man consented, having no idea of any evil or danger in so doing, and he communicated his intention to a freedwoman named Hispala Fecenia, to whom he was attached. Upon hearing this the woman in great terror broke out: "May the gods preserve you from it!" and went on to imprecate vengeance and destruction upon those who had advised him to such a step. The young man informed her that it was his mother who had counselled it, with the approbation of his stepfather. "Your stepfather, then," she said, "is eager to destroy you;" and being greatly urged, she went on to say, after imploring pardon of the gods and goddesses, if in the excess of her affection for her lover she was about to disclose what ought not to be revealed, that when a slave she had once gone to that place of worship as an attendant upon her mistress, but that since she had obtained her liberty she had never re-visited it, and that she knew it to be a receptacle of all kinds of debaucheries. She entreated the young man to escape the danger, and not plunge himself into a situation where he must suffer and commit all that was infamous.

Upon making known to his mother his determination not to obey her in the affair, Aebutius was at once driven out of the house, and went to his aunt, Aebutia, who advised him to reveal to the consul the whole matter.

The consul having satisfied himself that Aebutius had spoken truly, desired his own mother-in-law to send for the freedwoman Hispala. The latter, on finding herself summoned to the house of a woman of high rank and respectable character, was much alarmed, and on coming to the door and seeing the lictors in attendance believed herself lost. Both the consul and his mother-in-law, Sulpicia, exerted themselves to reassure her; and she, after declaring her dread of offending the gods by betrayal of these secrets, and still more her anxiety lest the men implicated should tear her in pieces when they knew of it, at last consented to speak. The rites at first, she

said, were performed by women, no man being admitted; there were three stated days yearly when persons were initiated, and the ceremonies took place by day. The matrons were appointed priestesses in rotation, and finally one of them, a Campanian woman, had made alterations in all these particulars as if by the direction of the gods. She introduced men into the ceremonies, changing the time from day to night, and instead of three in a year, there were now five days of initiation in every month. From the time that the rites were thus changed, there was nothing scandalous that had not been



SARCOPHAGUS OF BACCHANTES.¹

practised among them, to think nothing unlawful being the great maxim of their religion. The men, as if bereft of reason, uttered predictions with frantic contortions of their bodies; the women, clad as Bacchantes, with dishevelled hair, ran down to the Tiber carrying blazing torches, which they dipped into the water and drew them up again still burning, the torches being made with native

sulphur and charcoal. Those who shrank back from any crimes were dragged away into caverns under ground and slain, the noise of drums and cymbals and savage yells stifling the cries of the victims. The number of the initiated, she said, was extremely large, making almost a second state in themselves; and many among them were persons of noble families in Rome.

Having completed her deposition, Hispala fell upon her knees and entreated the consul to send her out of the country into some region where she might live in safety. She was, however, received

¹ This magnificent sarcophagus is at Rome. (Cf. Wey, *Rome*, p. 597.) Bacchus was also a divinity of the dead, θεὸς χθονίος (Pausan., viii. 37, § 3; Arnobius, *Adv. gentes*, v. 19); hence representations of his worship upon tombs.

instead into the house of Sulpicia, an apartment being given her in the upper story, and the egress to the street walled up, so that there was no way of reaching the rooms except from the inmost court of the house.

Having both his witnesses within reach, Postumius now made a report to the Senate; and his words struck terror into the Conscript Fathers, not merely on the public account, lest such assemblies and nightly meetings might be productive of treachery and mischief, but also on account of their own families, lest some of their relations might be involved in this infamous affair. Revolts of slaves had recently taken place in Etruria (196)¹ and in Latium, where Setia and Praeneste had narrowly escaped being taken by them,² and all the Apulian herdsmen were in tumult, so much so that it became necessary to send against them, a few months after the discovery of the Bacchanalian orgies, an army and a praetor, who put to death 7,000 of them.³ The Senate had never been favorable to secret meetings, and here they had them in Rome at the very gates of the senate-house, while all through Italy there was reason to suspect their existence.

The Senate voted that thanks should be given to the consul for his extraordinary promptness and discretion in the investigation of the matter. They then ordered the consuls to hold a special inquiry concerning the Bacchanals and their nocturnal orgies; to take the utmost care that no harm should come to the informers, Aebutius and Fecenia; and to offer rewards for still further information. They ordered that all officers in the Bacchanalian rites, whether men or women, should be sought for not only at Rome, but throughout all the Italian towns, and should be delivered over to the consuls; also that proclamation be made in the city of Rome and through all Italy, that no persons initiated in the Bacchanalian rites should presume to come together or assemble on account of those rites or to perform any kind of worship; and, above all, that search should be made for all those assembling for flagitious practices of whatever kind.

The consuls then directed the curule aediles to search out and arrest all priests and priestesses of Bacchus; they charged the

¹ Livy, xxxiii. 36.

² Livy, xxxii. 26.

³ Livy, xxxix. 29.

plebeian aediles to take care that no religious ceremonies should be performed in private: they gave orders to the capital triumvirs to establish posts in all quarters and break up nocturnal gatherings; and five assistants were added to the triumvirs to keep special watch against incendiary attempts upon the buildings of the city.

An assembly of the people was then convoked, and one of the consuls addressed the crowd, giving them some account of what had been done. He recalled to them the edicts of their fathers prohibiting foreign religious rites, banishing strolling sacrificers and soothsayers, searching out and burning books of divination, and abolishing every mode of sacrificing that was not conformable to the Roman practice. The assembly then listened to the reading of the decrees, closing with the edict that no person should buy or sell anything for the purpose of leaving the country, nor receive, conceal, or aid any fugitives.

Great alarm was felt in the city, and the excitement soon spread throughout Italy, when letters were sent by the patrons of cities and public guests, with copies of the decree of the Senate, of the consul's address, and of the edict, offering rewards to informers, warning offenders to appear within a given time and make their confession, and forbidding all citizens to harbor the accused or to facilitate their flight.

The action of the Government was prompt. Guards were at once placed by the triumvirs at all the gates of the city. Many were arrested seeking to escape, and others, turning back at sight of the guards, endeavored to obtain shelter in the city; some destroyed themselves. The guilty persons were over seven thousand in number. Four of the founders of the sect, being brought before the consuls, confessed their guilt, and were put to death. Those who had merely been initiated and taken the oath were condemned to prison, and those who had shared in the rites—a much greater number—were executed. The women, delivered over to those who had control of them,¹ were judged and punished in private.

A *senatus-consultum*, of which we have a copy,² decided that there should be no more Bacchanalia at Rome or in Italy, but that

¹ . . . *Cognatis aut in quorum manu essent.* (Livy, xxxix. 18.)

² With the consul's letter ordering obedience to it. This letter was found in 1640 [at Tiriolo, near Catanzaro, in Southern Calabria] engraved on a bronze plate. It was addressed to

the ancient altars and statues consecrated to Bacchus should be left standing. It was also provided that in case any person should believe that some such kind of worship was necessary and incumbent upon him, and that he could not, without offence to religion or fear of calamity, omit it, he should represent this to the

MARCIVS L F S POSTVMIVS L F COS SENATVM CONSOLVERVNT N OCTO B APV ADEM
 VELONAI SCARF MYCLAVDIW FL VALERI P F Q MINVCIC F DE BACANALIBVS QVEI FOIDERATEI
 ESENT ITA EXDEICENDVM CENSVERE NEIQVIS EORVM SACANAL HABVISE VELET SEI QVES
 ESENT QVEI SIBEI DEKERENT NECESVS ESE BACANAL HABERE EIS VTEMAD PRVRBANVM
 ROMAM VENIRENT DEQVEEIS REBVS VBEI EQR VT AAVDITA ESENT VTEI SENATVA
 NOSTER DECERNERET DVM NE MINVS SENATORIBVS CADENT RESCOSIERETVR
 BACAS VIR NEQVIS ADIESE VELET CEIVS ROMANVS NEVENOMINVS LATINVEVE SOCV
 QVIS QVAM NISEI PRVRBANVM ADIE SENTISQVE E SENATVOS SENTENTIA DVM NE
 MINVS SENATORIBVS CADESENT QVOM EA RES COSOLERETVR IOVSISENT CE
 SACERDOS NEQVIS VIR ESET MAGISTER NEQVEI NEQVE MVLIEROMVS QVAM ESET
 NEVE PECVNIAM QVISQVAMEORVM COMQINIVISE V ET NEVE MAGISTRATVM
 NEVE PROMAGISTRATVO NEQVE VIRVM NEQVE MVHICEM QVTVAM FECISEVELET
 NEVE POSTHAC INTER SED CONIOVRAT NEVE COMVOYSE NEVE CONSONDISE
 NEVE CONPROME SISEVELEFT NEVE QVISQVAM FIDEM INTER SED DEDISE VELET
 SACRA IN DVOLTOR NE QVISQVAM FECISE VELET NEVE IN PONLICOD NEVE IN
 PREIVATOD NEVE EXSTRADVRBEM SACR QVIS QVAM FECISE VELET NISEI
 PRVRMAMADIESET ISQVE DE SENATVOS SENTENTIA DVM NE MINVS
 SENATORIBVS CADESENT QVOM EA RES COSOLERETVR IOVSISENT CENSVERE
 HOMINES PLOVS V OINVORSEI VIREI ATQVE MVLLIERIBVS PLOVSTRIBVS
 FF CISE VELET NEVE INTER IBEI VIREI PLDVS DVOBVS MVLLIERIBVS PLOVSTRIBVS
 ARI VISE VELENT NISEI DE PRVRBANI SENATVOSQVE SENTENTIA DYTEISVPRAC
 SCRIPTVM EST HAICE VTEI IN COVENTIO NIDEXDEICATIS NE MINVS TRINVM
 NOVNDINVM SENATVOSQVE SENTENTIAM VTEI SCIENTES ESET EORVM

FRAGMENT OF THE SENATUS-CONSULTUM ON THE BACCHANALS.

praetor, who should lay the matter before the Senate. If permission were granted by the Senate when not less than 100 members were present, he then might perform the rites, provided that no more than five persons were present at the sacrifice, and that they should have no common stock of money, nor any president of the ceremonies, nor priest. The worshippers were also forbidden to bind themselves by mutual oaths. And that no one might be

the people of Teura, and all the other cities of Italy had received a similar one. This bronze is now in Vienna. (*Corpus Inscript. Lat.* of Berlin, i. 43.) [It is of great interest, as one of our oldest specimens of Latin with archaic forms, such as the ablative in *d*, not to be found in Latin literature. — *Ed.*]

ignorant of this decree, it was directed that it be read in the public assembly on three market-days, and engraved on a table of bronze, which should be fixed in some public place most easy of access; finally, that all offenders should be punished with death.

Another decree of the Senate gave to Aebutius and Hispala the sum of 100,000 ases apiece; it was further directed that the necessary steps should be taken to exempt Aebutius from military service. Hispala received the privilege of disposing of her own

property, of marrying out of her rank, and of choosing a guardian; also that she might marry a man of honorable birth, and such marriage should not be a cause of loss or ignominy to the husband; finally, that consuls and praetors, present and future, should watch particularly over her safety.¹



BACCHUS.²

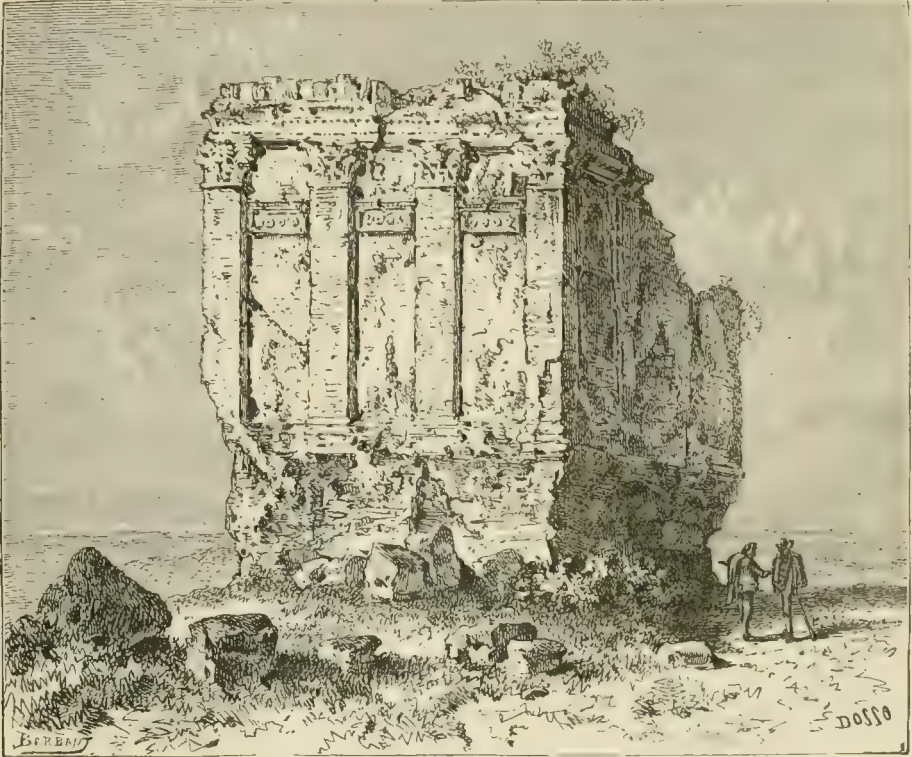
These events occurred in the year 186; search continued during the following years, and other victims perished; of these, most, doubtless, were innocent, like many of those who were put to death in 186. There appears to have been no conspiracy in the matter. Crimes were imputed to the accused, as they were later to the Jews and Christians. The scenes of debauchery are but too certain, and the initiated probably made away with certain

persons now and then whose indiscretion they had reason to fear. The terror and confessions of Hispala, much more than the testimony of paid informers, can leave no doubt on this question. But this

¹ In other words, the decree of the people suggested by the *senatus-consultum* conferred upon Hispala all the rights of the Roman matron; without it her former owner would have inherited her property; he would have authorized no marriage except with one of his own freedmen; he would have been her guardian; and it appears from the words of Livy, *Neu quid ei, qui eam duxisset, ob id fraudi ignominiae esset*, to what the free Roman would otherwise have been exposed in marrying her. Augustus forbade such marriages to senators; but it seems probable that in earlier times they were forbidden, in the interest of morality, to any citizen.

² Bacchus holding a vase in the right hand and stretching the left towards a little figure standing on a pedestal, to which Clarac (*Musée de sculpt.* iv. 207) gives the name of Hope. This group was found in the territory of Tusculum. (London, *Hope Collection*; cf. Saglio, fig. 715, p. 630.)

orgiastic worship, celebrated by night, this secret association, which elected chiefs and levied assessments from its members, caused alarm to statesmen as well as to the conservative in matters of religion. Those whose descendants came to call Christians the enemies of the human race had but little trouble in believing that the worshippers of Bacchus were the enemies of the Republic. In



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF HEALTH ON THE ROAD TO ALBANI.¹

substance, the punishment of the Bacchanalians was the first of the religious persecutions ordered by the Roman Government.

This pretended conspiracy had thrown men's minds into a condition which shows how easily these Romans became excited by superstitious terrors. A frightful plague ravaged Rome and all Italy. It carried off a praetor, a consul, many persons of importance, and so large a number of the people that recruiting became difficult. This scourge was regarded as a sign of celestial anger. The pontifex maximus caused the Sibylline books to be

¹ From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

consulted. Offerings and gilded statues were vowed to the healing gods, Apollo, Aesculapius, and Health, and a supplication was offered for two days in the city and the market towns and villages by all persons over twelve years of age, the suppliants wearing

garlands on their heads and carrying laurel-branches in their hands. But the over-excited imagination of the people saw human villany in this widespread mortality. The word poison was whispered, and ran through the city with extreme rapidity, as happens in cases of panic; and an investigation resulted, if we may believe Valerius of Antium, in the condemnation of 2,000 persons, among them Quarta Hostilia, the wife of the consul who had died of the pestilence.¹ It was a fresh holocaust offered to fear.

The proceedings against the Bacchanalians are worthy of our further attention, for many important facts are thereby brought to notice. We see that the Senate suggested decrees to the popular assembly, and itself made laws and set in motion the whole administration, consuls and praetors, aediles and tribunes of the people, regulating the affairs of Rome and of Italy. We see, moreover, to what extent had grown the dependence of the Italians upon the city, now their capital and their mistress, since the Senate was able to forbid



APOLLO.²

to them certain forms of worship, and reserved to itself the right of giving the *jus civitatis* to new divinities. Still further serious consequences followed from the affair, since the Emperors, inheriting

¹ In this statement facts are collected, which Livy separates. (Cf. xxxix. 41, and xl. 37.) The accusations of poisoning began again in 152, when two noble matrons were put to death in their own houses.

² *Atl. du Bull. archéol.*, vol. viii. pl. 13. [From a Pompeian bronze.]

the Senate's jealousy of foreign religious and secret societies, accepted the decree in the affair of the Bacchanalia, as a rule for their dealings with the Jews and Christians.

Details of manners may be noticed. The rights of the domestic tribunal were still recognized; the demi-servitude of the freed person; the facility of recognized intimacy with a courtesan; the duty of a city's patron to keep that city informed of Roman affairs; lastly, the use of informations obtained by offer of reward, — a shameful legacy from the Republic to the Empire. Another point is of greater importance, — the fact that *Hispala* entertains no doubt of the religious character of these mysteries; that she believes them of divine origin; that she dreads the anger of the gods on account of her revelations; that, finally, the Senate regards the matter in the same light, neither proscribing the god nor his worship, and solely striving to repress its immoralities. But to us these lawless doings make part of a numerous category of analogous facts, which the history of religions records. Within the pale of an association employing the usual methods of secret societies, the mysterious initiation, the solemn oath, the menace (sometimes the poniard) for those who break their plighted faith, we find teaching of esoteric doctrines, impure rites, the over-excitement of the senses and the souls of men. Whatever allowance may require to be made for exaggeration in the story of these horrors, there must remain enough truth to reveal a certain condition of mind which had never before existed in Rome, but henceforth would exist and develop. The proscribed Bacchanalia re-appeared;¹ the priests of Jupiter Sabasius repeated the same scandals. In 140 it became necessary to expel these pious profligates from Rome, together with the Chaldaean astrologers;² but they soon returned, and many others in their train. Sylla,

¹ Livy, xxxix. 8-19. Notwithstanding the severities of the year 186, the Bacchanalia continued with a little more decency at first, but later without any restraints, merely ceasing to seek concealment, — a change which, in the eyes of the Government, removed its dangerous character. At Lavinium, says St. Augustine (*Cir. Dei*, vii. 21), they were celebrated during an entire month with the most shameful obscenities. It is, however, justice to add that the Romans never introduced into their public worship those consecrated prostitutions which dishonored so many of the Oriental religions. The reserve of the Western nations preserved them from this shame. Upon the subject of these immoralities considered as acts of devotion, see J. Baissac, *Les Origines de la Religion*. (1877).

² Val. Max., I. iii. 1; Cic., *de Leg.* ii. 15.

conservative in the extreme, introduced the Enyo of the Cappadocians, and Varro says, "All the gods of Egypt have come down upon Rome."

We have, therefore, just witnessed the very humble and the very shameful beginnings of a moral revolution destined to exercise the greatest influence upon the destinies of the Empire.

If we compare this narrative with what was said in the third chapter of the first volume, we shall find that in religious things the Roman mind, before arriving at Christianity, passed through three phases, which naturally ensue.

The first was marked by the narrow and prosaic character of the Latino-Sabine religion.

The second appeared when the weighty slavery of this formal ceremonial, good for the rude peasant, became insupportable to men who, having conquered many provinces and many ideas, began to believe that human foresight had more weight in the affairs of this world than Jupiter's favor. They retained the old forms of worship as a means of government, leaving religious institutions blended with political until the very end of the pagan empire; but for themselves they renounced the old beliefs, while seeking for no new ones; and the best of them stood in that middle path of good sense and indulgent doubt where Horace chooses in those lines which must have appeared most irreverent to the devout:—

"Sed satis est orare Jovem quae donat et aufert:
Det vitam, det opes; aequum mi animum ipse parabo."¹

This is the epoch which we have reached, — that of scepticism.

Already the third was beginning to appear. The philosophic doubt of the aristocracy, whose education Greece had superintended, was not for every man's use. Those whom a nervous and excitable organization predisposed to ardent passions and lively imaginings, women especially, began to weary of the national gods, too long deaf to their prayers, and carried their offerings to the divinities who came to them from the East with a whole train of strange rites, by which mind and senses were alike excited. It was the preparation for the final phase. But four centuries were yet needed before these cold and selfish souls could arrive at

¹ *Ep.* I. xviii. 111-112; *Carm.* ii. 3.

mysticism, before these men would exchange their mad pleasures for religious gloom, the worship of life for that of death. We have seen how everything belonging to old Rome was tottering to its fall, morals and faith alike. We shall soon see a new Rome arise.

V. INFLUENCE OF GREECE UPON ROMAN LITERATURE.

IN respect to letters, shall we say that these conquered people who subjugated their conquerors exercised a happy influence upon Rome? No Latin tongue had yet cried out with the grief or love that the true poet utters. Poetry is something personal and individual; and in Rome the severe discipline of laws and custom, *mos majorum*, had not permitted the flight of individual genius. Accordingly, this phenomenon had been produced, unique in the history of nations, that a people had arrived at high political eminence without having kindled the flame of patriotism and noble thought upon the hearthstone of letters.

When the Romans accepted Greece as their instructor, they had not yet formed their language or their taste. Hence their literature, from its very earliest days, was marked by the character that it always retained, namely, the imitation of Greece; and this tamely accepted dependence prevented it from making a path for itself. It remained an echo of the voices to which Hellas had listened.

Early Rome had had, no doubt, songs of a rude and primitive nature, which time would have softened; she possessed also traditions, legends, glorious memories which would have been precious material for a national poet. But this poet never appeared; and from the time when Ennius the Calabrian¹ substituted the Greek hexameter for the old Saturnian verse, native poetry fell into neglect, and was lost without hope of recovery. Carried away by the brilliant forms of Greek literature, the Roman nobles, especially the Scipios, popularized it with a zeal that alarmed the patriotism of Cato. Every one spoke Greek,² Scipio Africanus

¹ Ennius was born in 239, and died in 169.

² The numerous hostages brought from Greece into Italy brought Greek, for many families, into the relations of private life.

no less than Paulus Aemilius, who brought home the books of Persius, Flamininus as well as Scipio Aemilianus, who knew Homer by heart. The pontifex maximus, P. Crassus, knew all the Greek dialects. Cato himself learned the language, and Ennius opened upon the Aventine a school for instruction in Greek. The year of the battle of Pydna, Crates of Mallos, Homer's commentator, coming to Rome, gave lessons there which drew a crowd about him; and Sylla even permitted the Greek envoys to harangue the Senate in their own tongue.

Doubtless in this intercourse the rude speech of Latium gained more softness and elegance. But it did not stop with the giving of ideas: words were copied; and some went so far as to blend the two languages, like Lucilius, whose style is sometimes like a mosaic of Greek and Latin words.¹ Fabius Pictor had already, in the time of the Second Punic War, written a Roman history in Greek. Postumius Albinus, a senator, followed this example, and excused himself in his preface in case he should have made any errors in the foreign tongue; to which Cato replied: "But were you obliged to write in that language?" Flamininus, it is certain, committed no barbarisms in the Greek verses engraved on the silver bucklers he hung up on the walls of the temple at Delphi.

Horace, the most original of the Latin authors, began by Greek verses, and in the midst of his success exhorted his fellow Romans to read the Greek authors night and day. How many novelties, indeed — philosophy and science, amorous gallantry and the dainty refinements of society, lyric and elegiac verse, were now to find expression in that language which for centuries had done no more than speak the rude fact, as a weapon, which is still covered with the slag of the foundry, smites, but does not flash. At the same time, whatever Roman



DIOSCURI ON HORSEBACK.²

¹ Hor., *Sat.* I. x. 23: *Sermo lingua concinnus utraque suavior*. Cicero (*de Off.* i. 31) takes up the same ridicule, although he himself uses Greek words in almost every one of his letters to Atticus. (See also Juv., *Sat.* vi.) A praetor, Albicius, went so far as to forget his mother tongue. (See *Fragm. Lucilii*.) Lucullus wrote in Greek as well as Cicero; but the latter was careful not to leave barbarisms therein, which Lucullus did, as he said, expressly.

² P. PAETVS ROMA. The Dioscuri on horseback. Reverse of a silver coin of the Aelian family.

literature, trained in the schools of Greece, lost in originality, it gained in rapid development, by having access to their richest storehouse of literary treasures. From the time that contact was well established between Roman and Greek genius, a brilliant light shone upon Italy, and Rome produced great poets.

In this first period of Roman literature, therefore, we find everywhere the forms and the spirit of the Greek. There are translations and imitations, and even the rhythm is copied. The form which succeeds best, comedy, has nothing Roman about it, but neither is it the comedy of Aristophanes. The nobles were too powerful at Rome to suffer the liberties which the Greek poet had allowed himself at Athens, and the terrible law of the Twelve Tables against offensive verses was still in force.¹ "What folly is mine," cries Plautus, with a modesty which was really but prudence, "what folly to concern myself in public affairs, when we have magistrates to watch over them!"² They copied Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus,³ and in the plays of Plautus⁴ and Terence the reader feels himself at Athens, although the former was an Umbrian, the latter a Carthaginian. They made no secret of it: "Without the aid of an architect," says one of them, "I have transported Athens to Rome,"⁵ and he promises countless Attic jokes.⁶ The higher praise that Caesar gives to Terence is to call him a demi-Menander. Instead of a picture of national life and manners, there is nothing, except in some rare allusions, but a weak representation of the vices and follies of mankind, where art loses both force and genuineness. And still now and then Plautus remembers that he is at Rome, and the senator, hastening to the senate-house, because offices are there distributed; the poor devil who goes to receive his share of a *congiarium*; the young fop who does not hesitate to cheat a courtesan while waiting his opportunity to plunder a province; these women whose luxury exasperates Megadorus as much as it does Cato,—wives

¹ See Vol. I. p. 338.

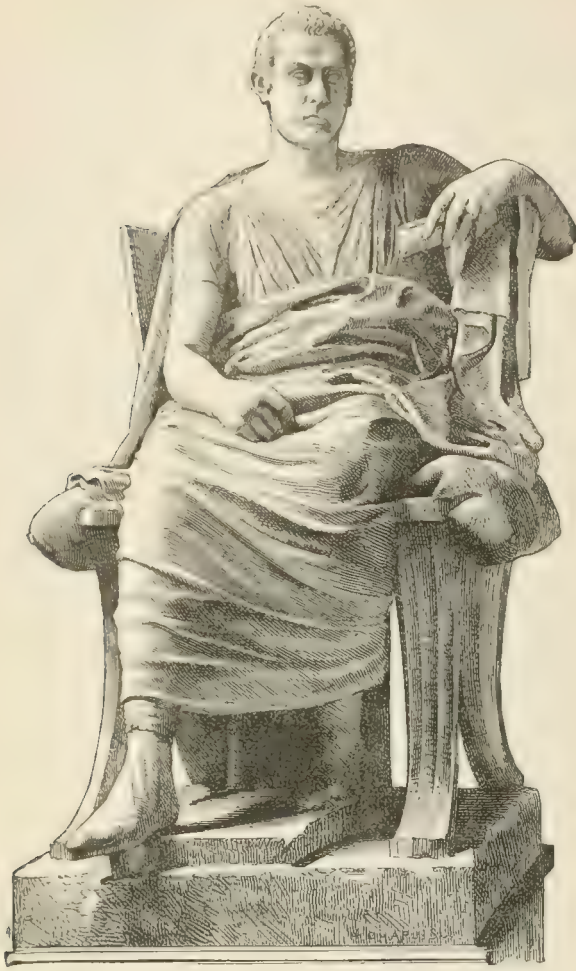
² *Persa*, i. 2.

³ To appreciate the superiority of Menander over the Latin comic authors, his imitators, see Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* ii. 23.

⁴ Plautus was born in Sarsina in Umbria, about 254, and died in 184; Terence at Carthage, and being taken by pirates in his childhood, was sold to Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator. He died by shipwreck at the age of thirty-five.

⁵ Plaut., *Trucul.* in the *Prologue*.

⁶ *Persa*, III. i. 67.

MENANDER.³

with ten-talent dowries,¹ faithful but termagants, as a good number of those matrons must have been, whom their husbands could not hinder from making a riot on a question of toilette; the client who will not dishonor his station by carrying on business, but sells his testimony and lives upon his perjuries; the old bachelor whose sensual egotism displays itself so complacently; and the precocious profligate who threatens his slave-tutor with the whip—all these characters must indeed have lived in Rome.²

We may add another, the parasite, lately arrived from Athens, henceforth to be found in swarms around those

well-spread tables:⁴ Plautus shows him to us reading over, in

¹ Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* ii. 23.

² *Trucul.* v. 80-90; *Poenulus*, 659. For other allusions of Plautus, see the *Captivi*, *Asinaria*, *Casina*, and in *Curculio* (IV. i. 478-500) his description of Rome: "Do you require a perjurer, go to the *comitium*; a liar, seek him beside the temple of Venus Cloacina . . .; in the Tuscan quarter you will find people ready to sell themselves; in the Velabrum, diviners and profligates haunting the house of Leucadia Oppia." See also in the *Menæchmi* scenes of villany in which the two heroes of the piece, though young men of good family, allow themselves to figure. At the court of Louis XIV. it was common to cheat at play; at that of Augustus a man put his hand in his neighbor's pocket (Catull., *Carm.* xii. 25); and the usage was of considerable date then.

³ Statue in the Vatican.

⁴ Epicharmus first, and then Alexis, introduced the parasite in the Athenian theatre. See, p. 262, the words of one of the parasites of Alexis.

preparation for the next supper, his old store of jokes, or fretting about the recent importation of sun-dials so slowly marking the hours as they advance towards the appointed time for the feast. "May



A BANQUET (SYMPOSIUM).¹

the gods confound him who invented hours, and was the first to place a sun-dial in this city! The traitor has cut my day up into morsels!

¹ Painting from Pompeii; illustration drawn from Nicollini, *Museo Borbonico*.

In my boyhood the appetite was a much more correct guide. Never did it fail to give me notice in time, and never was it mis-

taken,—unless, indeed, there were nothing to eat. Now, however much there may be, there is nothing to be had till it please the sun!"¹

It must be remembered that the comic poets, who profess to paint society, really depict only its eccentricities, its follies and exceptional vices; that a single verse of theirs, well turned, makes more noise in the world than the virtue of a thousand women, because that virtue, not having the theatre for its dwelling-place, is hidden from the public view. In spite of all the *Graeculi*, therefore, we must believe that there were honest people in Rome, as there doubtless were, notwithstanding Epicurus, many devout ones. The every-day life of a people only alters with extreme slowness. It is the manners of those who have lately made fortunes that



THE GODDESS CHASTITY.²

are liable to rapid change. Every day we see this in the case of individuals. Rome saw it in the case of many for whom

¹ Fragment of the *Boeotia*. These words of Plautus would put Pliny in the wrong (*Hist. Nat.* vii. 60), who says that the first sun-dial was brought to Rome by Papirius Cursor twelve years before the war with Pyrrhus. See vol. i. p. 629.

² Statue in the Museum of the Louvre, No. 124 of the Clarac Catalogue.

the passage from poverty to wealth was a sudden transition. But amidst conspicuous profligacy certain families still retain all the early austerity of Roman manners. There are still *Virginii*, who choose for their children death rather than shame.¹ There are still matrons who can enter with head erect the temple of Chastity, and upon the tomb of more than one can be inscribed, as in the case of Claudia, "Gentle in words, graceful in manner, she loved her husband devotedly; she kept her house, she spun wool" (*domum servavit, lanam fecit*).² Plautus himself puts these words in the mouth of *Alemene*. "My dowry is chastity, modesty, and the fear of the gods; it is love to my kindred; it is to be submissive to my husband, kind towards good people, helpful to the brave." *Lucretius*, so severe upon love, grants to the wise man that he may also find happiness in a virtuous marriage, as was the case in early days, and is still possible at the present time. This *Alemene* of Plautus reappears in *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Scipio* and mother of the *Gracchi*.

We have not a single play remaining by *Caccilius*, a native of *Cisalpine Gaul*, who has been compared with *Terence*, and may have aided that author's early work, but does not merit the honor of being likened to him, if we may judge by the quotations of *Aulus Gellius*.

Two other poets, one preceding Plautus, the other following him, *Nævius*, a soldier in the First Punic War, of which he sang in a poem admired by *Cicero*, and *Lucilius*, who was with *Scipio Aemilianus* at the siege of *Numantia*, had, if not more talent, at least more courage and originality. *Nævius* wrote in the old national rhythm, in *Saturnian verse*; and the Latin titles of many of his pieces show that he took pleasure in representing the manners of the lower classes at Rome.³ We know also that he did not scruple to attack the most powerful citizens. Twice his poetry gained him the honor of persecution. History must give him credit for the position he took so audaciously against the nobles,

¹ *Pontius Aufdianus* and *Atilius Philiscus* slew their daughters; *Fabius Maximus Servilianus*, his son; *Menius*, a favorite freedman. For a breach of morals a tribune of the people is condemned, and none of his colleagues interpose: a centurion dies in prison; adulterers are put to death, and no punishment is meted out to the slayer, etc. (*Val. Max.*, VI. i. 3-13.)

² *Orelli*, 4848.

³ *Agitatoria*, *Ariolus*, *Bubulcus*, *Cerdo*, *Figulus*, *Fullones*, *Lignaria*, *Tunicularia*.

and associate the name of the poor Campanian with the great struggle waged by Cato against the Scipios. Unfriendly towards the Greek influence, whose beginnings he saw, he left this inscription for his own tomb: "If the gods could weep for mortals, the muses would weep for Naevius the poet. When he went down into the treasure-house of Pluto, the Latin language was forgotten at Rome." He had reason to dread this invasion of Greek ideas and forms: the Athenian comedy (*palliata*) effaced the Roman (*togata*); and time has left almost nothing of the works of Naevius, save a few verses, among which is this one, which does him honor: "Always have I preferred liberty to wealth." Others, who like himself devoted their talents to the painting of national life, had no better fortune.¹

But Lucilius was a rich knight, friend of Aemilianus, and grand-uncle of Pompeius;² protected by his rank, he wrote with impunity thirty satires, — a style created by himself, and, thanks to Horace, Perseus, and Juvenal, one which remained very Roman. In these satires he rails at the rich and the poor, the people and the nobles, "who from morning till night run up and down the Forum, occupied with but one anxiety, to feign honesty and to deceive each other." Consuls, triumphant generals, the Metelli, Carbo, the rude Opimius, Cassius, Cotta who would not pay his creditors, Torquatus, Tuditanus "the coward," Calvus, "the bad soldier," — no man escaped his keen wit, neither Lupus, prevaricating and impious judge, nor Gallonius, the glutton, nor even "the nose of the praetor elect."³ "They believe that they can commit all crimes with impunity. They are of noble rank; that is enough to shut the mouths of all objectors." "To-day," he says elsewhere, "gold holds the place of virtue; by what thou hast thy worth will be measured." Whether

¹ Afranius, Fabius Dossennus, Titinius, Quinctius Atta, and the famous farce-writer (*Atellanæ fabulae*), Pomponius of Bologna.

² According to Eusebius, he was born in 148 at Suessa Aurunca; but the true date is probably earlier. The longest of his 800 fragments has only thirteen verses. (*Lucil. reliq.*, edit. Douza.) It has been said, but without reason, that he was the first Roman of noble condition who gave a part of his life to literary pursuits. He at first gave much of his time to business; later he made a fortune in the public farms; and both Cato and Fabius Pictor had written much before his time.

³ *Nec designati rostrum praeitoris.* He spared only virtue, says Horace: *uni aequus virtuti.* (Sat. II. i. 70.)

it be by chance or the result of the poet's intention, there is to be found in his fragments neither the name of Naevius nor that of Plautus, while the imitators of Greece, Ennius, Pacuvius, Caecilius, are rudely scourged. The world loves to laugh at itself. This satire on the men of his time gave Lucilius immense popularity. At his death the citizens of Rome paid, it is said, the expenses of his funeral.

TERENCE.¹

Of Terence, who, says Montaigne, has the manners of a gentleman, we have nothing to say. He is a correct poet, who never "boils over," as was said of Naevius, who addresses Laelius and Scipio rather than the

SCENE OF A COMEDY.²

crowd. He paints the characters of all time, and if he delights the scholar by the elegance of his language, he furnishes the historian with no useful fact except this, that there had at last

¹ Medal (*unique*) in the Museum of Gotha. (Visconti, *Iconog. romaine*, p. 148, No. 3.)

² Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iii. pp. 60-61, pl. 123. It seems that the artist has borrowed the design for his fresco from the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus or the *Eunuchus* of Terence. The man with the lance may well be the swaggering bully who calls himself the *Taker-of-Cities*. In this case the actor who is speaking to him would be the slave *Palæstrion*, one of the ancestors of the French Mascarille. The two old men seated at the right and left appear to be statues representing two authors, as we now place in the entrance-halls of our theatres the names or busts of writers whose pieces are played within. Theatrical masks, originally used in Athens, were first employed by actors in the *Atellanæ fabulæ* (see Vol. I. p. 621); they seem to have been introduced into comic representations by Roscius about the year 100. (Rutschius, *Gramm. Latinae auct. ant.* iii. 486.)

been formed at Rome a society of wits. And here we have a feature of the new Rome.

We shall only mention the dramatic attempts of Nævius and

Ennius, the *Education of Romulus* of the former and the *Siege of Ambracia* of the latter. The Greek Melpomene never crossed the Adriatic Sea. In tragedy an ideal was needed, which the Romans did not possess. Aeschylus and Sophocles lived near the gods and heroes; but the gods of Rome, shut up in the Capitol near the place where grave senators deliberated, were themselves too serious to have adventures, and her great men, soldiers of duty, wore indeed the civic crown, but had not upon their brows the aureole of



THALIA.¹

heroes. Neither could supply a great poetic inspiration.

The general tendency of the Roman literature of this period is, like that of the Greek at the same epoch, towards impiety. It has already been said that Ennius translated the book of Euhemerus; in his fragments, and in those of Pacuvius, the augurs, aurspices, and soothsayers are seen to mock upon the stage,

¹ *Museo Pio Clementino*, vol. i. pl. 18, and Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 509, No. 1,025. This statue was found in the olive-grove at Tivoli, in the place called Pianella di Cassio. Any sitting representations of the comic muse are rare.

amid the applause of the people, says Cicero, those gods whom in the temples they worshipped.¹ Lucilius, who no more spared the denizens of heaven than of earth, represents the twelve great gods seated in council and laughing at mankind who call them fathers; Neptune, also, being embarrassed in a discussion where he was getting the worst of it, saying by way of excuse that Carneades himself could not have argued his way out.² Again he mocks at the Romans "prostrate and trembling before those vain images invented by Numa, like children who take statues for living beings, giving life to bronze and marble, taking for truth that which is only a lie." From time to time Plautus is tempted to believe in a supreme being and in divine providence; his *Rudens* has a certain moral and religious tone. The play opens with a prologue recited by a divine personage, the star Arcturus

MELPOMENE.³

¹ *De Div.* ii. 50: *Ennius, qui magno plausu loquitur, adsentiente populo: Ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam caelitum, sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus.* Elsewhere he says, in the character of Telamon (*Cic., de Nat. deor.* iii. 32): *Cur di homines negligent: nam si curent, bene bonis sit: male malis: quod nunc abest.* Cicero assures us that in his time it was the opinion of many philosophers: . . . *ne irasci deum, nec nocere.* (*De Off.* iii. 28.) He speaks of the oracles with very little respect (*de Div.* ii. 56), and believes that the representations that have been made of the Elysian Fields are *somnia optantis, non probantis.* Caesar openly professed atheism. (Cf. Martha, *Lucrèce*, p. 130, seq.)

² *Cic., de Rep.* iii. 6. He also derided the worship of images: *eorum stultitiam qui simulacra deos putant esse deridet.* (*Lact., Inst. Div.* xiv. 22.)

³ Colossal statue in the Louvre, believed to have adorned the theatre of Pompeii; No. 348

appearing on the stage in the midst of clouds, his forehead surrounded with a starry aureole, and saying to the spectators: "I am a dweller in the sky, one of those genii who rule the night

amongst the stars, whom by day Jupiter sends to earth to watch the actions of men and report to him faithfully thereon.¹ He revises the sentences of the judges and of those in authority; if a man gains his cause by intrigue and fraud, the amends which Jupiter inflicts sooner or later greatly exceed the unjust gain. By his orders crimes and virtues are inscribed upon the eternal registers. It is I who have to-day called down a tempest upon the traitor, whom you will see dragging himself upon the shore."² But all these gods, reciters of prologues, are not equally respectable; his Jupiter is of scandalous behavior. And what must the devout have thought when Plautus represents the father of gods and men inhaling the odor that



ANUBIS.

arises from the frying-pans of a chattering cook, or going to bed

of the *Clarae* catalogue. Rome had some translations or imitations of the Greek tragedies, especially of those of Euripides. The writings of Accius, some of which were on Roman subjects, have been lost. Cicero (*pro Planco*, 24; *pro Sestio*, 56) speaks of him with high praise: there remains from his *Prometheus* a monologue not unworthy of Aeschylus. (Egger, *Lut. serm. vet. reliq.*, p. 197; cf. Neukirch, *Diss. de Fab. togata ac de L. Afranio*; Bothe, *Poet. scen. latin.*, and Maittaire, *Oper. et fr. vet. poet. lat.*)

¹ *Est profecto deus qui quae nos gerimus auditque et ridet.* (*Capt.* 242.)

² Naudet, vol. viii. p. 233 of his translation of Plautus.

³ Anubis (*Musée Capitolin*, iii. pl. 85). A Roman statue found at Porto d'Anzio (Antium)

without his supper when this cook did not work for him, or when Sosia explains that the day is late in appearing because Apollo is lazy after drinking too much the night before.¹ A little later than this buffoons exhibited daily to the people "Anubis the adulterer, Diana beaten with rods, and three starved Hercules."²

VENUS ANADYOMENE.⁴

A poet of the next age, but in style and thought kindred to the time of which we speak, Lucretius, has developed with eloquent audacity the materialistic doctrines of Epicurus. He has come, he says, to free men's minds from the chains of superstition,³ to lift up the hearts that are bowed with fear, to put an end to those offerings of victims that men in their terror are constantly bringing to the altars. In his magnificent invocation in the first book he addresses Venus; but he means the Venus who is Nature herself, repairing with her mighty forces the ravages made by death. The gods he relegates to some distant abode where they repose in idleness, no longer concerned with the affairs of men, and

in 1749, showing the blending of Roman and Egyptian ideas. Instead of the head of the jackal, which the Egyptians give to their Anubis, leader of souls, we find a dog's head; the caduceus of Mercury, also the leader of souls into the infernal regions, takes the place of the sceptre with greyhound's head, and the left hand holds a sistrum. This sacred instrument was made of bronze, silver, or gold, and consisted of three or four metallic rods loosely inserted in an oval frame; it was shaken at the festivals of Isis, giving forth musical sounds. Plutarch (*de Iside et Osir.*) maintained that it symbolized the four elements composing the world, by means of which all things are constantly destroyed and recomposed.

¹ *Pseudolus*, 854 and 860.

² Tertull., *Apol.* 15.

³ *Religionum animum nodis exsolvere pergo* (i. 931); and he terminates the sacrifice of Iphigenia with the famous verse:

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

⁴ Or Venus rising from the waves. Museum of the Vatican, *nuovo braccio*, No. 90.

the very thunderbolt itself is no longer the weapon of divine vengeance. He speaks of it as "that blind flame which falls upon the temples of the gods, which wastes itself in deserts or upon the sea, and passes by the guilty man to smite an innocent head." In the creation all things are explained for him by physical causes, and he clothes this empiricism in the most magnificent poetry. "The thunder is the wind taking fire from the rapidity of its motion; life is the rapid succession of beings dissolving and re-forming;¹ death, the unalterable calm of the sweetest sleep; and hell, an invention of poets or of the timorous conscience



SISYPHUS.

IXION UPON THE WHEEL.²

TANTALUS.

of the guilty. This Tantalus, chilled with terror under the rock which threatens him, is only the human being alarmed at imaginary threats of the gods, and believing himself overwhelmed by their anger, under the woes which a blind destiny brings upon him. What being could suffer eternal pains and furnish eternal food to

¹ The principle of modern science: nothing perishes, all is transformed.

² From a bas-relief engraved in the magnificent edition of the *Aeneid*, published by the Duchess of Devonshire (*l' Eneide di Virgilio recata in versi italiani da Annibale Caro*, 1819; 2 vols. fol.; 164 copies only printed). The Greeks were not disposed to represent sad or terrible subjects; we have, accordingly, few representations of punishments. We give those of the three most famous of the immortal sufferers of paganism: Ixion upon his wheel; Sisyphus bearing his rock to the summit of the hill whence it forever falls back; Tantalus a prey to devouring thirst, and trying with his two hands to bring to his lips the water which forever flows below them. A famous picture of Polygnotus in the *Lesche* at Delphi represented Tantalus plunged in water, a tree loaded with fruit out of reach above him, and a rock forever threatening to fall upon him. (Pausan., x. 51, § 1.)

his tormentors? To fill one's soul with all good and never satisfy it, is not that the punishment of those maidens who endlessly pour the flying stream into a bottomless vase? Like man, the world also will die. Some day, and perhaps you yourself may behold it, this great vault, battered by the shocks of doom, will give way, and then burning fragments will be scattered through space. These verities," he dares to add, "are surer than the oracles from Apollo's tripod."¹

Presently Caesar in the open Senate declares that death is the end of all; and Cicero, the man who wrote the *Dream of Scipio*, will treat as an idle fable the doctrine of a life to come.² " . . . What harm can death do us, unless, believing in childish stories, we think the wicked may suffer punishment in hell. If, however, these be chimeras, as no one doubts,³ what is it that death takes from us? The feeling of pain." And notwithstanding all the hypocritical worship that the official world lavished upon them in the temples, the gods were none the less dead; people's minds in growing more enlightened saw the folly of those fables created by the imagination of childish days, and as they became older, they had less and less need of the gods.

But not alone did the old religion vanish away; the very earliest virtue of Rome, patriotism, began to lose itself in that immense empire, where it was no longer clear where the affection should be directed. Lucilius satirizes that Albutius who "preferred to be at Athens rather than at Rome, and those who in the very Forum salute with the Greek *Χαῖρε!*" In vain does he say that "a man should subordinate his personal interests to those of his neighbors, and the interest of his neighbors to that of his country;" here is Lucretius writing a poem of 7,000 or 8,000 lines, and never, save once, and by chance, introducing the Roman name.⁴ And yet Rome had more than ever need of resolute and devoted citizens; but it is not the poetry of Lucretius, splendid as it was, that could give them to her: "Sweet is it, when the tempest raises the

¹ Vergil also believed that there would be an end to the world; but he hoped for its renewal.

² *Pro Cluentio*, 61: . . . *ineptiis ac fabulis*.

³ *Quae si falsa sunt, id quod omnes intelligunt* . . . (*ibid.*).

⁴ The line where he supplicates Venus to beg from Mars an end to conflicts:

. . . *petens placidam Romanis, incluta, pacem.*

mighty sea, to contemplate from the shore the mariner tossed by the waves . . . to look upon perils which one does not incur, to be a spectator of battles waged in the plain and have no share in the danger. But sweeter yet it is to dwell upon the serene heights of science, in the inviolable sanctuaries which the thoughts of the wise have constructed, whence one sees afar off men wandering to and fro in life, striving for the rewards of genius, disputing for precedence, and exhausting themselves night and day with infinite efforts to seize upon power and fortune. O miserable human beings! blinded minds, who do not understand what is needed for the soul; namely, to be delivered from cares and from superstitious fears."

This is fine rhetoric; but the poem can never be a lesson in patriotism. Before the time of Lucretius, another author trained in the school of Greece, Pacuvius the Apulian, had said: "Your native country? it is the place where you live most at your ease."¹

Heaven and hell correspond; he who denies one denies the other. It was no longer believed that there were rewards and penalties beyond the grave. Men of letters ceased to speak of that sad and silent life of the shades so dear to the Roman of early days.² Panaetius, the Stoic, a friend of Aemilianus, maintained, with most of the rhetoricians gathered in Rome, that the soul perishes together with the body.³ Catullus repeats it in much-imitated verse: "The sun may be set and rise again; but we, when once the fugitive light of our days is gone, must sleep in an eternal night."⁴ It is needless to ask Lucretius what he thinks on this subject; we know it already. But a poet born before the Second Punic War, more allied, consequently, to the earlier manners, ends human destiny at the grave as the play ends at the theatre, — with the call for applause: *Plaudite, cives*. In the epitaph which he composed for himself, he says: "Young man, passing by so quickly, this stone calls to thee: look and read.

¹ Cic., *Tuscul.* v. 37. Pacuvius, the nephew of Ennius, was born at Brundisium about 220, and died at Tarentum in 132. He cultivated the two arts, painting and poetry, thus following the example of Fabius Pictor.

² See Vol. I. p. 210.

³ Cic., *de Amic.* 4.

⁴ *Carm.* v. 4-7. [Adapted from Moschus.]

Here are the bones of Pacuvius, the poet. I have nothing else to teach thee. Farewell."¹ Lucilius says no more than this.

Of all these adversaries, Roman polytheism found Lucretius the most formidable; for he substituted the immutable laws of nature in place of the caprices of the gods, and followed up sarcasm which had made men laugh by a system which made them think. Everybody read his poems and borrowed from them, even Vergil, who at least pays him homage in these noble lines: "Happy he who has known how to penetrate the first causes of things, and tread under foot puerile terrors, inexorable destiny, and the vain sounds of greedy Acheron."² No one, however, quotes him; the religious hypocrisy of official society forbade the mention of the illustrious reprobate.

The direct influence of Greece is not visible in Roman prose. Fabius Pictor, whom Polybius regards with but little respect, had probably read neither Herodotus nor Thucydides; at least, nothing of the grace of the one or the depth of the other appears in the little we have left of his [Greek] writings.³ Cato also was purely Roman in his treatise, *de Re rustica*, which we have, and in his *Origines*, which is one of our greatest losses. There remain to us the names of a great number of annalists, whose works would be precious for the historian, but doubtless not so for the man of literary taste. One of them, however, Cassius Hemina, seems to have been a scholar; for Sallust has not disdained to borrow from him this thought: *Omnia orta occidunt et aucta senescunt*, "All that has been born must die; all that has grown must decay."⁴



ISOCRATES.

¹ The authenticity of these lines has been disputed; if they are not by Pacuvius, they belong, however, to his age.

² *Georg.* ii. 490. (Strangely enough, Cicero says, he writes: *Majore cura quam ingenio.*)

³ See Vol. I. p. 220.

⁴ *Jug.* 2. Hemina's words are: *Quae nata sunt ea omnia denasci aiunt.* (Nonius, s. v. *denasci.*)

In a Republic, the platform is a battle-field, where he who can conquer wins all honor and power. Often enough eloquence even takes the place of wisdom and experience, words having more value than action. At Rome, where certainly men were capable of action, the art of persuasion was also cultivated. These assemblies of Senate and people, these tribunals in the open air, this custom of funeral orations and military harangues, had formed great orators at Rome before men had read by the banks of the Tiber a *Philippic* of Demosthenes, or one of the elaborate discourses of Isocrates.

All the harangues that we read in Livy were constructed by himself, and we dare not quote them as specimens of the early Latin eloquence. But from the time of Cicero certain addresses are preserved, which he greatly admired. The last century of the Republic was fruitful in great orators; at their head stand Cato and Caius Gracchus, of whom we shall speak later. After them two men eclipsed all others in the Forum: Antonius and Crassus. Thanks to Cicero, the first has great renown as an orator; we willingly add to this another distinction, for he was the finished type of the advocate who considers himself above all an artist in the use of language, to whom success is the one thing desired, whatever be the means employed to obtain it or the nature of the cause for which he pleads. For this reason he would never write any of his public addresses, so that he could always deny his words, if he were at any time charged with contradicting himself. This able man, who boasted of owing nothing to Greece, had then no need to study the sophistries of Athens, having them all within himself.

Crassus, his rival, possessed true eloquence; we will quote some of his burning words,—which show, besides, a scene in the Roman Forum. Pleading one day against a profligate young man, M. Brutus, who dishonored his rank by an idle life, he perceives the funeral procession of a certain Junia, his adversary's aunt, entering the Forum; upon this he stops, and exclaims: "What will you, Brutus, that this woman should recount to your father, to the illustrious men whose statues you see carried there, to that Brutus who delivered the Roman people from the tyranny of the kings? What will she say of your occupations? To what duties, what

honor, what virtue will she represent you as devoted? Is it to augmenting your patrimony? None remains to you; your excesses have devoured it. To the study of law? That has been handed down to you by your father; but she will say that in selling your house you did not even reserve from the paternal furniture the consulting chair of the juriconsult. To military science? but you have never seen a camp. To eloquence? but you have prostituted whatever talent of this kind you may have to the infamous trade of calumny. And you dare to look your judges in the face! you dare to present yourself in the Forum before the eyes of your fellow-citizens! And you do not tremble with shame in the presence of this dead woman, and before the pageant of your ancestors!"¹

Men capable of speaking thus had no occasion to borrow from the Greeks. The latter, however, assumed to give them rhetorical precepts, — which never made an orator, — and they furnished to them certainly very dangerous examples. The rhetoricians had made an art of language; but they enervated thought while striving to guide it, and the idea was of little importance to them, provided the expression had a pleasing melody. Cicero owed to them the excessive luxuriance of his earlier works.²

Jurisprudence was also a purely Roman product. Notwithstanding some foreign importations, the decemviral code is truly indigenous in its spirit and as a whole; as a science, however, Roman law borrowed its principles from Greece. The brevity of the Twelve Tables, the confusion introduced into legislation by the diversity of the praetorian edicts (*lex annua*), the difficulty of mastering the formulae and allegorical pantomimes used in legal proceedings,³ had already produced a class of men who devoted

¹ Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 55. [He refers to the wax masks worn by mutes in state dress at funerals.]

² He himself condemns the turgidity of certain passages, — in the *pro Roscio*, for example.

³ There existed no more juridic secrets after S. Aelius Paetus had published, about the year 201, his book of the *Tripartites* or *jus Aelianum*, containing the text of the Twelve Tables, their interpretation, and the *legis actiones*. To establish one's right, it was necessary at first to perform certain acts: *manus injectio*, *manuion consortio*, *pignoris captio*, etc., and to pronounce certain formulae. The *legis actiones* were abolished, except in a few cases, by the Aebutian and Julian laws, whose date is uncertain. (Gaius, iv. 30; Aul. Gell., xvi. 10.) In the *pro Murena* (i. 12 and 13) Cicero ridicules the juriconsults: "Busy as I am, if you urge me to it, in three days I will become a great juriconsult;" but elsewhere he renders them full justice.

themselves to the explanation of the laws. Coruncanus, the first plebeian who attained, about the year 254, the grand pontificate, had founded the public instruction in jurisprudence, and Aelius Pætus, at the beginning of the second century before Christ, had revealed all the secrets connected with the forms of justice. Following their example, a few of the most important citizens devoted themselves to this new cult, and the *responsa*¹ of the juriconsults became a new source, and perhaps the most abundant one, of Roman law.

The science thus taking shape from day to day in accordance with the needs of the moment, lacked a rational principle. In Greece, meantime, Chrysippus, the Stoic philosopher, had founded a theory of jurisprudence, proclaiming a natural law, "queen and sovereign of all things human and divine."² Men, being equal and social, he said, there existed between them necessary relations whence reason should deduce laws. The civil law, therefore, was no longer to be regarded as the effect of arbitrary agreements;³ tradition, usage, texts, must no longer have an absolute authority, and the strange customs and imperative formulas of a forgotten juridic conflict, must be submitted to the reason. Scaevola, the great juriconsult, a Stoic like Chrysippus, whom we shall presently see playing a part in the tragedy of the Gracchi worthy of his eminent character, commenced this revolution in Rome. Cicero continued it in his magnificent definition of moral law. "There is a law which no man has written, but which is born in us, which we have neither learned from our teachers, nor received from our fathers, nor read in books; we have it from Nature herself;"⁴ — "an immutable law, calling us to goodness by its commands, deterring us from evil by its threats, which neither Senate nor people can abrogate. It is not one law at Rome and another at Athens; one to-day and another to-morrow. Eternal, unalterable, it rules at once all nations and all times."⁵ Elsewhere, he says again: "The law is nature; and nature being such that all the human race are bound by a sort of civil right,

¹ *Justitia cujus merito quis sacerdotes nos appellet.* (Ulpian, in the *Dig.* I. i. 1.)

² Ὁ νόμος πάντων ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων. (*Dig.* I. iii. 2.)

³ Cic., *de Fin. bon.* iii. 20.

⁴ *Pro Milone*, 4.

⁵ *De Rep.* iii. 22.

he who respects that right is just; he who violates it is unjust." ¹

These were indeed novelties. The patricians, who had defended with so jealous a zeal the evil laws of early days, might have shuddered in their tombs at such utterances. The Twelve Tables still remained a monument venerable for its antiquity; Aelius Paetus had just prepared an edition of them with commentaries; but the study of the pontifical law, that is to say, the religious part of the civil laws, had fallen into disuse,² to the great profit of jurisprudence, properly so called, for it was freed from the bonds which all religions seek to render immutable, and answered the developments of life by enlarging the narrow circle of legal precepts, and bringing into them at once more justice and more humanity.

Cicero reproaches Scaevola with bringing legal advantages within reach of those who sought to withdraw themselves from the obligations of the *sacra gentilitia*.³ The absolute authority of the father and of the husband was breaking down. The *remancipatio* permitted the woman to ask for divorce; and the *diffarreatio* broke even unions which the pontifex maximus and the *flamen* of Jupiter had solemnized.⁴ Finally, by successive developments of the theory of *peculium* (private property), and by the institution of the dowry, they went on to authorize the son and the wife to hold property independently of the head of the family, thus rendering possible what early Rome had never seen,—a son summoning his father to appear in court.⁵ If, however, the family tie was in a degree relaxed, it was not broken, and neither the son nor the wife was excused from any of their obligations of respect and obedience. With the increased liberty for individuals came also liberty in

¹ *De Finibus*, iii. 20 and 21. In chap. i. 5, he says again: "We must seek in the breast of philosophy the source of right," *penitus ex intima philosophia*.

² Cic., *de Orat.* iii. 33.

³ *De Leg.* ii. 19–21; *de Orat.* i. 56; and *Topic.* 4, 6, where Scaevola's definition of *gentiles* is found.

⁴ See in Cicero (*ad Fam.* viii. 7) the piquant letter of the clever Caelius. Marriages by *confarreatio* were growing rarer every day, and unions by simple consent took their place.

⁵ They introduced also a new kind of guardianship, *genera tutorum quæ potestate feminarum continentur* (Cic., *pro Mur.* 12), the testamentary tablets (Gaius, ii. 119; Ulpian, fr. 28, 6), and the *trustee*, until this time unknown to the Roman jurisprudence. To evade the Voconian law, an heir was appointed capable of inheriting legally, who made an agreement to transmit the inheritance to the person whom the law excluded.

respect to property: parallel with Quiritarian ownership was placed bonitarian possession, in the end entirely supplanting the former.¹

Religious duties required that there should always be an heir established, so that the family sacrifices be never interrupted. On the other hand, the Twelve Tables had left the citizen the right to dispose of his property freely by gift or legacy. The Furian law (183) and the Voconian law (169) restricted this right, and the Falcidian law later (40) established the rule that not over three fourths of an estate could be left as legacies. The Plaetorian law protected against himself the citizen under twenty-five years of age,² establishing a severe penalty for creditors who had taken advantage of his inexperience.³ The old law, *horrendum carmen*, did not contain these paternal precautions.

These serious juriseconsults, lovers of the past, but also lovers of justice, attained by the influence of historic circumstances, much more than by the doctrines of Stoic philosophy, a more humane conception of law. The growth of the Republic had brought with it the development of ideas, and new social relations had called for new legal rules. The edicts of the governors of provinces, more especially those of the *prætor peregrinus*, founded necessarily upon the maxims of the *jus gentium*, which were more equitable than those of the *jus civile*, contributed much to this infiltration of the law of nations into the civil law. Those versed in law, and the magistrates themselves, favored unconsciously the process of evolution, which was to substitute the broader spirit of universal citizenship for the narrow and jealous spirit of the Roman city.

This evolution is marked everywhere by the same sign, — a breaking away from old methods. In legislation we see usage, *mos majorum*, formerly so powerful that it took the place of law, forced to yield more and more to logical deductions from new principles. Philosophy does not concern herself with public affairs,

¹ See in the Code (vii. 15) how scornfully Justinian speaks of Quiritarian ownership, which he considers an *antiquæ subtilitatis ludibrium*, and in the *Digest* (xxxviii. 1, 3, § 2) the definition which Ulpian gives of *bonorum possessio*. Cf. Giraud, *Histoire des droits rom.* and in the *Journal des savants*, of 1879, the treatise on *les Successions en droit romain*.

² The date of this law is uncertain, but was anterior to the *Pseudolus* of Plautus, in which it is mentioned (I. iii. 69).

³ Cicero, *de Nat. deor.* iii. 30. There was at this time *judicium publicum* against the creditor, while twenty-five years earlier, the debtor complaining of a fraud had against his adversary only the *actio de dolo malo*; it was a private quarrel.

her business is with morals; vainly does Comedy wear the pallium or the toga, in truth she is neither of Athens nor of Rome; even when she copies characters and depicts manners, there is something general about her which cannot be shut in a city's walls. A slave in Plautus dares to say to his master the words which revolted serfs in the Middle Ages will repeat: "But I am a man like yourself;"¹ and Lucilius, a Roman of the old school, honors one of his slaves with a tomb and an epitaph: "Here lies a slave, faithful to his master, who never did harm to any person, Metrophanes, the dependant of Lucilius." Observe that where the



THE GAMES OF THE CIRCUS.²

citizen ceases, the man begins. By degrees, humanity comes in. Cicero utters the word later, and already Terence has written his famous line [received with acclamations]:

"Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto."

Thus we find, in this Roman transformation, together with the dissolution of the morals and religious faith of early times, those forces of renewal which were to make Rome the second and glorious stage of classic civilization. Unhappily, this transformation was not general. Whilst the nobles became Hellenized, the people remained in their native rudeness. They interested themselves little in these new arts, this dawning literature, which remained as it were a foreign importation, useful merely to amuse

¹ . . . *Tam ego homo sum quam tu.* (*Asin.* II. iv. 83.)

² From a sarcophagus in the Museum of the Vatican, No. 456. See, Vol. I. p. 623. a bas-relief from the Louvre representing the same subject.

the minds of the great. Instead of that intelligent and vivacious people, which crowded the marble seats of the theatre of Dionysus, under the shadow of the Parthenon, and appreciated the most delicate points, the Roman *plebs*, standing up in their wooden theatres, lent attention only to loose pantomime, to the coarse mimicry, which was the only debt of the poet to those whom Horace disrespectfully calls asses. Twice the *Hecyra* of Terence was deserted by the spectators for a boxing match or a combat of gladiators.² "If Democritus were yet alive," says Horace, "he

BOAR HUNT.¹

would laugh to see the audience playing him a better comedy than the actors. And the author might as well relate his fiction to an ass — nay, to a deaf ass. And indeed, what stentor's voice could sound above the noises of our theatres? It is like the roar of the forests of Mount Garganus, or the waves of the Tyrrhenian Sea."³

¹ From a painting on the tomb of the Nasos, in the Flaminian Way.

² The usage of gladiatorial combats was brought from Greece in 186 by Fulvius Nobilior. At the funeral games on the death of Valerius Laevinus in 200, twenty-five couples of gladiators fought. (Livy, xxxi. 50.) These games lasted four days; those of Fulvius Nobilior and Scipio Asiaticus continued for ten days. (Livy, xxxix. 22.) In 182 a law fixed the maximum of expense allowed for these games, but it shortly fell into disuse. Aemilius Scaurus exhibited, in 58, five crocodiles, a hippopotamus, and 150 panthers. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 40, and Val. Max., II. iv. 6.) About the year 198 there was an ostrich-race. As with us at the present day, dramatic acting on the stage was overlaid with all the effects of scenery. Of this Horace complained sharply. Before his time Cicero had asked why, at the representation of *Clytemnestra*, an immense number of mules should be on the stage, and thousands of bucklers in *The Trojan Horse*, etc., etc.

³ Horace, *Epist.* II. i. 194, *seq.*

Among the nobles themselves, some, it is true, either retained, or affected to retain, the primitive rusticity of Roman manners. After the sack of Corinth, Mummius, seeing Attalus offer a great sum of money for a picture on which his soldiers were throwing dice, believed that the canvas had some mysterious virtue, and required it to be given up to him. When he sent his precious booty to Rome, he notified the pilot that any pictures or statues

MUSICIANS.¹

lost or damaged on the voyage must be replaced.² Anicius, the conqueror of Illyria, had no more refinement in his taste for music; he had called together upon one stage the most celebrated musicians of Greece; but as they played the same air altogether, he regarded this as a very unsatisfactory performance, and called

¹ Mosaic of Dioscorides at Pompeii. (Roux, *Hercul. et Pompéi*, vol. iii. pl. 124.)

² Vell. Pat., i. 13. What is said of the barbarism of the Roman soldiers is but too true; Polybius (xl. 7) saw them throwing dice on the famous picture of Aristides, which represented Dionysus; but is the ignorance of Mummius equally well established? There were scholars in his family; his brother wrote from the camp of Corinth letters which a century later were valued for their cleverness, and Mummius himself gained the esteem of the Greeks by the respect he showed for their gods and their customs.

out to them to play different airs, in order the better to earn their wages.¹

Rome, therefore, in respect to art remained a semi-barbarous city,² notwithstanding the immense number of pictures and statues heaped in her temples and public squares and porticos. In vain did her consuls adorn her with the spoils of the world; in vain did they covet for her the beauty of Athens and Corinth: art,³ brought home as part of the plunder, with the baggage of the army, became, on the banks of the Tiber, a mercenary labor, abandoned to the freedmen; and its nature is too noble to endure servitude; like poetry, it requires a lofty soul and free hands.



SUN-DIAL OR GNOMON.⁴

The Romans were even less capable of science than of art. When a sun-dial was brought from Catana to Rome, in the year 263, no one ever suspected that the difference of three degrees in the longitude of the two cities ought to set the dial back at Rome, nor was it until a century later that this error was corrected. In 158 Scipio Nasica brought home the first water-clock by which the time of day could be

marked in the absence of sunshine. But a people who saw a sign from heaven in every natural phenomenon could not study Nature for the purpose of discovering her laws. The verses of Lucretius did not prevent the Roman, when he heard the thunder rumbling overhead, from experiencing the same anxiety as the peasant of to-day, who makes the sign of the cross

¹ See the account of this grotesque scene in Polybius, xxx. 13.

² The city was not even paved until 174, the time when Fulvius and Postumius Albinus were censors.

³ The artists and architects of the time were all of them Greeks. (Pol. xxx. 13; Livy. xxxix. 22.)

⁴ Gnomon brought from Pergamus. Museum of the Louvre, No. 800 of the Clarac catalogue.

when he sees the flash of lightning. Furthermore, it was an easy task for the Roman religion to deter its believers from scrutinizing that world whose conquest the moderns have undertaken. And even if rebels against the gods of the Capitol did exist in Rome, still their early education had given their minds a bias on the subject which was never removed. These conquerors of the world used, moreover, to say to themselves that science and art were the share of the conquered, nay, even the cause of their defeat; and Vergil expresses a characteristically Roman sentiment when he says: "Let others make the bronze breathe and draw living forms from marble; let them plead eloquently, and expound the celestial motions, and the rising of the stars; but thou, Roman people, forget not that to govern the nations, to impose peace upon them, to humble the proud and spare the lowly, these are thy arts."²



FAUNUS WITH THE CHILD, OR SILENUS AND BACCHUS.¹

None ever knew as Rome did, how to conquer and to preserve

¹ We have no reason to doubt that this famous group, found in the sixteenth century in the place where were formerly the gardens of Sallust, and regarded as a work belonging to the school of Praxiteles, was brought to Rome among other spoils. (Museum of the Louvre, Fröhner, No. 250, and Clarac, No. 609.)

² *Aeneid*, vi. 847-853.

her conquests; but in the matter of civilization she was always superficial. The higher portion of society alone became enlightened, and this very enlightenment, not penetrating to the lower strata, merely widened the gulf between the rich and the poor. Hence this mingling in the same people of elegance and coarseness, or scepticism and superstition, of lofty studies and of savage amusements, of austerity in some, and nameless debauchery in others. To-day in the social body the plebeian blood forever rises and renews the impoverished vitality of the governing classes. In Rome, at the time which we are now considering, this was no longer the case; between the great and the humble there was, as we shall show, an abyss, into which the Republic was destined to fall.

¹ Rome armed with the aegis, and seated upon the Capitoline rock, — a symbol of the solidity of her power. (Museum of the Louvre, Nos. 1 and 2 of the Clarac catalogue.)



ROME, MISTRESS OF THE WORLD.¹

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CHANGES IN THE CONDITIONS OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE.

I. APPARENT STABILITY OF THE CONSTITUTION.

IN the preceding pages we have examined the influence that Greece and the East and the new conditions of Roman life exerted upon private morals and manners, upon religion, literature, and jurisprudence. We shall now consider the effect of all these wars and conquests upon the social and political condition of Rome.

Two centuries of battles, in giving to Rome Italy and ten provinces, had constituted an empire that could no longer be governed by the orators of the *conciones* or the crowd of the Forum. The wider the sway extended the more centralized the government necessarily became, and it had passed naturally from the *comitium* to the *curia*, from the people to the Senate, without abdication on the one hand or usurpation on the other. It cannot be too often repeated that historic circumstances end by creating a force which drives societies towards a future they had not dreamed of. Thus it happened at Rome. What would have been the astonishment of the founders of republican equality if they could have seen these plebeians, for whom they had fought so often, becoming a debased multitude, indifferent to public affairs, and these patricians, whom they had condemned to the division of their rights, recovering a power and a fortune well-nigh regal.

And yet, on the surface, all things seemed to remain in their former condition. "The Second Punic War," says Sallust, "had put an end to civil discords."¹ Peace and union prevailed in the city; the people were docile, the Senate moderate, the

¹ De Brosses, *Hist. de la Rép. rom.* i. 260.

tribunes pacific, and the powerful and peaceful Republic seemed advancing towards a long and brilliant future. The sovereignty still was vested in the people, assembled in *comitia* by centuries and by tribes, the centuries appointing the higher magistrates and exercising jurisdiction in grave criminal cases, the tribes electing the inferior magistrates and judging in causes of secondary importance, both making laws and *plebiscita* equally obligatory upon all citizens. The rich had the majority in the centuries; and if the city tribes, where the common people and the freedmen had the majority, escaped from their leadership, the possession of vast domains restored to them their influence in the rural tribes, so that unless some popular feeling united all the poorer classes in one opinion, the rich disposed of thirty-one out of thirty-five votes. But these popular excitements, destined later to become formidable, were at the time of which we speak becoming every day more infrequent. Vainly did Flaminius and Varro, at the beginning of the Second Punic War, seek to reanimate the old disputes. The tribunes, formerly party chiefs, were now members of the government, and respected in the Senate, which they could convoke by their own authority, like a consul.¹ Therefore they were upon the side of order, justice, and morality. In 198 Porcius Lecca compelled a praetor to renounce an ovation which he had unjustly obtained from the Senate.² Flaminius offered himself as a candidate for the consulship on the expiration of his term of office as quaestor; the tribunes opposed this in the name of the law, and later, when he had justified the confidence of the people by his services, they caused him to continue in the command that he held, notwithstanding the opposition of the consuls. Two generals, long left in Spain, instigated a *plebiscitum*, which recalled them.³ A consul was anxious to recommence the war with Philip immediately after the battle of Cynoscephalae, and the tribunes opposed their *veto*;⁴ many times they humiliated the consular authority, and once they went so far as to threaten with imprisonment the two censors then in office.⁵

¹ It is not known in what year they gained possession of this important right, *jus referendi*, but they were in possession of it as early as 216. (Livy, xxii. 61.)

² Livy, xxxii. 7.

³ Livy, xxxi. 50.

⁴ Livy, xxxiii. 25.

⁵ Livy, xliii. 16. Twice they imprisoned consuls.

Their power was great, for they could by the plebiscita and by their veto do or stop anything. Their authority was not contested, because they who had been chiefs of the plebeians sat now among the rulers of the entire people, and the Voleros of an earlier day had become nobles in this. Thus we see the most illustrious persons held the office of tribune, — Marcellus, Fulvius Nobilior, Calpurnius Piso, who was afterward twice consul, Semp. Gracchus, censor, twice consul and general honored with a triumph, Metellus Numidicus, Aelius Pactus, and Scaevola, the great juriconsult. Rendered illustrious by names like these, the tribuneship of the time had no longer the revolutionary character it once possessed. It was a high magistracy to which were due the best laws of the time—the *Villia* (180), the *Voconia* (169), the *Orchia* (181), the institution of permanent tribunals (149), the establishment of the ballot, and very frequent accusations against *prevaricators*.¹ Faithful to their origin and to the policy which had rendered Rome so strong, they asked in 188 for the right of suffrage for Fundi, Formiae, and Arpinum, the future birthplace of Marius and of Cicero. For the soldiers of Scipio and for the veterans of the Second Punic War the tribunes obtained grants of land;³ they caused the sale of corn at a low price to the people;⁴ and in the space of twenty years they were instrumental in founding twenty-three colonies.⁵ At their instigation the aediles prosecuted the farmers of the public pasture lands, the usurers, and their Italian confederates.⁶ Finally, the



PORCIUS
LECCA.²

¹ [*Prevaricating* was collusion with an adversary in a suit. — *Ed.*] For all these laws, see in § iii. of the thirty-seventh chapter, on the censorship of Cato. In the year 142, a praetor allowing himself to be bribed by men accused of murder, was prosecuted by the tribune Scaevola and compelled to go into exile, where he soon after put an end to his life. It was also a tribune, Scribonius, who proposed the law to restore their liberty to the Lusitanians sold by Galba. (Livy, *Epit.* xlix.)

² PROVOCO. Magistrate extending his hand over a Roman citizen; behind, a licitor armed with rods. Reverse of a coin of the Porcian family.

³ Livy, xxxi. 4, 49, xxxii. 1.

⁴ Livy, xxx. 26, xxxi. 4, 50, xxxiii. 42.

⁵ Livy, *passim*, beginning at xxxii. 29; let us remember that the citizens paid no tax while they were under the flag (*ibid.*, iv. 60, v. 10), and that even the priests were subject to the war-tax. (*Ibid.*, xxxiii. 52.)

⁶ *Multos pecuarios damnarunt* (Livy, xxxv. 10); *multos pecuarios ad populi judicium adduxerunt* (xxxiii. 42). See (xxxv. 7) the plebiscitum of the tribune Semp. Gracchus, which extended the Roman laws upon usury to citizens of the allied towns.

Valerian law was again solemnly renewed, the tribune Porcius Lecca obtaining a decree in 198 that no citizen should be beaten with rods.¹

Meanwhile, as the constitution was not written, it yielded, according to circumstances, to the encroachments of the Senate, as well as of the tribunes, and the people sometimes saw the power of their chiefs checked by a *senatus-consultum*. In the year 190, Livy tells us of a tribune whose opposition was annulled by the Senate.² This uncertainty of the magistrates and the great governing bodies as to the limits of their authority, this facility which all possessed of verging upon the arbitrary, was a danger for liberty. During a century it was the wisdom of the one side, the moderation of the other, and mutual concessions, which saved public order.

The Senate indeed, notwithstanding the kind of dictatorship with which the dangers of the Second Punic War had invested it, preserved a respect for the popular body which deluded men into the belief that the early constitution was yet in force. Two consuls being rivals for the command in Africa before the battle of Zama, the Conscript Fathers referred the question to the people.

In 209 a plebeian solicited for the first time the office of grand curio; repulsed by the patricians, he appealed to the tribunes, who, far from supporting him, referred the affair to the Senate. The higher assembly declined; and the tribunes, conquered in this new kind of strife, were compelled to let the people decide. On their part the people, in the affair of the Campanians, after Capua had been recovered from Hannibal, had made the following decree: "That which the Senate, by a majority of votes, has determined, we also will and decree."³ Finally, in the election of Flaminius, the Senate, extending the popular rights in spite of the tribunes, maintained that the power which made the laws

¹ Livy, x. 9: *Virgas ab omnium civium Romanorum corpore amovit.* (Cic., *pro Rab.* 3, 4; cf. *de Rep.* ii. 31.)

² *Senatus tribunum plebis auctoritate sua compulsi ad remittendam intercessionem.* (Livy, xxxvi. 40.) In regard to the *auctoritas patrum*, cf. Livy, xxxix. 39; after the battle of Cannæ it was the Senate who appointed the dictator. (Livy, xxii. 57.)

³ Livy, xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1, 8, and xxvii. 8. On the subject of this good understanding, see also xxxvii. 86, and in general, from xxvi. to xlii.

could excuse from the keeping of them. A few years later, after the conquest of Macedon, the Senate declared that it was no longer necessary for the citizens to pay taxes.¹

The senators filled all judicial offices; but they were only anxious as yet to render exact and speedy justice. Rather arbitrators than judges in the *judicia privata* or civil cases, they could be changed at will by the parties to the suit.² In respect to jurisprudence, if it was no longer a mystery, it remained at least a science rendered difficult by the multiplicity of laws and edicts. The schools opened by juriconsults were not enough to popularize the study of the law, but the pleader was no longer at the mercy of his judge.

The people, therefore, did not seem to have been deprived of any of their prerogatives; they preserved, as in the past, the right of sentencing to death, exile, or banishment, of appointing to public offices, of determining peace, war, and alliances. In seeing the extent of their rights and the boundless authority of their tribunes, Polybius was led to say that some day this people, abusing their power, would overthrow the state, and that the Roman Republic would fall into the hands of demagogues.³

The constitution was so little changed in its external forms, a few years before the time of the Gracchi, that in the eyes of the same writer who prophesied its destruction it appeared still the most perfect government the world had known. There existed even, in spite of a good deal of scepticism, an apparent respect for the early religious forms. Prodigies were as numerous and grotesque as ever; that is to say, the people and the soldiers were as ignorant and credulous. The generals vowed temples, but, like Sempronius Gracchus, in order to engrave upon them the story of their exploits or to paint their victories. They sacrificed a great number of victims before the action, but, like Paulus Aemilius, in order to restrain the impatience of the soldiers and to await the favorable

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 17. The payment of a twentieth upon sale or enfranchisement of slaves was still, however, retained, and the *portorium*, or customs tax, was not abolished till the year 62.

² Cic., *pro Cluent.* 43, § 120. The *judicia privata* dealt also with certain crimes: . . . *veluti si quis furtum fecerit, bona rapuerit, damnum dederit, injuriam commiserit.* (Gaius, *Inst.* iii. 182.)

³ Pol., vi. 57, 9.

moment.¹ They gravely watched the sky before the comitia met and during the session; but in order to reserve to themselves the means of dissolving that assembly, *obnuntiatio*, if the votes seemed likely to oppose the Senate's designs. "When Paulus Aemilius," says his biographer, "had obtained the office of augur, he studied the ancient rites thoroughly, and then allowed himself no innovation or omission, however trivial. Even although the divinity might be indulgent, he said, and willing to pardon these negli-

A SACRIFICE.²

gences, yet it would be fatal to the Republic to authorize them." The tribunes even now took auspices, and later Cicero invoked, like Paulus Aemilius, reasons of state for legitimating the augural

¹ At Pydna, the legions having the rising sun in their eyes, Paulus Aemilius made twenty-one sacrifices until the day had turned.

² A sacrifice of two bulls. The ten personages are clothed in Roman style; the *linus*, a sort of shirt worn by the assistants at sacrifices, is bordered with fringe, and the girdle, *licium*, goes many times around the waist; a *camillus* holds the *acerra*, or box of perfumes; the priests wear wreaths on their heads, one carries a torch to light the fire upon the altar. Bas-relief in the Museum of the Louvre, No. 772 bis of the Clarac catalogue.

science, reduced to an instrument in the hands of politicians. This people of formalists remained attached to the outward signs of things rather than to their true meaning; in the time of Caesar a certain Metellus caused an assembly to be broken up by lowering the flag on the Janiculum.

Thus the Republic lasted, and yet liberty was dying. The people were not oppressed, and yet they were in a state of frightful distress; the census indicated a larger population than ever, yet soldiers could not be obtained in sufficient number. The social conditions had changed, while the laws remained the same, and the constitution was but a hollow form whence the life had departed. The Roman people was already, as Catiline said later, a body without a head, a head without a body, — an immense crowd of poor, whom the old law refused to admit into the legions; and far above them, a few nobles, richer and more haughty than kings. A century of wars, of pillage, and of corruption had devoured the class of small proprietors to whom Rome owed her strength and her liberty. This is the great fact of this period and the cause of all the tempests that were to follow; for with this class disappeared patriotism, discipline, and the austere morality of early days; with it perished the equilibrium of the state, which henceforth, given up to the sanguinary vicissitudes of parties, oscillated between the tyranny of the multitude and the tyranny of the great, until the day when all, nobles and proletariat, rich and poor, found rest under a master.

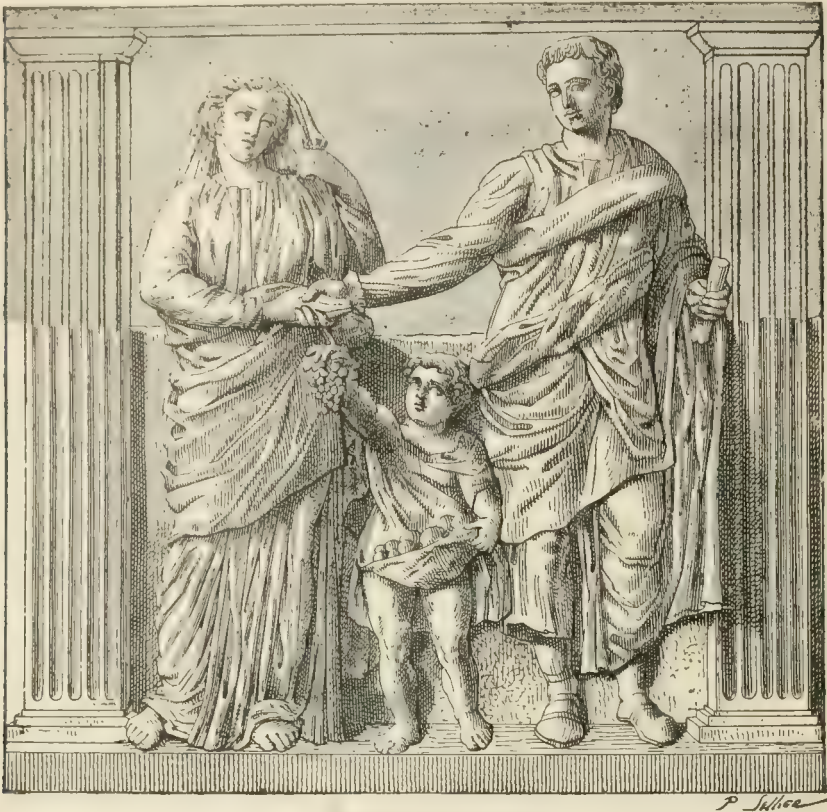
II. NEW SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

MANY facts reveal this disappearance of the middle class. It alone furnished soldiers to the legions; and from the year 188 Livy¹ confesses that there was much difficulty in completing nine legions. In 151, Lucullus, had it not been for the devotion of Scipio Aemilianus, could not have made the levies required for the army in Spain,² and a few years later C. Gracchus was obliged to

¹ xl. 36 : *Is ipse exercitus aegre explebatur* ; cf. *ib.* xli. 21 : *delectus consulibus difficilior*.

² Polybius, xxxv. 4.

forbid the enlistment of soldiers less than seventeen years of age.¹ The census of the year 159 gave 338,314 citizens;² it was not the number of legionaries that had increased, but of *proletarii*, whom

ROMAN MARRIAGE.³

P. Jullien

a well-founded distrust kept out of the army.⁴ The census itself diminished; in 131 it indicated only 317,823 citizens,⁵ and the

¹ Plutarch, in his *Life of Caius Gracchus*.

² Livy, *Epit.* xlvii. The censors prepared lists, first of those who might be called active citizens, that is, who served or could serve in the legions; then of inhabitants not comprised in the tribes, the *orbi, orbae*, and *viduae*, represented by their *tutores*; and lastly, the *aerairi*, citizens *sine suffragio*, which were inscribed upon the *tabulae critumae*.

³ Bas-relief from the Louvre, No. 492 of the Clarac catalogue. The woman is half veiled with her ample *palla*, or mantle. The *laena* that the husband wears over his tunic suggests that he is a *flamen*. (Cic. *Brut.* 14.) The child offering a bunch of grapes is doubtless an emblem of prosperity.

⁴ The *proletarii* were never regularly enrolled till the time of Marius. Before that time they were armed only in exceptional cases. (Orosius, iv. 1; Cass. Hemina, *ap.* Non. s. v. *proletarii*; Aulus Gellius, xvi.; Justus Lipsius, *de Mil. Rom.* i. 2.) In the time of which we are writing those who had less than 400 drachmae served in the fleet. (Polybius, vi. 18.)

⁵ According to Livy, in the year 200 there were but six legions; from 199 to 195, eight;

ensor, Metellus, alarmed, proposed in a singular address to compel all celibates to marry.¹ "Romans," he said, "if it were possible to do without wives, great cares would be spared us; but since nature has so arranged that we cannot live comfortably with a wife nor live without her, we ought to regard the perpetuity of the state more than our own satisfaction." It would seem from the concluding words of his discourse that he regarded this resignation to marriage as a virtue, which the gods did not give, but would recompense;² and he was right in believing it. Later, in consequence of many concessions of the right of citizenship, the census enumerated 540,000. But it was then that Livy makes the sad avowal: "Rome, which levied twenty-three legions for war against Hannibal, could to-day arm only eight."

The class of small proprietors was, then, disappearing; but what were the causes of this revolution, which went on without exciting notice? Since the day when Hannibal crossed the Ebro, war had unremittingly decimated the military population; 40,000 Romans at least were always on military service; that is to say, an eighth of the whole population, and a fourth part, perhaps, of those liable to be enrolled. In recent years, among modern Powers, the proportion has been one soldier to every 100 inhabitants, and he even serves but five or six years. At Rome the proportion was one in eight,³ and, like Ligustinus, the soldier might be twenty-three times enrolled.⁴ So active a service must have been extremely destructive; and the losses falling upon a limited class, this class must of necessity have decreased rapidly. In this way the long wars of Charlemagne contributed to exhaust the class of free men in the empire of the Franks. After his time there remained only feudal lords on the one side and serfs on the other, as at Rome

in 195, ten; in 194, eight; in 192 and 191, twelve; the two years following, fourteen; then thirteen, ten, and eight, until the war with Perseus. Then each legion consisted of *senā millia peditum, trecentos equites*. (Livy, xliv. 21.)

¹ Livy, *Epit.* lix.

² *Immortales virtutem approbare non adhibere debent*. (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* i. 6.)

³ The consuls having the right to choose the legionaries, selected them by preference from the rustic tribes. In estimating at 160,000 or 180,000 men the number of the inhabitants among whom the consuls made their levies, it is believed we are above the truth rather than below it.

⁴ Even more; from the age of seventeen to that of forty-five the Roman could not refuse his name for enrolment. A man could present himself as candidate for an office only after having served in ten campaigns. (Polybius, vi. 18.)

after the conquest of Africa, Greece, and Asia, there were only nobles and proletarii.

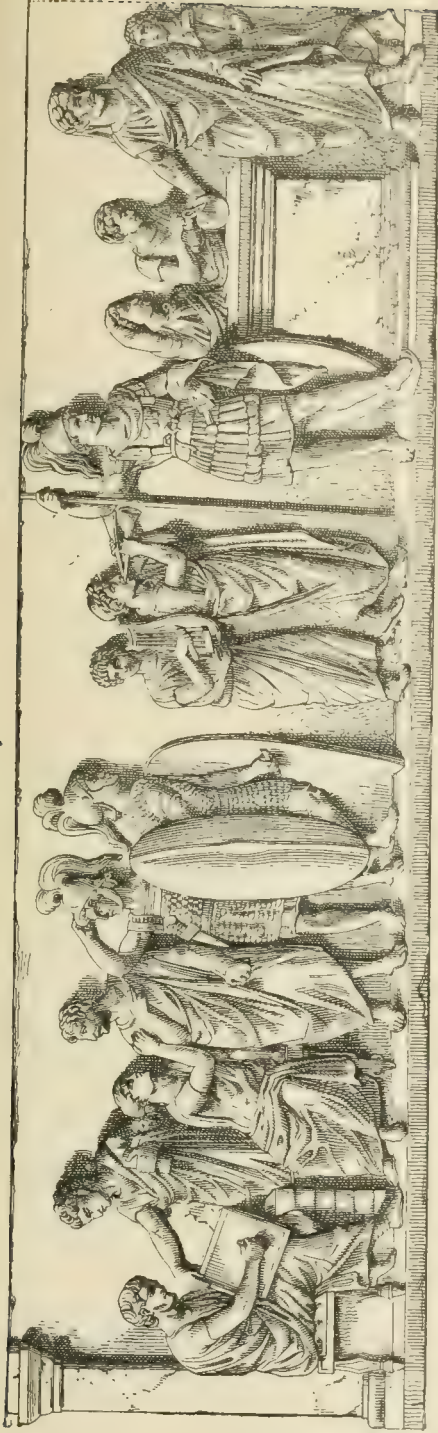
A thing more murderous, however, than battles or forced marches, than privations and abrupt changes of climate, than diseases, even, or the enemy's sword, was the destructive effect of camp life upon the morals of the soldiery. To the eyes of many, military service had become no longer a civic duty, but a lucrative trade. When the expedition promised booty the consuls always found plenty of volunteers.¹ Men who were poor one day became rich and prosperous the next. Naturally they preferred to the rude labors of the peasant and his dull, monotonous life the sudden changes in the terrible game of war; its privations, but also its pleasures, and the excesses following upon victory. The state furnishing them with provisions, clothing,² and food, they substituted a careless prodigality for the prudent and sparing habits of the husbandman. In case of being disbanded and obliged to resume the spade and return to daily labor and a life of sobriety, they were alarmed, and hastened to Rome to join the servile crowd of clients hanging about their former chief. In vain land was offered to them; they would not have it. The Senate sent them out as colonists to Antium, Tarentum, Locri, Sipontum, Buxentum, and many other places; after a few years they had all run away.³ Even the Gracchi found no supporters in this idle crowd, who left them to perish without attempting a rescue. When the enemy was

¹ When it was known that Africanus would accompany his brother into Asia, 5,000 volunteers at once presented themselves. (Livy, xxxvii. 4.) In 171 there was a crowd of them: *quia locupletes videbant qui priore Macedonico bello aut adversus Antiochum in Asia stipendia facerant.* (Ib. xlii. 32.) War was so truly now become a trade, that the plays of Plautus are full of the military braggarts, — certainly not altogether borrowed from Greece. Not a soldier does he bring upon the stage who is not of this species. “If I were not overbearing,” says Simmia in *Pseudolus*, v. 908, “would they take me to be a soldier (*stratoticus homo*)?”

² This was regularly established for the first time by Caius Gracchus.

³ A consul found Sipontum and Buxentum completely deserted. (Livy, xxxix. 23.)

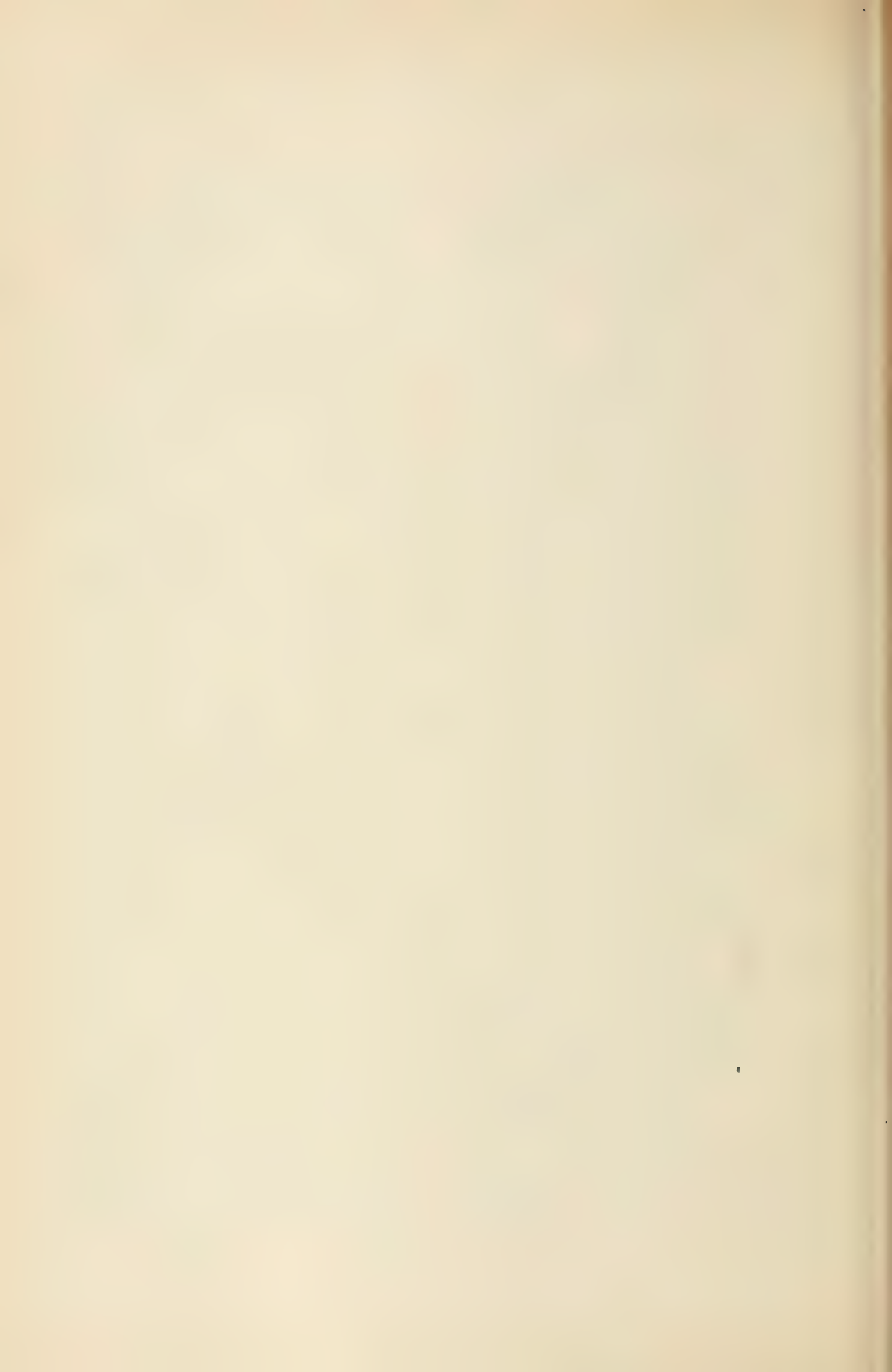
NOTE. — This great composition (see full-page cut), from the Louvre, No. 751, Clarac catalogue, contains twenty-one personages and three animals; it shows the details of the ceremonies accompanying the census. The *suovetaurilia* are about to be performed; the assistants lead and restrain the bull, the ram, and the boar. The *censor*, seated in a curule chair, receives the declarations which a scribe writes down; the citizen, who is in the act of being registered, holds in his hand the tablet on which is the statement of his property, determining the class to which he belongs. Farther on are two soldiers and a warrior, who by his rich armor and his ample *paludamentum* may be regarded as a military chief. Near the altar are musicians, always present at ceremonies of this kind, a young girl who covers her head with a veil, and a young man who pours lustral water into the *patera* which the priest holds out to him.



THE CENSUS (REGISTERING).



THE CENSUS (SACRIFICES).



near Rome campaigns were short, and the soldier, becoming quickly a citizen again, after a few days of absence returned to his wife and children and to his work. Now the legionaries, who a little later will resent being called citizens, *Quirites*, pass from fifteen to twenty years in camps or far-off garrisons; they have no families, they live unmarried; and if their general does not bring them



HERO, CALLED THE FIGHTING GLADIATOR. FOUND AT ANTIUM.¹

with him on his return to Rome, they remain in the province, soon losing whatever of Roman virtues they may yet possess.² What a number of these did Mithridates find in Asia!

In the case of those whom the service restored to Italy, other causes were efficient in driving them from their fields into the city. The progress of luxury and the abundance of the precious

¹ Louvre, 262, Clarac catalogue.

² All the army of Gabinius remained in Egypt. (Caes., *de Bello civ.* iii. 110.) See further Caesar's war in Africa, and in Livy (xliii. 3) the enlistment of 4,000 men established in Carteia.

metals having suddenly raised the prices of things,¹ the same amount of money which once gave a respectable competence now was not enough to save from poverty. When Cnaeus Scipio, at the beginning of the Second Punic War, desired to be recalled from Spain for the purpose of giving his daughter in marriage, the Senate assumed the responsibility of providing a suitable husband for her, and gave her a dowry of 11,000 ases.² A few years after the battle of Zama twenty-five talents had come to be regarded as a very small dowry, even in a family of the old school, because many no longer took account of the virtues of the bride.³

Thus every day wants increased, and every day also — at least for the poor, who had the perils, but not the durable profits of conquest — the means of satisfying these wants diminished. Whatever [Polybius and] Tacitus may have said⁴ upon this subject, Italy was not, except in certain districts, remarkably fertile; or rather it was exhausted by long cultivation and lack of manuring: at all events, in the period with which we are concerned, if exception is made of certain favored districts in Etruria, Magna Graecia, and the Plain of the Po, the harvest produced not more than four or fivefold. Moreover, a bad system in respect to fallow ground; expenses of culture that were enormous, on account of the imperfect methods

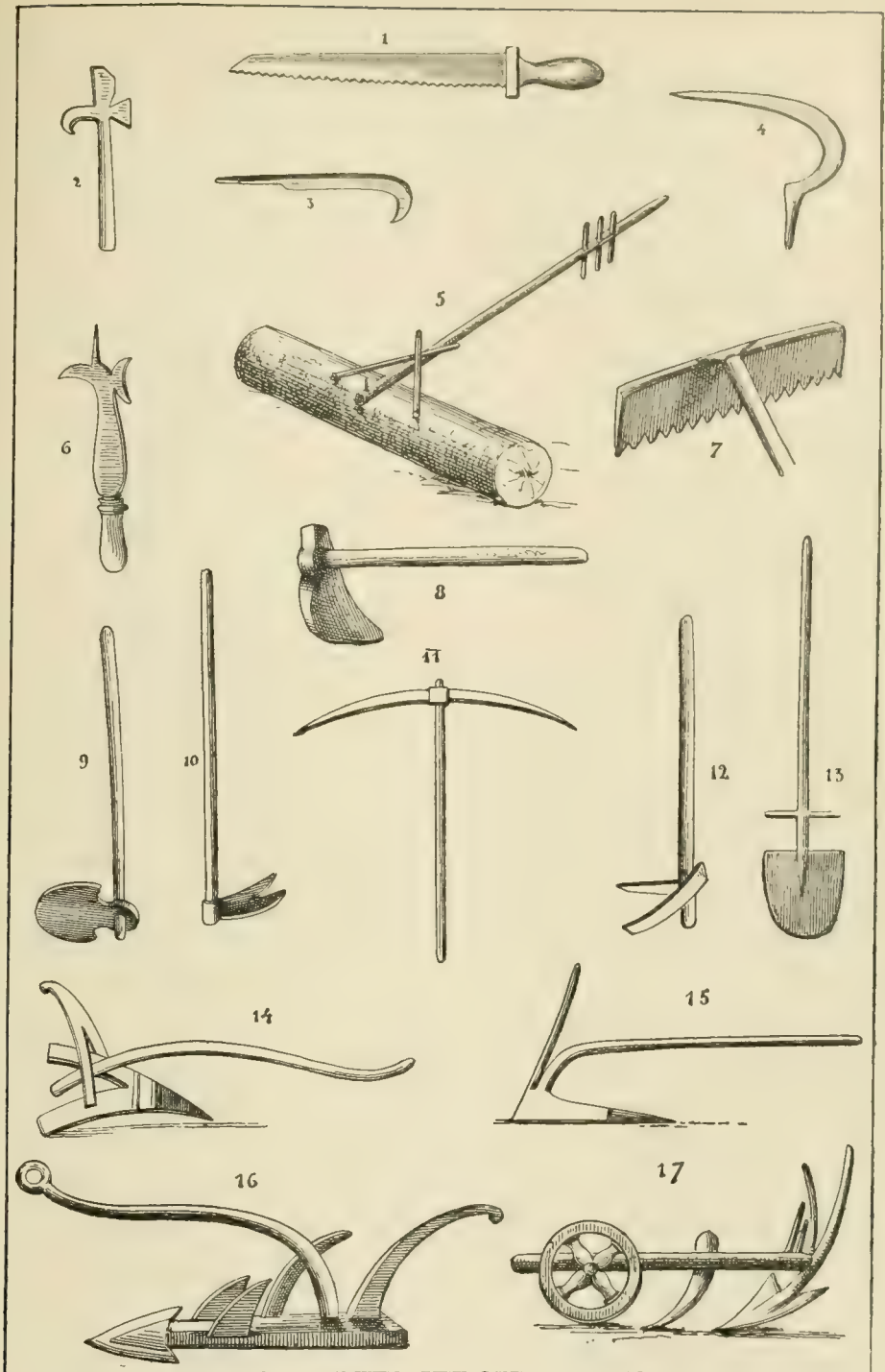
¹ Ταχὺ τὰς τούτων τιμὰς εἰς ἄπιστον ὑπερβολὴν ἤγαγεν. Τοῦ μὲν γὰρ οἶνον τὸ κεράμιον ἐπωλείτο δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν, τῶν δὲ Ποιτικῶν ταρίχων τὸ κεράμιον δραχμῶν τετρακοσίων. (Diod., xxxvii. 3.)

² Seneca says that in his time this sum would not have sufficed the daughter of a freedman to buy herself a mirror.

³ *Dum dos sit, nullum vitium vitio vortitur.* (Plautus, *Persa*, v. 387.)

⁴ *Ann.* xii. 43.

NOTE (see full-page cut, p. 351, "Agricultural Implements"). — 1. Handsaw, from a bas-relief (*Serrula manubriata*). 2. *Dolabella*, a kind of axe, from a funereal marble. (Mazocchi, *de Ascia*, p. 179.) 3. *Falc arboraria sylvatica*, a common bill-hook, from a model found at Pompeii. 4. *Falc stramentaria et messoria*, sickle, from a model found at Pompeii. 5. Roller to level the ground. (Fellows, *Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 70.) 6. Pruning-knife (*falc vinitoria*), from an old manuscript of Columella. 7. Rake, from a model found in the catacombs of Rome. 8. *Ascia*, a short-handled hoe, from the Column of Trajan (the *zappa* of the Italian peasants). 9. *Sarculum*, a lighter and smaller hoe than the *ligo*, from a Roman bas-relief. 10. *Bidens*, or two-toothed *ligo*, a heavy hoe, from an engraved stone. 11. *Securis*, a pickaxe resembling our own, from a funereal bas-relief. (Stat. *Syl.* ii. 2, 87.) 12. *Capreolus*, an implement to stir and break up the soil (Columella, xi. 3, 46), from an old Florentine carving. 13. *Bipalium*, a spade with cross-bar (Cato, *de Re rust.* 45, 2; Varro, *de Re rust.* i. 37, 5; Columella, xi. 3, 11), from a bas-relief. 14. Ploughshare, with forked back (*dentale duplici dorso*), from a model still in use in Italy. 15. Simple wooden ploughshare, from an engraved stone. 16. Improved plough (*aratrum*), from a bas-relief discovered in the peninsula of Magnesia. 17. Wheeled plough (*currus*), from an engraved stone. (Fig. 438, of Saglio's *Dict. des Antiq. grecq. et rom.*; Caylus, *Rec. d'Antiq.* vol. v. pl. lxxxiii. 6; cf. Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiq.*, *passim*.)



AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS. (SEE P. 350, NOTE).



employed; the use of tools requiring four times the number of laborers we employ; the miserable condition of the country roads, which were nothing more than bridle-paths, impassable for wheeled vehicles, reducing the transportation to such loads as could be carried on the back of a horse or ass to the city or the sea; and finally, the prohibition of the export of corn out of Italy, — rendered

GOATHERD.¹

this form of agriculture unprofitable, and led those who had grain-lands to regard themselves as unfortunate.

Cato places this kind of property in the sixth rank, and classes above it vineyards, olive-trees, and grass-lands. These latter became more extensive every year, for the reason that the holders of public lands having no real ownership, were not willing to build or plant, and because, moreover, the return was very considerable. The pastures supported a great number of sheep, furnishing wool of which all garments were made, milk, cheese, and lambs, which, with pork, made then, as now, the staple of the Italian cuisine for *fête*-days.

¹ Miniature in the MS. *Vergil of the Vatican*.

The habitual diet was vegetable, — corn, barley, and millet, with the addition of figs, grapes, olives, radishes, and garlic; upon the coast, shellfish; in the interior, salt-fish; upon rich farms, goats, chickens, pigeons, and hares. Everywhere they consumed much wine and oil, so that we may say that these two staples, with wool, were the chief products of Italian industry; and as such they were long protected by a law forbidding the Transalpine nations to

plant vines or olive-trees.¹ But the manufacture of wine and oil are agricultural industries which require capital and labor in order to be productive. The rich alone possessed these; and the petty farmer, who once fed the city of Rome, had no longer anything to bring to that vast market, whence his corn was driven out by the African, Sicilian, and Sardinian harvests, cultivated to better advantage by the help of droves of



▲ SHEPHERDESS AND HER FLOCK.²

slaves and in more fertile soil, — and where his other produce was undersold by that of the great land-owners.

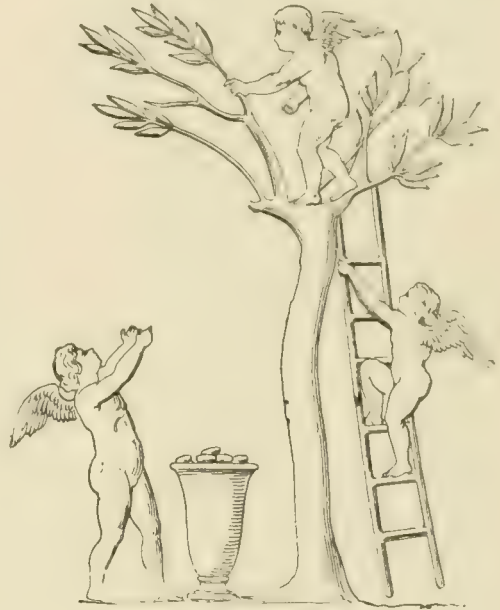
In modern times the equilibrium is preserved by diversity in the sources of fortune, no single class having a monopoly of them. Farmers, manufacturers, merchants, constantly replenish that middle class which is the surest guardian of liberty. At Rome, where mercantile affairs were in the hands of great companies served by armies of slaves, and manufactures were carried on by a multitude

¹ *Transalpinas gentes oleam et vitum screre non sinimus, quo pluris sint nostra oliveta nostraeque vineae.* (Cic., *de Rep.* iii. 9.)

² From a Pompeian painting. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iii. pl. 5, 5th series.)

of foreigners and freedmen, there was for the individual only one path open,—the ownership of land and the pursuit of agriculture; but the land was diminishing in value every day, and the farmers' industry becoming less; and hence the comfort of the people diminished also. From narrow circumstances to actual want the step is but short. If a man would have recourse to borrowing money the rate charged was enormous,¹ in spite of the surveillance of the aediles; we shall see that Brutus lent money at 48 per cent. Since the year 169 citizens had been, it is true, relieved from the land-tax; but this tax falling chiefly upon the rich, it was they who chiefly profited by its suppression.

Moreover, these rich did not always respect the possessions of the poor. After having, as praetors or consuls, pillaged the world in time of war, the nobles in time of peace as governors pillaged their subjects, and returning to Rome with vast wealth,³ employed it in changing the modest heritage of their fathers into domains vast as provinces. The *lex Claudia* forbidding mercantile pursuits to senatorial families, a great amount of capital was thrown

OLIVE-GATHERING.²

¹ Cicero says that in his time the interest demanded at Rome was as high as 34 per cent., and in the country 48; in his *Ep. ad Fam.* v. 6: "There is a fortune to be made only by those who lend at 50 per cent." (Cf. Plautus, *Curcul.* v. 516; *Epidicus*, v. 52: *In dies minasque argenti singulas numis.* Cf. also Cic., *ad Brut.* 31.)

² From a gem. The vintage is similarly represented in a bas-relief of the Ince-Blundell Collection and in a Roman mosaic. (*Pict. cript.*, tav. 24, published by Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities.*)

³ Cicero himself, who was by no means one of the richest men in Rome, purchased a house for 3,500,000 *sestercs*. (*Ad Fam.* v. 6.) P. Crassus possessed \$20,000,000. (Corn. Nep., *Att.* 5.) Sallust (*Cat.* 12-13): *Domos atque villas in urbium modum exedificatas . . . a privatis compluribus subversos montes, maria constrata.* Cornelia's house at Misenum had cost her 75,000 drachmae; the price of country-houses went up so rapidly that Lucullus paid for the same 500,000. (Plut., *Mar.* 35.)

into landed property, and the formation of the *latifundia* was stimulated. These "landlords" were eager to enclose within their grounds lakes, forests, and mountains. Where a hundred families had once lived in comfort, one now found itself cramped. To add to his park, the ex-consul bought the old soldier's field or the lands of the impoverished peasant, and soldier and peasant alike hastened to squander in the taverns of Rome the trifling sum received for the sale. Not infrequently the great man took, and paid nothing.¹ An old writer represents an unfortunate man at law with a rich neighbor because the latter, annoyed by the bees of the poor man, had destroyed them. The poor man protested that he had been willing to change his place of abode and establish his hives elsewhere, but that nowhere could he find a small piece of land without having some rich man for a neighbor. "The powerful men of our time," says Columella, "have estates so large that they cannot make the circuit of them in a day on horseback;" and an old Italian inscription shows that an aqueduct nine miles in length traversed the domains of only six proprietors.² In the whole territory of Leontini, in Sicily, there were only eighty-three proprietors; in that of Herbita, 257; of Agyrium, 250; of Motye, 188.³ Rabirius found no difficulty in lending on a sudden to a fugitive prince 100,000,000 sesterces; and another publican said, "I have more gold than three kings."⁴ It was with private fortunes as with states, a vigorous centralization brought all the land into the possession of a few powerful men.⁵

¹ *Parentes aut parvi liberi militum ut quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur.* (Sall., *Jug.* 41.) Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 90; the spurious Quintilian, *Decl.* 13; and Horace, *Carm.* II. xviii. 26: *Pellitur paternos in sinu ferens deos.* See remarks, Vol. I. p. 487, on the effects of the withdrawal of the *jus commercii* from the Italians.

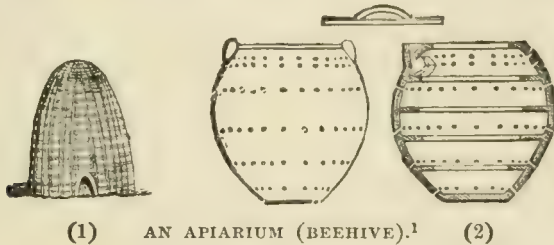
² Dureau de la Malle, ii. 221.

³ Cic., in *Verr.* II. iii. 51. Caesar relates (*de Bello civ.* i. 16) that Domitius, who had thirty-three cohorts, *militibus pollicetur ex suis possessionibus quaterna in singulos jugera.*

⁴ Cic., *pro Rabir.*, and Hor., *Sat.* II. i. 6.

⁵ The same is to-day the evil of Rome. Prince Borghese possesses 55,000 acres in the Roman country, the Duke Sforza Cesarini 28,000, the princes Pamphili and Chigi 15,000, the Chapter of St. Peter's and the hospital Spirito Santo still more. A hundred and thirteen Roman families hold 315,000 acres, and sixty-four corporations divide amongst them 180,000. (Fulchiron, *Voyage dans l'Italie méridionale.*) [It is very much worse in Calabria, where absentee nobles own whole tracts of country. In fact nowhere in Europe are the evils of the *latifundia* more patent, leading to the misery of the lower classes, and consequently to such crimes as brigandage, and to wholesale emigration. Cf. on this the instructive recent travels of M. F. Lenormant, *L'Apulie et la Lucanie*, ii. 58.—Ed.]

This extended ownership, having its origin in the pillage of the world, would never have attained its ultimately dangerous development, had it not been for an article in the treaties which the murderous skill of the Senate imposed upon the vanquished; namely, the depriving the latter of the *jus commercii* outside their own territory,—a measure apparently inoffensive [?], but in reality one which was to bring about an economic revolution, of which the consequences were felt for ages. When the Senate forbade the allies and the subjugated nations to carry on commerce among their neighbors, it was simply as a matter of political expediency, to divide their interests for the sake of preventing coalitions. But at the same time the Senate depreciated



the value of land among all these nations, and facilitated to Roman citizens the acquisition of vast domains, since they alone could buy everywhere, and almost without competition. *Latifundia perdidere Italianam*, cries Pliny, and not without reason: “the great estates have ruined Italy.” First, they destroyed Italian agriculture; for mountainous countries like the Apennine peninsula can prosper only by individual labor, which, varying its methods according to the different soils, makes the smallest patch of ground available; and in the second place they changed the manners and institutions of the early Roman Republic.

The small landowners vanished,—a sturdy, laborious population, devoted to their country, to liberty, and to the gods. Livy quotes with approval the speech of Ligustinus; but this centurion, past fifty years of age, and having made twenty-two campaigns, had

¹ The braided hive is copied from a Roman bas-relief, and is like our own. Under the Empire, hives were made of mica (Plin., *Hist. Nat.* xxi. 47), giving a view of the interior, like our glass hives; and at Pompeii has been discovered (Donaldson, *Pompeii*, 2d part) an artificial hive (fig. 2) divided into stages (*fiori*), to which a great number of little apertures give access. A slave (*apiarius*) in rich families had charge of the hive (*apiarium*). (Cf. Saglio's *Dict. des Antiq. grecq. et rom.* pp. 304-305.)

nothing for himself, his wife, and his eight children, but an acre of land and a hovel.¹ What will become of his sons after the sharing of this paltry heritage? They will seek employment from rich proprietors. But the latter, like Cato, will only care to have pasture-lands, feeding numerous flocks without expense and without labor.² A few slaves will be quite enough to keep these flocks and there are so many men to be sold, that with 500 drachmae³ you may obtain that human machine which Varro classes with ploughs and oxen, — *instrumentum vocale*, “the talking kind of agricultural implement.” It works badly, and is idle; but it costs so little to keep or to replace, that they use it unsparingly. With all his faults, the slave is preferred to the free workman, more expensive, less docile, and not to be treated with the same contempt. When Paulus Aemilius had sold 150,000 Epirotes, Scipio Aemilianus 55,000 Carthaginians, Gracchus so many Sardinians that it became a phrase for any low-priced commodity, “a Sardinian,” all the cities were full of slaves, and the free laborer could find employ nowhere except upon the estates of the rich.⁴ It is a law of history that there can be no middle class in those states where slavery has been widely established.

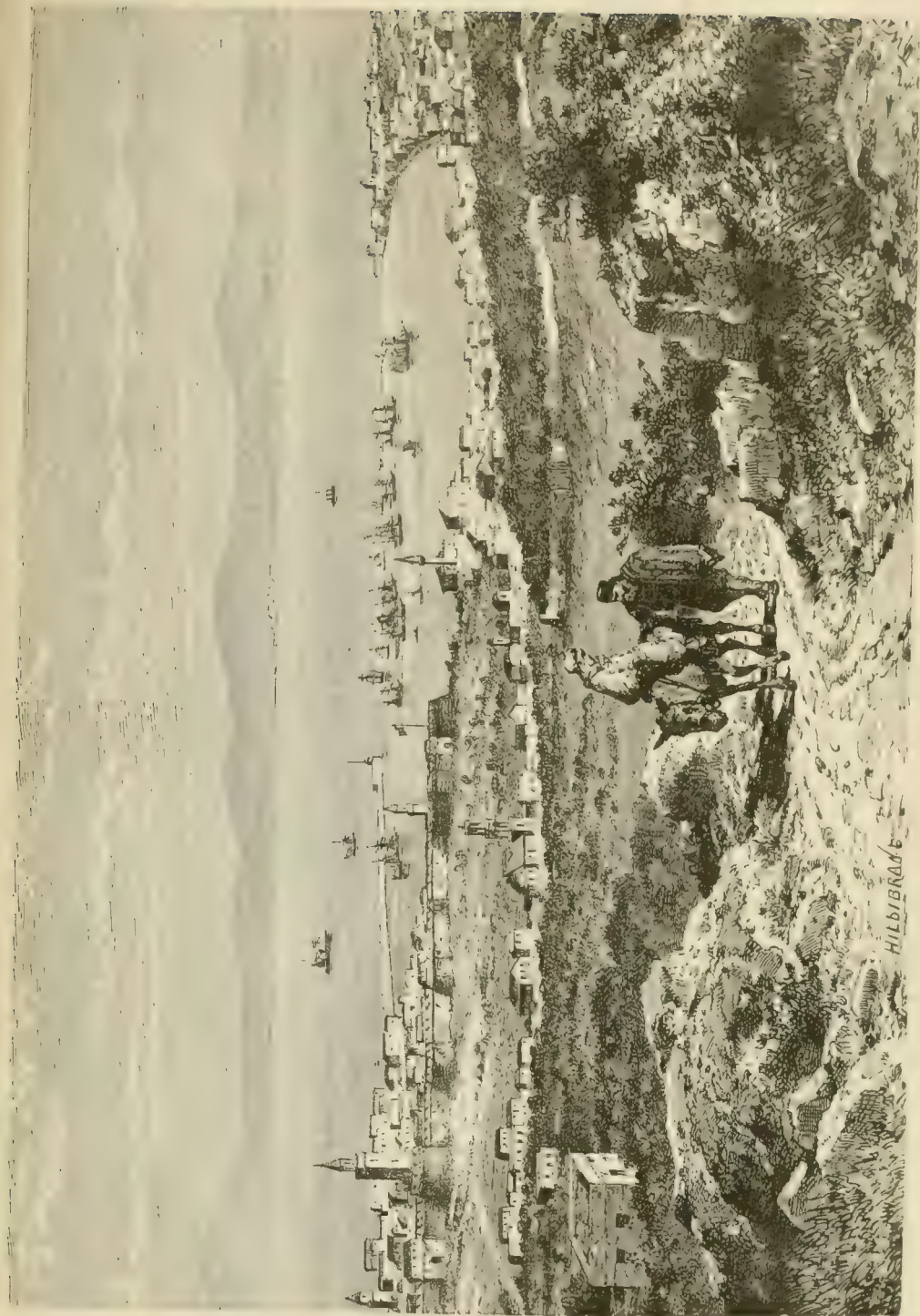
Driven away from their inheritance by usury or by the avidity of their rich neighbors, thrown out of work by the competition of slaves, or else discontented with the frugal life of their fathers by reason of the habits of idleness and debauchery contracted in camps, the poor turned their steps towards Rome. They were attracted thither by the cheapness of the salt derived from the salt-works at Ostia, of the corn from the fields of Sicily,

¹ Livy, xlii. 32.

² *A Catone quum quaereretur quid maxime in re familiari expediret respondit, bene pascere.* (Colum., *Praef.* 6.)

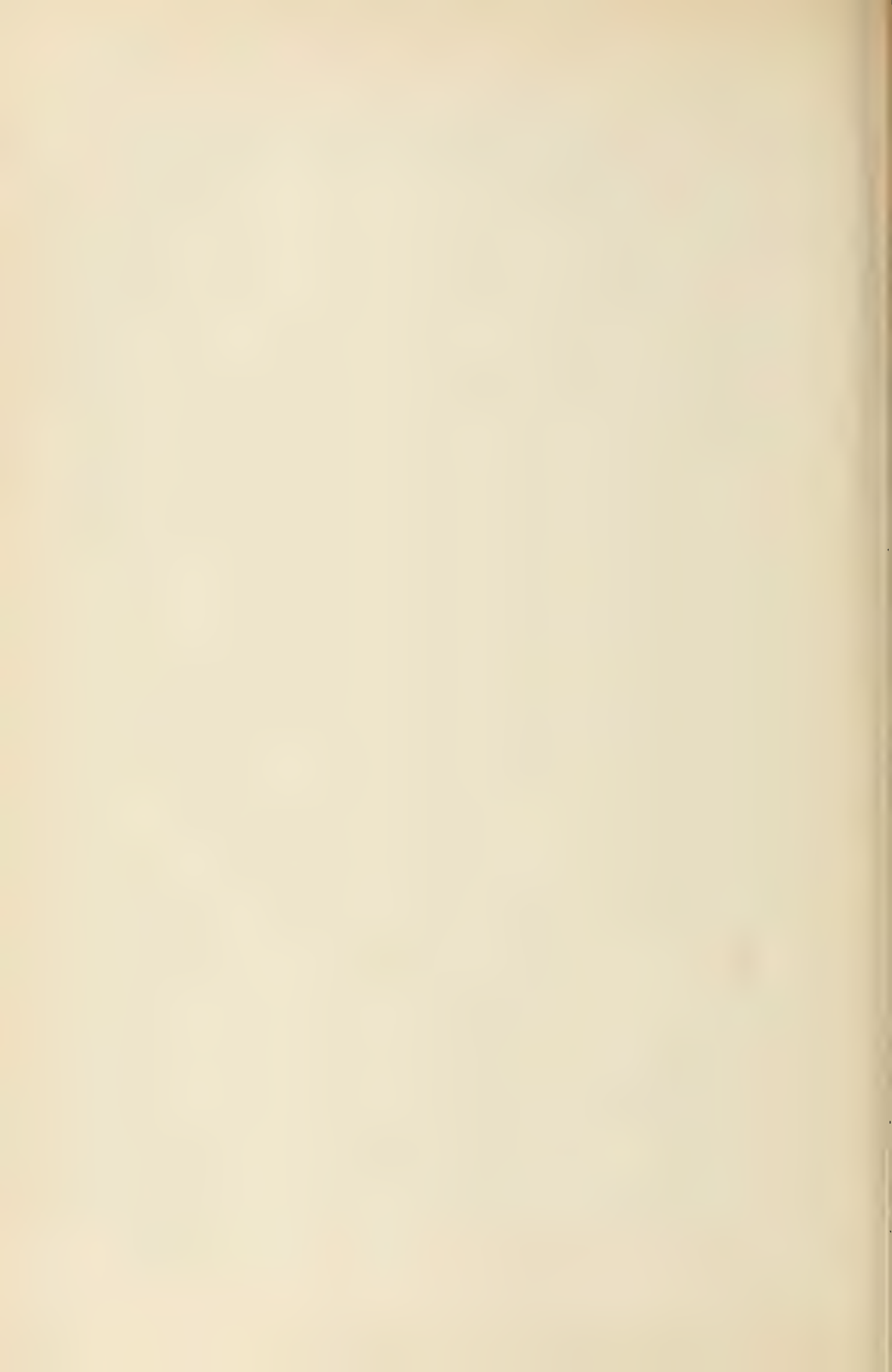
³ Twelve hundred Roman prisoners sold by Hannibal in Achaea were, according to Polybius, redeemed for a hundred talents (about \$100,000). According to Boeckh, the price of slaves employed in the mines of Attica was only from 125 to 150 drachmae: according to Plutarch, for a capable slave the price might run as high as \$250. (*Cat. maj.* 6.) Horace, at a period when prices were higher, had paid for one but 500 drachmae. (*Sat.* ii. 7.) A proof of their paltry value is, that M. Scaurus, worth only 25,000 *nummus* (\$250), had six slaves. (Meursius, *de Luxu Rom.*) After a victory, they were sold for four drachmae apiece [a drachma may be reckoned at about eighteen cents].

⁴ *Ὡς ταχὺ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἅπασαν ἀλιγανδρίας ἐλευθέρων αἰσθῆσθαι, δεσποτηρίων δὲ βαρβαρικῶν ἐμπεπλῆσθαι δι' ὧν ἐγεώργουν οἱ πλούσιοι τὰ χωρία τοὺς πολίτας ἐξελάσαντες.* (Plut., *Tib. Gracch.* 8.)



VIEW OF THE ISLAND AND HARBOR OF CHIOS.

HILDBRAND



Sardinia, and Spain, and by the meagre profits of the more or less honest industries which grow up under the stimulus of city life; lastly by a new sort of clientage, — mendicancy at the doors of the great. "Now," says Varro, "that fathers of families, abandoning the sickle and the plough, have nearly all crept into Rome, and had rather use their hands in the circus or the theatre than in the fields and vineyards, we are compelled, that we may not die of hunger, to buy our corn of the Africans and the Sardinians, and gather the vintage in ships from the islands of Cos and Chios."

Thus the famished crowd grew who called themselves the Roman people, and were ready to be bought by the highest bidder. Caesar ascertained that out of 450,000 citizens, 320,000 were living at the public expense; that is to say, three fourths of the Roman people



COIN OF THE ISLAND OF CHIOS.¹

were paupers! Even more formidable is the saying of the tribune Philippus: "There are but 2,000 individuals in Rome who own anything."² This social fact explains another upon which we cannot too strongly insist, — the population of Rome goes on increasing, and at the same time the recruiting for the legions becomes more difficult, because the number of citizens having the required property qualification for military service diminishes every day. And yet Marius is reproached with having admitted Italians and the proletarii to the legions! But this proletariat produced soldiers attached to a man, — to Marius or Sylla, to Pompeius or Caesar, to Octavius or Antony, and no longer soldiers of the Republic. The connection of cause and effect is clear in all this history; equally clear is it that man is often the unconscious cause of the revolutions which his ideas, his passions, and his acts prepare.

Driven from the fields, the freemen found but slender profit in the city as artisans, for the rich had reserved to themselves all

¹ ΧΙΩΝ. Bacchus and Apollo standing; between them an altar. On the reverse, ΑΣΣΑΡΙΑ ΤΡΙΑ (of the value of three assaria). Sphinx, the forefoot on a ship's prow. Bronze coin of the Island of Chios.

² *Non esse in civitate duo millia hominum qui rem haberent.* (Cic., *de Off.* ii. 21.)



BLACKSMITH.¹

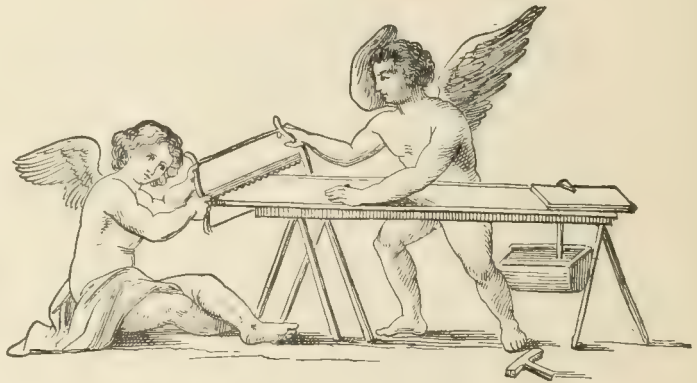


STONE-CUTTERS.²

the profits of the more important industries, and frequently even those of the more humble.³ They had established workshops for



WOMAN WEIGHING OUT WOOL.⁴



CARPENTERS.⁵

the employment of slaves, and had caused them to be taught all kinds of trades. Crassus employed them as cooks, masons, and

¹ Blacksmith using the sledge-hammer; from the Vergil of the Vatican.

² Stone-cutters (*lapidarius*); from the Vergil of the Vatican.

³ Plut., *Crass.*; Cic., *pro Caecina*, 20; Remnius Palaemon, the celebrated grammarian, had been a slave; on obtaining his freedom, he established a workroom of slave tailors (Suet., *de Ill. gr.* 23); Atticus employed copyists (Corn. Nep., *Att.* 13), Malleolus, workpeople of all sorts (Cic., *in Verr.*). Appius, Cicero, and a thousand others had *praefecti fabrum*; the consul Balbus held this office in the household of Caesar.

⁴ *Lanifendia*, woman weighing wool to give the slaves the quantity used for their daily task; from a bas-relief of the Forum of Nerva.

⁵ From a painting in Herculaneum.

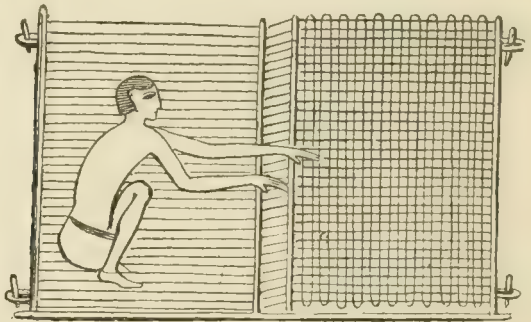
scribes. Every rich family had among their slaves, weavers, carvers, embroiderers, painters, gilders, and even architects, phy-



SHOEMAKERS (POMPEIAN PAINTING.)



CALCULATOR.²



WEAVER.³

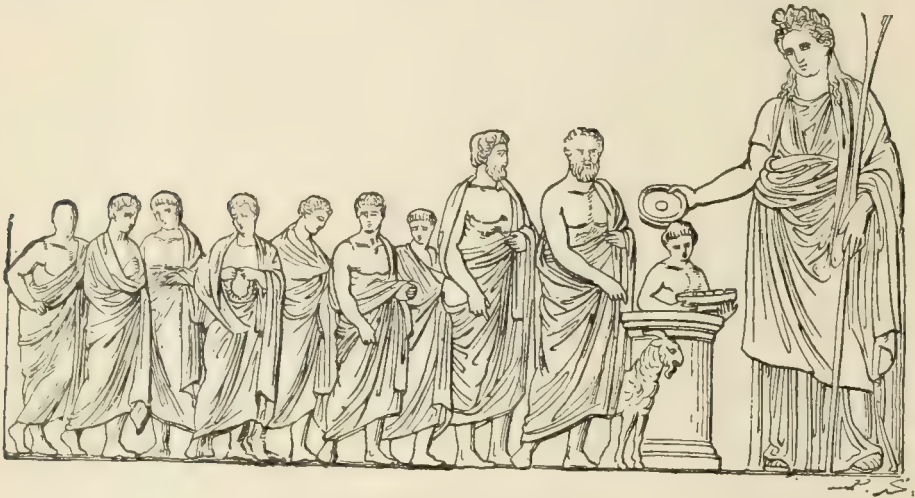
sicians, and tutors for their sons.¹ Augustus never wore any other stuffs than those woven in his house. Every temple, every corporation, held slaves. The Government had swarms of them for

¹ Varr., *de Re rust.* i. 2 and 6; Suet., *Oct.* 73. There were even *servi fanatici*. (Grut., 312, 7.)

² *Calculator*. The ancients counted by means of small stones (*calculi*). The mathematician represented here, from a gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,858 of the Chabouillet Catalogue, arranged the *calculi*, while the reckoning tablet, covered with Etruscan characters, is in his left hand. Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. grecq. et rom.*, under the word *Abacus*.

³ Egyptian weaver carrying the threads of the woof through the warp stretched in a frame fixed to the ground. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 610, under the word *Sublemen* or *Sublignen*.)

the lower offices of administration and the police, for the guardianship of the aqueducts and public buildings, for public works, in the arsenals, in the harbors, and as rowers on board ship. At one time Scipio sent to Rome 2,000 of them as armorers. The roughest work, as well as the most delicate, being intrusted to them, there remained but very few ways for the poor of free condition to earn their bread. Moreover, the incessant holidays, the triumphs, the days of supplication for victories, the frequent distributions made by the aediles, by patrons, by candidates, and the prejudice which branded the small trader with infamy, all tended

PROCESSION OF SUPPLIANTS.¹

to idleness. To listen to the orations in the Forum, to frequent games which lasted sometimes for a week at a time, to hang about some great man's door, and accompany him when he went out; also to sell one's vote, one's testimony,² in case of need, one's strength, — these were the day's employments. It was said to them, and they reiterated it loudly: "The people-king has a right to

¹ Bas-relief from the Louvre, No. 261 of the Clarac catalogue. Preceded by magistrates, the suppliants advance towards a goddess, who is perhaps Juno Acraea, to whom goats are sacrificed. All these persons are clad in the pallium; the goddess, the magistrates, and the people being represented of different heights, in accordance with the dignity of each. This usage was frequent with the Greek sculptors.

² The legal methods of the time in respect to the employment of witnesses had created a new trade, — the sale of false oaths and false testimony. Cf. Plautus, *Poenul.* 581; *Curculio*, 478.

live at the expense of a conquered world." But was this populace, indeed, in any sense the Roman people?

Formerly, to fill the gaps made by war in the ranks of those plebeians whom the nobles had learned, to their cost, to respect, the Senate had been accustomed to bestow citizenship upon the bravest of the Italian peoples; but since the close of the First Punic War, not one new tribe had been formed. Who then filled the places of those taken prisoners in the Second Punic War,¹ of those left upon the battle-fields of Cannae, Thrasimene, and Zama,

CLIENT.²CLIENT.³

in Spanish mountain-gorges, in the marshes of Cisalpine Gaul, in Greece, in Asia, and to the very foot of Mount Atlas? Freedmen, — Sicilians, Greeks, and Africans, — who brought to Rome their corrupt habits and all the vices of slaves.

Between the years 241 and 210 B. C., an immense number of freedmen made their way into the Roman world. When, in the midst of the war against Hannibal, the Senate emptied the *sanctius aerarium*, in which was contained that *aurum vicesimarium*, produced by levying a tax of a twentieth upon the value of every enfranchised slave, it was found to be 4,000 pounds weight of gold.

¹ The Romans lost 20,000 prisoners at Drepanum alone, 6,000 at Thrasimene, 8,000 at Cannae, etc.; and if they set free 20,000 in Africa, 4,000 in Crete, 1,200 in Achaëa, etc., how many must we suppose had perished before deliverance came?

² Bronze statuette from the Museum of Naples.

³ From the Vergil of the Vatican.

During the First Punic War it had been found necessary to resort to this expedient, the necessity of the case being no less urgent; the treasury at that time contained only the income of thirty or forty years, which amounted, however, to \$864,000. Now Cato paid for a healthy slave about \$250 and the Achæans redeemed the legionaries sold by Hannibal at a price of about \$88; taking the mean, we should have about 3,000 enfranchisements yearly. These figures are uncertain; not so the fact that every successful war brought in great numbers of slaves, many of whom quickly passed into the condition of freedmen, for it was an advantage to have people of this kind. In return for his liberty, the freedman pledged himself to his former owner, whose client he now became, to pay



CONGIARIUM.¹

annually a certain sum, to give his master a portion of what he received in the *congiaria*,² and finally to leave to him his property; for the master often required of the slave whom he liberated an oath not to marry, that the property might legally fall to him,—an oath which was not prohibited until the time of Augustus.³

In conclusion, as the *manumissio* made the *libertus* a citizen, to have many *liberti* was to possess means of action in the comitia, and a guard in case of popular tumults. In Cicero's time it was customary to enfranchise the honest and industrious captive after six years of servitude. Rome thus had so many freedmen, that Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the Gracchi, made an attempt during his censorship to expel from the tribes the *libertini* whom his predecessor had enrolled in them. Upon meeting with opposition from Appius Claudius, his colleague, he consented to leave those who had a child over five years of age, or who possessed property of 30,000 sesterces in value; the others were incorporated in one of the four urban tribes. This measure was not long enforced, for Scipio Aemilianus regarded the Roman people as only

¹ Reverse of a large bronze of Trajan. COS V. (consul for the fifth time) CONGIAR SECND (second *congiarium*, or public distribution of money or food). The *congius*, a measure of liquids, was an eighth of the amphora, that is, not quite six pints.

² Dion., xxxix. 24. On the question of slavery, the standard work is that of M. Wallon.

³ Dion., xliii. 14; cf. Giraud, *Acad. des sc. mor.*, 1879, p. 320.

a crowd of former captives; and the method most useful to demagogues to render themselves masters in the comitia was to scatter the freedmen through all the tribes, where, according to Cicero, they formed the majority in his time, even in the rural tribes.¹

Thus Rome, sending her own citizens into the provinces as soldiers, publicans, agents for the governors, stewards for the rich, or adventurers seeking fortune, received in return slaves,² whom she soon converted into freedmen; the Greek slave bringing to her the vices of an effete society, and the Spanish, Thracian, or Gallic slave, those of a barbarous community. There existed between the capital and the provinces an uninterrupted circulation, so to speak. The blood flowed from the heart into the extremities, and returned vitiated and corrupted.³ Sallust says, with his habitual energy: "All was lost when there arose a generation of men who neither had patriotism themselves, nor could suffer others to have it."

From the political point of view these results were menacing; from the economic they were disastrous. The concentration of landed property and capital in the hands of a small oligarchy, the system of pasture-lands instead of grain-lands, and all farming left in the hands of ignorant slaves upon whom the eye of the master no longer kept watch, were so many causes of ruin for agriculture.⁴ As early as the time of Cato it had begun to decline, and soon became so unproductive, that being unable to supply their own food, "the life of the Roman people was at the mercy of winds and waves." Nor are these the sole dangers; the fields, deserted by free laborers, become depopulated, and at a thousand points the malaria seizes upon them, drives away the last lingerers, or extends its murderous sway over them. Before the close

¹ *De Orat.* i. 9.

² During the First Punic War, Duillius made 8,000 prisoners; Manlius and Regulus, 40,000; Lutatius, 36,000. We may therefore reckon the number of African slaves brought into Italy at this time as a fifth of the whole population of Rome. African names, such as Afer, Poenus, and Numida, occur rarely, it is true, in the comic poets; but it is for the reason that the latter copied chiefly from the Greek, and spoke only of domestic servants, while the Africans, using an unknown language, were probably despatched into the fields.

³ *Romam . . . mundi fœce repletam.* (Lucan., vii. 401.)

⁴ Pliny says: *Coli rura at eragastulis pessimum est, et quicquid agitur a desperantibus*; and Columella, in his preface: *Nostro accidere vitio qui rem rusticam pessimo cuique servorum, velut carnifici, noxæ dedimus, quam majorum nostrorum optimis quisque optime tractaverit.* Upon the rapid progress of malaria, see Vol. I. pp. 32, seq.

of a century, a part of the Latin plain had become uninhabitable.¹

We have seen the disastrous effects on the old Roman people of the sudden increase of wealth, and the introduction of countless myriads of slaves. It should be said in advance that much of this wealth will soon be dispersed; that internal order will bring to an end one of the most prolific causes of slavery; that to respond to the needs of a higher civilization, industry and commerce will make prodigious strides, by which the free artisan will profit; finally, that in the shelter of a peace of two centuries, one hundred millions of men will enjoy a prosperity which had never hitherto been known. We have been examining that work of destruction which will continue till Republican Rome has perished; in the history of the Empire we shall see the work of reconstruction going forward, notwithstanding the bloody tragedies of senate-house and palace.

III. POLITICAL CHANGES.

By the disappearance of the class of small farmers, Roman society lost a conservative force which would have retarded the rapid march of the inevitable revolution. The nobles, set free from all restraint when they no longer saw before them those plebeians whom it had been necessary to treat with a certain consideration, now abandoned themselves to the license of the new time. They regarded simplicity of life as a folly, and the idea of equality as an insolent pretension. True it is that the fears and the adulation of the world did indeed place them on a very high pinnacle. Compared with the immense extent of the empire and the myriads of its subjects, Rome with her inhabitants was but a speck; and as they daily determined the destinies of nations, and beheld kings waiting at the doors of the senate-house for their decisions, these republican senators assumed a royal arrogance, from which liberty was soon to suffer. We will examine in detail the powers which they possessed.

¹ It became necessary to procure every year from Umbria and the Abruzzi the laborers necessary for the season's work. (Suet., *Vesp.* i.)

It is through their financial element that, in modern times, governments are made dependent upon the representatives of the country. The annual vote of supply, or at least of new expenses, is a guaranty for the liberties of the people, and a safeguard for the governments themselves, whom this necessity deters from extravagance. But at Rome there was nothing of this kind. The popular assembly did not at all concern itself with public expenses, and but one tax is known to have been established by law, and this in a time almost of revolution.¹ Receipts and expenses were regulated by the Conscript Fathers; they alone managed the exchequer, as the consuls disposed of the spoils of war, and the aediles of the moneys received as fines.² Hence it occurred that when certain senators committed public frauds, they found their colleagues ready to share, or at least to wink at, their dishonesty. This abandoning to the Senate of the entire charge of the finances was, by the license which it authorized, a cause of ruin for the Republic, as in later times the absence of all financial control brought ruin on our old French monarchy.

Masters of the public finances, the senators were also masters of the administration of justice. In civil cases suits were brought before the praetor, who, leaving the decision upon facts to judges, selected for important cases from the Senate, and for the rest from the centumvirs, took part in the case only by indicating the particular law applicable to the questions. The same is done in French criminal courts in the contrary order of sequence; the decision of the jury on the nature of the crime precedes the judge's declaration of the article of the penal code which bears upon the case.

In criminal cases, the people, gathered in the centuriate assembly, were the judge. In early times crimes had been rare. But the extension of the empire, the prodigious growth of the city itself, the temptations of every kind offered to evil-minded persons

¹ See Vol. I. p. 388, n. 2.

² Legally, the general was required to pay into the treasury, or else to abandon to his soldiers, the products of the booty obtained in war; this was the *donativum*, — a deplorable custom under the Empire, but one derived from the Republic, and springing from the deepest convictions of the nation; for the Roman wars had pillage for their object much more than conquest. As to the aediles, they were expected to employ the sums received as fines in keeping the public edifices in repair; but we never hear of any account being required from them, any more than from the censors for the great public works that they carried on. Both, doubtless, fulfilled all that was expected of them by keeping the Senate informed as to their proceedings.

to attain to sudden fortune, multiplied breaches of public order. The Romans were not men like the Athenians, who were willing to leave their personal affairs and sit all the year long listening to arguments in court. The aristocracy, moreover, took care not to establish the rule of salary for such services. Hence it resulted that the consuls were obliged to exercise the old royal right of referring a criminal case to a commission, *quaestio*; and the number of crimes increasing, this exceptional jurisdiction soon came to be a permanent one.

The people did not make a good judge, for in the first place, having made the law themselves, they were easily tempted to set themselves above it, or to put their own interpretation upon it; and, further, the multitude does not weigh reasons, but decides after the passion or interest of the moment, confounding these with true justice. So it came about that those accused before this tribunal sought rather to touch the feelings than to convince the reason. Hence the mourning garments, the tears, the supplications of relatives and friends, and moving appeals of advocates; hence the exhibition of scars received in battle and of rewards for valor.¹

In an established government, which had interests of such magnitude to protect, and in a case where the people was no longer anything but a venal crowd, such justice was the very height of injustice, most harmful to the public weal. Calpurnius Piso was therefore a useful citizen when, in the year 149, he proposed the establishment of a permanent tribunal to take cognizance of cases of extortion and malversation, now grown scandalously frequent.²

Five years later three permanent tribunals, *quaestiones perpetuae*, were created, having cognizance of crimes of high treason and embezzlement of public money; and their jurisdiction was finally extended to all crimes against the state. The veto of the tribunes

¹ See, for instance, the case of Manlius (vol. i. p. 381). In the year 98 Manlius Aquillius, the pacificator of Sicily, having been accused of embezzlement, Marcus Antonius, his advocate, ended the argument for the defence by tearing the tunic of Aquillius, to show the breast of the veteran covered with scars. The multitude was moved to tears, and Aquillius was acquitted, although the evidence had been very clear against him. (Cic., *Brut.* 62; *de Off.* ii. 14; *de Orat.* ii. 28, 45, 47.)

² Cic., *Brut.* 27. The Calpurnian law was renewed and rendered more severe by the Junian law in 126, the Acilian in 101, the Cornelian in 81, and the Julian in 59.

could not arrest their action, nor the comitia set aside their decisions. A citizen condemned for extortion lost forever the right of speaking in the assembly of the people.¹ Theoretically the *quaestiones perpetuae* were an encroachment upon popular rights;² politically they were an inevitable institution; and as good public policy is that which gives satisfaction, not to theories, but to the needs of the time, this usurpation, or rather this change, was legitimate, because it was necessary.

The importance of the institution arises from the fact that the members of the new tribunal were selected from the Senate. That assembly did not form a court of justice until the time of the Emperors, but all the judges of the *quaestiones perpetuae* being senators, the great political body of the state thus became also its great judicial body; "and this function," says Polybius, "was the firmest support of the authority of the Senate."³ We shall find that the appointment to these judicial positions became an object of the most violent contests.

We may note in passing that the Roman world having never known what we call the government prosecutor, private individuals took this duty upon themselves. The *delatio* was, therefore, a recognized procedure, and Cicero considers it admirable.⁴ Any individual might present himself as prosecutor or accuser on behalf of the state; and this became an industry having its risks, and also its profits. A man might gain reputation in this way by an eloquent argument; and many young nobles began thus to make themselves known; money even might be gained, since the prosecutor received, as recompense for the service he had rendered to society, a fourth part of the property confiscated or the fine imposed. A Macedonian inscription⁵ offers a reward of 200 denarii to the *delator* who should bring to justice the profaners of a tomb; in England the same custom yet obtains. These informers, whom

¹ Cic., *ad Herenn.* i. 11. The praetors continued to judge in civil cases, and the aediles in mercantile disputes.

² See, Vol. I. p. 337, the conferring by the Twelve Tables of criminal jurisdiction upon the comitia centuriata alone.

³ vi. 17. Whenever, he says, the suit is at all important, even in the *judicia privata*, the judges are senators.

⁴ *Accusatores multos esse in civitate utile est, ut metu contineatur audacia.* (*Pro Roscio Amer.* 20.)

⁵ Henzey, *Miss. archéol. de Macéd.* p. 38.

the Empire inherited from the Republic, will come to have a very bad name: they had it, indeed, since the time of Plautus. One of his parasites scornfully declares that he would not change his vocation for that of the man who makes a legal prosecution "his net wherein to catch another man's goods."¹

What was the legislative importance of the *senatus-consultum*? There was much discussion upon this point; in a constitution the work of time, like that of Rome, there was no definite rule upon the subject. At first the Senate legislated freely in the triple sphere of religion, finances, and foreign relations; but there exists quite a number of *senatus-consulta* relating to other questions, especially concerning internal order and the direction of public affairs. Pomponius in the *Digest* says:² "As it was difficult to bring the people together, the necessity of the case caused the care of the state to pass into the hands of the Senate; and all that the Senate decreed was obeyed. These decrees were called *senatus-consulta*."

The Senate assumed the power of dispensing with the observance of laws. Having declared that in their judgment the people could not be bound by such or such a law, *ea lege non videri populum teneri*,³ the magistrate charged with its execution felt authorized to omit it. But the demagogue tribunes, no less ingenious than the Conscript Fathers in distorting the law, will later insert in certain of their revolutionary *rogations* a clause requiring the senators to swear under pain of exile that they will obey the same. In this way Saturninus put exceptional authority into the hands of Marius.

With this twofold right of making the *senatus-consulta* obligatory, and of dispensing with the observance of a law, the Senate had no longer need of the dictatorship; and this office disappears from history.⁴

¹ *Persa*, v. 63, *seq.*

² Gaius, *Inst.* i. 4. (*Digest*, I. ii. 9.)

³ Cic., *de Domo*, 16; *Philipp.* xii. 5. After the time of the Gracchi the Senate took upon itself to release from a law in express terms, — *legibus solveretur*. But that this decree be valid, the presence of 200 senators was required, and then the approbation of the people; after which the tribunes could no longer oppose their veto. (Ascon., in Cic. *pro Cornelio*, pp. 57–58.)

⁴ The dictatorship of Sylla and of Caesar has nothing in common with the earlier office of that name.

The dictatorship was really permanently established in the curia, and the senators made it operative by the formula, *Caccant consules*, which was equivalent to the modern declaration of martial law, and gave full powers to the consuls. Later, however, agitation will spring up again in the Forum; the tribunes will refuse to acknowledge the power of suppressing the appeal to the people, — *provocatio*, — and the decisions of Opimius, Rabirius, and Cicero will break this weapon in the Senate's hand.

The Senate was accustomed to interpose in yet another way in legislation. The Publilian and Hortensian laws had taken from it the initiative and the sanction of the laws;¹ it recovered these prerogatives by indirect means. The Senate decided, for example, that there should be presented to the popular assembly a plebiscitum invested in advance with the senatorial approval, which would thus insure its passage,² and also caused it to be established by the *lex Aelia-Fufia*,³ that an assembly could not be held, or valid decisions made, if a magistrate should announce to the president of the comitia his intention of observing the heavens. This was the suspending veto hidden under a religious form and a method of putting a stop at once to any revolutionary *rogation*. Cicero owns it frankly: "This law," he says, "is our secure defence against the fury of the tribunes."⁴ Yes; but only so long as men shall continue to respect the law, the scruple upon which it was founded, and the Senate by whom it was dictated.

In the elections the action was more discreet, but no less real. By the Senate was decided the list of candidates to be submitted to the people's choice by the president of the assembly.

With the Conscrip Fathers rested the charge of public worship, the right of prohibiting certain ceremonies and of giving or refusing citizenship to foreign gods; lastly, all the foreign policy, — the calling out of the legions, the disposition of armies, the resources placed at the general's disposal in money and in native or auxiliary

¹ See Vol. I. pp. 480 and 484.

² Thus: *Atilius tribunus plebis ex auctoritate senatus plebem in haec verba rogavit.* (Livy, xxvi. 33.)

³ These two laws, or this law, probably belongs to the middle of the second century before the Christian era.

⁴ . . . *Subsidia certissima contra tribunicios furores, propugnacula mirique tranquillitatis et otii.*

troops, the conditions imposed upon the vanquished, the relations with allies; and if the Senate had not in so many words taken from the people the right of making war and peace, it acted habitually as though this sovereign prerogative no longer belonged to the popular assembly;¹ and the question was very soon asked whether for a declaration of war the *senatus-consultum* was not sufficient.² In a word, the Senate, originally merely a council assisting the king and the consuls, now governed and administered, and the magistrates were, in a sense, only its executive: *quasi ministros gravissimi consilii*.

This concentration of power in the hands of the Senate was inevitable in the new conditions of Rome's existence. Recruited from men who had filled the highest offices, carried on the most difficult wars, administered the government of provinces vast as kingdoms, this assembly was the most experienced, the most skilful, and at once the boldest and the most prudent body which has ever ruled a state. The Grand Council of another powerful city, Venice, was but a pale image of it. Venice, however, restrained her aristocracy as well as her subjects; while the Roman Senate could not rule the nobles, but was instead ruled by those whom Sallust calls the faction of the great.

The Senate, in truth, was only the head of a new aristocracy, more illustrious than the earlier one, because it had done greater things, prouder, because it saw the world at its feet. Of the former *gentes* there now remained but a few,³ and since the time

¹ When the Senate undertook a war without having asked for the people's authority, either it was represented as a continuation of earlier hostilities, for instance, in Lusitania, under Caepio, or else it was a case where allies, like the Massiliotes, implored instant succor. The usual plan was to drive its adversaries to desperation, and then, on pretext that they had broken the peace, send forth the legions. Thus Carthage, in attacking Masinissa, had been guilty of an infraction of the treaty, etc.

² Livy, iv. 30; Cic., *pro Sestio*, 65.

³ In the Senate of the year 179, M. Willems (*Sénat. de la Rép. Rom.* p. 366) finds but eighty-eight patricians to 216 plebeians. Noble families become extinct very easily. In England (Doubleday, *True Law of the Population*, chap. iv.) there remain very few Norman nobles; two thirds of the peerage (272 out of 394) date since 1760. Of 1,527 baronetcies created since 1611, there remained in 1819 but 635, of which only 30 date from 1611. Of 487 families admitted into the citizenship of Berne from 1783 to 1851, in 1783 only 108 remained. During the century from 1684 to 1784, 207 Bernese families became extinct. In 1623 the sovereign council was composed of 112 families; in 1796 only 58 remained. The author cites similar observations made on the nobility of France, the Netherlands, and Venice; in about 100 years the number of Venetian nobles fell from 2,500 to 1,500, and this in a time of peace, and

of the Second Punic War a majority in the Senate had been plebeian. Thus in the year 172 there were, notwithstanding the law, two plebeian consuls, and in 131 two censors of the same order. Hence a fact of the greatest importance had taken place in the Roman society at the epoch with which we are now occupied: the aristocracy and the people were altogether renewed. But other



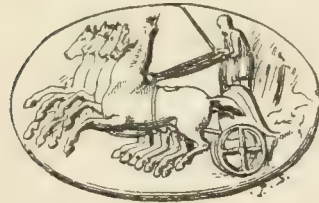
CHARIOT WITH FOUR HORSES, QUADRIGA.¹

men bring other ideas; this second aristocracy, although itself coming up from the people, held the people in no less sovereign contempt. It was no longer a question of keeping out the plebeians from office, but the *new men*. Uniting by marriages and by

notwithstanding the ennobling of several new families. Finally, he recalls a passage in which Tacitus (*Ann.* xi. 25) makes the observation that in the time of Caesar there were but a few patrician families, and that of all those created by Julius and Augustus, none remained in the time of Claudius. At Paris, the average of children in rich households is not over two. The special rights of the patricians at Rome at this time were merely honorary offices. (*Cic. pro Domo*, 14.) The *interrex*, when one was required, the *rex sacrorum*, the *flamines*, the *sacerdotes*, half the other priests and all of the vestals, the presidents of the *comitia centuriata* and *curiata*, must be patricians. On this account Caesar and the Emperors were forced to create them. The Emperors themselves became patricians on the day of their accession.

¹ From a bas-relief in terra-cotta. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the word *Auriga*.)

adoptions their blood and their interests,¹ the noble families of the time formed an oligarchy which made the magistracies their patrimony; nor could it have been otherwise. The profitable offices

GLADIATOR.²CHARIOTEER STANDING IN A
QUADRIGA.⁴

of the consulate and the praetorship were elective. To rise to these offices a man must secure the favor of those who conferred them, and this favor could be obtained either by buying a sufficient number of the electors with money, or the entire populace with entertainments. Thanks to the spoils of war brought home from the provinces, and to the revenues of the immense domains that the pro-consuls had reserved for themselves, the sons of those who had obtained from the conquest of Italy no more than a farm of seven acres were able to multiply public shows, chariot-races, and combats of gladiators, dramatic representations and shows of wild beasts, games of all sorts, and gratuitous distributions. The venality of the people, and the necessity of incurring first the ruinous expenses of the aedileship,³ closed the access to public honors against all those who were not able to sacrifice immense sums upon an election; by which we see that a man must be rich to obtain office, and must be in office in order to be rich,—a vicious circle, from which escape seemed impossible, but one which explains how public offices remained perpetually in those families to which they had once

¹ Thus a sister of Paulus Aemilius had married Africanus; he himself took for wife a Papiria. His eldest son was adopted by Q. Fabius Maximus, and his second by a son of Scipio Africanus. His two daughters entered illustrious plebeian families, one marrying Aelius Tubero, and the other Cato's son.

² From a terra-cotta lamp. A Thracian gladiator, so called because he has the same armor, a knife with broad, curved blade (*sica*) and the small buckler (Festus, s. v.) with square corners and convex surface. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the word *Thrax*.)

³ Since the time of the First Punic War the aediles had been obliged to celebrate at their own expense the *ludi maximi*. From a passage in Livy (xxiv. 11) it is plain that all the senators must have been possessed of great wealth.

⁴ Gem from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,866 of the catalogue.

brought fortune. The law, indeed, said that the magistracies were annual; but Cato wasted his time when he reproached the people for bestowing them year after year upon the same man.¹ In the consular lists certain names perpetually reappear. From 219 to 133, a period of eighty-six years, nine families obtained eighty-three consulships.² Thus the number of obscure citizens who rose to eminence was very small indeed, — the pontifex maximus Coruncanius, Flaminius, Varro, Cato, Mummius, and Acilius Glabrio;

CHARIOT-RACE.³

and of these parvenus a few owed their promotion to the patronage of some great family, like Cato, the client of the Valerii, and Laelius, *protégé* of the Scipios.

The movement which, raising to office all competent citizens, perpetually renewed the aristocracy and insured its permanence by legitimating its existence — that movement, commenced two centuries earlier, was about to be arrested. Shut up, so to speak, within its

¹ Plut., *Cat.* 12.

² These are : the Corneli, twenty-one ; the Fulvii, ten ; the Sempronii, nine ; the Marcelli, nine ; the Postumii, eight ; the Servilii, seven ; the Fabii, seven ; the Appii and Valerii, six each.

³ From an engraved stone. In the centre the *spina*, around which the chariots must go seven times ; it is ornamented with an obelisk and a Victory ; at the extremities are the posts around which the chariots are driven. (See in Vol. I. p. 623, and in the present volume p. 333, two bas-reliefs where genii are the runners.)

public honors and its wealth, the nobility broke all ties connecting it with the people, whom it despised, even when soliciting their votes, like Scipio Nasica, who, taking a peasant's callous hand, said: "Well, my man, do you walk on the palms of your hands?" Another, Servilius Isauricus, being on foot in some road, saw a man pass him on horseback. He was exasperated that any one should presume to remain mounted while he was on foot, and awhile later, recognizing the poor fellow as a defendant before some tri-

COMBAT OF GLADIATORS.¹

bunal, he denounced the offence to the judges, who, without hearing another word, unanimously condemned the disrespectful rider.²

We must make clear to ourselves how the oligarchy could be with impunity so scornful towards the populace, and why the poor should bear with so much resignation the insolence of the great. The people, such as it was, heard constantly of the exploits of the aristocracy, of their wealth, and of their high descent. Before the populace the nobles always appeared with a train of clients and slaves; they were courted by the magistrates of foreign cities,

¹ From a mosaic engraved by Winckelmann. (*Mon. ind.* pl. 197.) The *retiarius* has thrown his net (*rete*) over the head of his adversary, and attacks him with his trident, the only weapon he has, while the *secutor* has a buckler and a two-edged knife. The man who stands behind the *retiarius* is a *lanista*, that is to say, a trainer of gladiators.

² Dion., xlv. 16.

by ambassadors of kings, even by kings themselves; at the theatre they were seated apart,¹ wrapped in that toga with the wide purple border that betokened the senator, the man who was, we may say, the master of this sovereign people. Daily the city rang with the name of this or that man of rank returning from his province so loaded with spoils that after adorning his own palace and villa, he had still enough for the Forum, the Campus Martius, and the temples. Yesterday may have been a triumph,² and all Rome

COMBAT OF GLADIATORS.³

crowding the Via Sacra to see the spoils, the captives, the conqueror himself going up to the Capitol, and the army in warlike pomp marching behind his chariot. To-day a consul displays his own statue in some public square, or with imposing sacrifices consecrates a temple vowed during a battle. To-morrow there is to be solemn thanksgiving to the gods for the success of some absent general, or it may be the funeral of some illustrious man crossing the Forum, followed by a train of all his ancestors, represented by mutes or by wax figures, clad in state robes; and the next of kin

¹ This right was given them by Scipio Africanus during his second consulate (194).

² These triumphs had become so frequent, that about the year 181 a law required as a condition for obtaining one, that at least 5,000 of the enemy should have been slain in one battle.

³ From Winckelmann (*loc. cit.*); combat between two gladiators armed with round buckler and short sword; a *lanista* stands behind each.

will pronounce a funeral oration over the deceased from the same place whence the magistrates make known to all the world the decisions of the people and the victories won by Roman arms. A Metellus is carried past borne upon his bier by his four sons, who are, or have been, praetors or consuls. This Metellus was called Macedonicus. Scipio had assumed the title of Africanus, Mummius that of Achaicus; and these glorious *agnomina* kept

SACRIFICE.¹

forever before the people that these men had made the greatness of Rome, as the exploits of these men's ancestors engraved upon their coins perpetuated the memory of those who in difficult days had saved the fortunes of the Roman people. Before the splendor surrounding these great names, the plebeians, for the most part of servile origin, felt their low condition more than ever.

Masters of the Senate, of public offices, of the tribunals, and when they were crafty enough, of the Forum, the nobles regulated all things after their own good pleasure; even the Senate often

¹ From a bas-relief. The bull is held by the assistants, and the *papa* is preparing to slay it with an axe.

saw its authority scorned by them. Against the Senate's and the people's will, Appius Claudius triumphed, after a victory over the Salassi; Popilius Laenas made an unjustifiable attack upon the Statielli, razed their city, and sold 10,000 of them into slavery. A few voices were raised in behalf of this unhappy tribe, the only one among all the Ligurians who had never attacked the legions, and a decree was passed that they should be restored from slavery; upon which Popilius slew 10,000 more of them, and being cited before a tribunal, he obtained from the praetor an adjournment of the case, and it was never heard of again. Scipio in his operations had rarely consulted the Senate, and the generals following his example forgot in their provinces that they ought to be the docile agents of a superior authority. Thus, without waiting for the Senate's authorization, Manlius attacked the Galatians; Lucullus, the Vaccaeans; Aemilius, Palantia; Cassius, the mountaineers of the Alps. This same Cassius was desirous of leaving his province, Cisalpine Gaul, to penetrate through Illyria into Macedon, where the other consul commanded, though at the risk of leaving Italy and Rome unprotected.

Law and custom alike forbidding the nobles to seek legitimate gains by commerce or manufactures,¹ there remained to them only the profits of dishonor, and these they freely sought; towards the allies and the provincials they allowed themselves every license. It was proposed to send Marcellus into Sicily: "Let Aetna rather bury us beneath its lava!" cried the Syracusans. Sicily must pay the penalty of its fruitfulness, Spain of its mineral wealth. Besides a permanent tax,² the Spaniards furnished corn, for a part of which they were paid; but the praetors fixed a very low price for the corn they bought, and a very high price for that which the Spaniards were bound to furnish; then they converted this due into money, and thus levied a heavy tribute. These exactions became so notorious that in the time of the war against Perseus the Senate judged it prudent to show some justice.³ Two praetors

¹ The *lex Claudia tribunicia* (218) had forbidden senators or their sons to possess vessels of more than 300 *amphorae*. Cic., in *Verr.* II. v. 8; Livy, xxi. 63; cf. Dion., LV. x. 5.

² Spain owed also, since the consulate of Cato, *vectigalia magna ex ferrariis argentariisque*. (Livy, xxxiv. 21.)

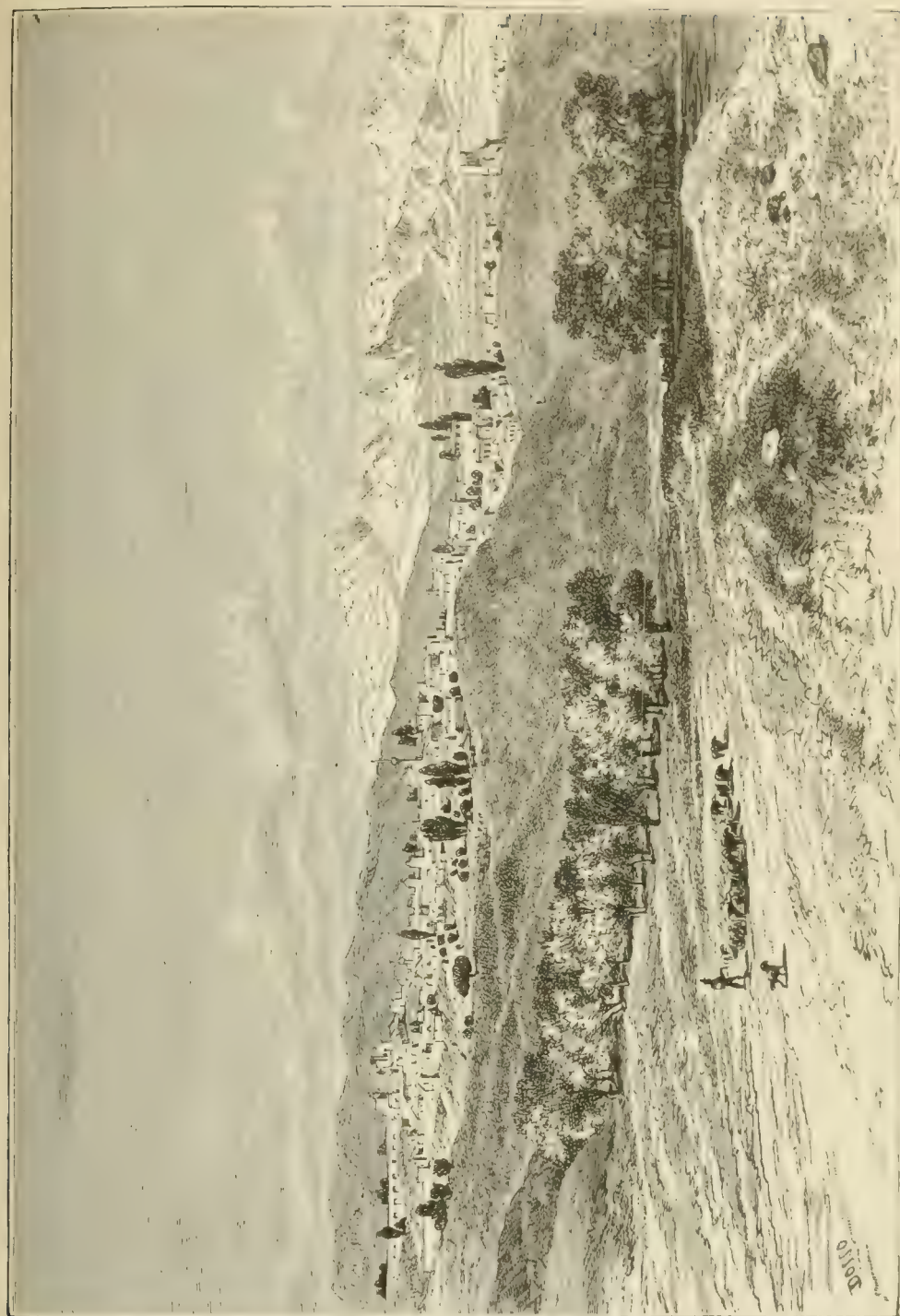
³ Livy, xliii. 2. Other praetors were accused and condemned in the year 154. (*Epit.* xlvii.)

were accused, and exiled themselves before sentence was pronounced, the one to Tibur, the other to Praeneste. Others were suspected; but the magistrate whose duty it was to examine the case, set off suddenly for his government, and the Senate, anxious to end this annoying affair, made certain rules with the intention of giving a show of satisfaction to the Spaniards.

In Greece during this time consuls and praetors vied with one another in pillaging the allied cities, and went so far as to sell their citizens by auction; this they did at Coronea, at Haliartus, at Thebes, and at Chalcis. The sterile country of Attica was required to furnish 100,000 bushels of corn, Abdera gave 50,000, and 100,000 denarii besides; and as the city ventured to send complaints to the Senate, Hostilius gave it up to pillage, decapitated the principal men, and sold the entire population. Another praetor, Lucretius, still more culpable, was accused at Rome. It would be unjust, his friends said, to receive complaints against a magistrate absent in the service of his country, and the affair was adjourned. Lucretius, meanwhile, was employed in decorating his villa near Antium with the product of his rapine, and turning the course of a river to lead it through his park. A second time he was less fortunate. He was condemned to pay a fine of 1,000,000 ases; then the Senate gave the envoys of the complaining cities a few sesterces, and so the matter ended. But decrees quickly fell into oblivion, and the abuses recommenced; only they were less conspicuous, that the scandal of them might not so readily reach Rome.

Many of these nobles were full of indulgence for faults that they felt themselves very capable of committing, and the successors of the offending officials did all in their power to suppress the accusations made against their predecessors. In his orations against Verres, Cicero shows Metellus, a man of considerable moderation, threatening the Sicilians with his displeasure if they should send deputies to Rome, and detaining by force the most material witnesses against his predecessor.¹ But on the other side, when Cicero is for the defence, how arrogant he is, and how contemptuous of the provincials! Notice, for example, how he treats Induciomar in the oration *Pro Fonteio*, and the peasants of

¹ *Minari Siculis, si decrevissent legationem . . . minari, si qui essent projecti . . . gravissimos . . . testes . . . vi custodiisque retinere.* (*In Verr.* II. ii. 4.)



CADMEIA AND THE PLAIN OF THEBES (FROM BARON DE STACKELBERG'S LA GRÈCE).

Tmolus in his *pro Flacco*. "Can any one compare," he says, "the most important person in Gaul with even the meanest citizen of Rome? Does Induciomar even understand what it is to testify in your presence?"¹ It was only a very heavy oppression indeed which could decide a people to incur, by entering a complaint at Rome, the anger of these very powerful personages. In order to



WREATH OF GOLD.²

appease Marcellus, whom they had accused of rapine, the Sicilian deputies were seen in presence of the Senate to fall at his feet to implore pardon for themselves, and to beg him to receive them, themselves, and all the Syracusans as his clients. Upon their return Syracuse instituted annual festivities in honor of the man

¹ *Pro Fonteio*, 11.

² This wreath, of the most delicate workmanship, was found in 1813 in a tomb at Armento (Basilicate). The inscription beneath the winged figure is a formula of dedication and a proper name, written in characters believed to be of the fourth century B. C. Some of the flowers are covered with turquoise-blue enamel: insects hover over it, attached by very slender threads of gold. Was this a triumphal or simply a funereal wreath? Are the winged figurines Victories, or are they Genii, emblems of immortality? (See on this subject Saglio's *Dict. des ant. grecq. et rom.* p. 800.)

who had almost destroyed the city; and later, the divinity of these celebrations was Verres.

Another kind of exactions weighed upon the allies. After each victory the general required golden wreaths from them.¹ The consuls commanding in Greece and in Asia between the years 200 and 188 caused to be given to themselves 630 gold wreaths, ordinarily of the weight of twelve pounds. If during the battle they vowed games or temples, they never failed to levy in their province the needful funds. With money furnished by the allies, Fulvius and Scipio celebrated games which lasted ten days.² Even the aediles were wont to compel the provinces to pay for the spectacles their office required them to furnish to the populace, and a *senatus-consultum* vainly sought to put a stop to these exactions.³

There is preserved for us from Cato's discourse *Upon his Expenses* a lively picture: " . . . I directed the tablets to be brought which contained my discourse. My ancestors' services and my own were read out, and then followed these words: 'Never have I expended in securing votes either my own money or that of the allies.' But, no, I cried to the clerk, do not read that; they will not listen to it. He then went on: 'Have I ever established in the cities of your allies rulers capable of ravishing their goods, their wives and children?' Pass over this also; there is nothing they would be more reluctant to hear. Go on. 'Never have I given to my friends commercial letters, that they might derive great profits from the sale of the same.' Erase this at once. 'Never have I divided between my friends and my agents sums of money under pretext that wine was due them for their table, nor ever enriched them to the public detriment.' Ah! scratch that out into the very wood [of the tablet]. See, then, I beg you, the sad condition of the Republic; I dare not recall the services I have rendered to

¹ Later this became a regular tax, *aurum coronarium*, exacted without victories or triumphs, as in the case of Piso. (See Cic., *in Pis.*)

² Livy, xxxix. 22. Athenaeus, brother of Attalus, gave to the Senate in the year 186 a wreath of gold worth 15,000 gold pieces. The Aetolians offered to Fulvius one worth 150 talents. (Polyb., xxii. 13.) See in Cicero's *Verrines* the statues that Verres caused to be erected throughout Sicily, and even in Rome.

³ *Decreverat id senatus propter effusos sumptus factos in ludos T. Sempronii aedilis, qui graves non modo Italiae ac sociis Latini nominis, sed etiam provinciis externis fuerant.* (Livy, xl. 44.)

the state, for fear of exciting ill-will. To what have we come, that one may do evil with impunity, but cannot with impunity do well?"

Thus, to satisfy the new needs born of luxurious habits, the nobles pillaged at once the treasury and the allies, and the Senate condoned all extortions in advance by allowing the principle to be openly asserted, that, self-interest being the rule of conduct, whatever method was successful was justifiable. We cannot admit the assertion of Livy, that up to this time the Senate's policy had been extremely upright; but rather we must complain with the older senators, that artifice has been substituted for bravery,¹ that to their unquestioned strength they had added perfidy, that having deprived the nations of their independence, it was now the design to deprive them of their wealth.

These lessons from so high an authority were not lost upon the populace, nor, above all, upon the army. It is evident that the extortions practised by the generals, and their independence of all authority, must have had a tendency to relax discipline in the ranks. The soldiers imitated their leaders, and the latter closed their eyes to excesses which their own conduct authorized. During the Second Punic War the rapine of an army set Sardinia in insurrection.² But in the pleasures which these spoliations afforded, the legionaries lost their military virtues. Then came the shameful defeats of Licinius in the kingdom of Pergamus, of Manilius before Carthage, and of Mancinus under the walls of Numantia. Many deserted, like that C. Mattienus whom the consuls caused to be beaten with rods in the presence of the recruits and sold for a contemptible price; or else, if the war were very unprofitable, they imperiously demanded dismissal, like the army of Flaccus in the year 180. The soldiers of Scipio in Spain had already set this dangerous example.⁴ During the war with Antiochus the army of Aemilius, notwithstanding their general's efforts and the



PHOCÆAN COIN.³

¹ Livy, xlii. 47.

² Livy, xxiii. 32. Mutiny in the army of Sulpicius Galba and Villius in 199 (Livy, xxxii. 3); difficulty in 192 of raising two legions for Liguria, where there was nothing to be gained; etc.

³ On the obverse, a seal; on the reverse, a hollow square.

⁴ See Vol. II. p. 58.

formal agreement to the contrary, pillaged Phocaea, the praetor being only able to save such of the inhabitants as took refuge with him; and in the year 180 the horsemen of Caepio attempted to burn their general alive in his tent. After having obtained the pillage of the whole of Epirus and 300 denarii apiece, the legionaries of Paulus Aemilius considered themselves ill-used, and endeavored to have him refused a triumph. Already they had begun to put off upon slaves the burden of carrying their armor on the march; not less than 40,000 servants attended the 80,000 legionaries of another Caepio. It was therefore great good fortune for Rome that no formidable enemy appeared at that time, and that before the Cimbri, the Social War, and Mithridates, discipline and military spirit had been restored by Marius.

To bring back the army to obedience was no very difficult task; a resolute will was sufficient, and Rome will often find men possessing that energy. But the military condition imposed upon the Senate by so many conquests, the obligation always to have legions on foot in some provinces, produced a social phenomenon hitherto unknown. These constantly renewed expeditions were making of the service a profession, and preparing, two centuries before the battle of Actium, the permanent army of Augustus and of the Empire. Formerly the people and the army were one; the long continuance of wars in remote countries effected the separation between the citizen and the soldier. Whilst the former was growing mendicant and venal, the latter forgot in the camp the ways of civil life, and from being a patriot became a mercenary. Retained fifteen and twenty years under the standard without the opportunity, as in earlier days, of returning each winter to his home, the soldier made the camp his country, finding therein the satisfaction of all his wants.

Thus, under the pressure of events, all suffers change,—army and people alike. It was inevitable; but the time was coming when these armies would give to their generals the power that the people formerly gave to its tribunes, and a military revolution was to be the logical sequence of the conquest of the world.

At Rome a hungry crowd; in the camps men who above all believe in the power of the sword; above both an aristocracy very limited in number, who intend to reserve for themselves the

plunder of the world,—such is the situation which is hidden from prejudiced eyes by the deceitful words, “the Roman Republic” and “Roman liberty.”

We have spoken only casually of a class which has been slowly forming below the senatorial aristocracy, that of the moneyed men who were to play an important part in the dissolution of Rome, as did the French financiers and farmers-general in the decomposition of the old French society. At Rome, the census or enumeration of citizens and their fortunes, taking place every five years, was a state duty, performed with religious solemnities. The state then ascertained what were its resources in men and money, and distributed the citizens in *classes* for voting purposes in accordance with their declared fortunes. This declaration included only property in land and all that appertained to it,—*res mancipi*, such as harvests, slaves, cattle, all things attaching men to the soil, to the city. But the declaration did not include the *res nec mancipi*; that is to say, capital and manufactured products, which might easily be removed outside the city, and which the city, on account of their mobility, was not willing to recognize or to cover with the protection of her laws. Thus there grew up at Rome two classes of owners,—those to whom their property gave political rights, and those to whom it gave none. These latter were the *aerarii*. It was the same in France in the time of the *pays légal*, when for admission to the great civic function of the electorate account was taken only of those sorts of property which paid a direct tax to the state. At that epoch, in France as in ancient Rome, there were *aerarians*, and as at Rome, there were among these persons rich men, and even men of high consideration in the state.

Much has been written on the contempt felt by the ancients for all forms of trade or commerce. What we have just said explains this point by the difference that these little cities, always in danger from their neighbors, felt obliged to make between landed property, which secured them ardent defenders, and that commercial wealth, easily hidden or removed in the moment of danger, which made its possessor not so much a fellow-citizen as a temporary resident. On this account a will or a sale dealing with landed property required originally to be sanctioned by the

people, and later by five citizens, representing the five classes of landed proprietors or true citizens.

But while the old Roman people was diminishing daily in number, those to whom it had refused a place in the state were making for themselves one of great importance. The law had prohibited traffic to senatorial families; but meanwhile the extent of the empire, the victualling of the city and of the armies, the execution of great public works, roads, aqueducts, temples, basilicas, etc., were giving occasion for an enormous amount of business. All this the state abandoned to private enterprise. Italians and freedmen, enriched by petty traffic, undertook these public works, individually or in companies. The gains being enormous, those of the rich citizens who were not magistrates desired a share, and united themselves to these companies, especially after the conquest of Greece, Asia, and Africa had opened those regions to Roman speculators. In this way there came to be two quite distinct classes existing within the equestrian order. Those who were sons of senators thought only of succeeding to the paternal honors; the others, of obscure origin, or as new men, kept out of public office, undertook public works and the collection of revenues, and were designated publicans. Aristocratic pride gave way sometimes before the importance of the advantages to be gained, and it was admitted that traffic on a grand scale was no longer a disgrace.¹ But it was neither trade in any form, nor public works, nor banking which gave the surest profits.

The Senate had carefully reserved for the pro-consuls and praetors the political and military administration of the provinces; but, faithful to the spirit of the heroic days, had not concerned itself with the details of the financial administration, which would have involved the creation of a numerous staff of officials. Every five years the censors farmed out the taxes at public auction; that is to say, for a sum of money paid down they gave over to private individuals, usually heads of companies (*mancipes*), the right to collect for the five years the taxes due to the state. The auction having been held, the higher bidders paid the sums they had offered; and then, with a retinue of agents and slaves, these publicans set off for the province which had been given up to them. Then

¹ Cicero says (*de Off.* i. 42) that trade is more or less esteemed according as it is more or less wholesale.

began the most cruel extortions; in one case, instead of the 20,000 talents they were to levy in Asia, they wrung from the province 120,000. The governor, if he proposed to interfere, was bribed to silence: later, they intimidated him; and there remained to the victims only the slow and dangerous resource of a complaint at Rome. During the Second Punic War the publicans made themselves feared by the Senate; and in the time of the conquest of Macedon it was an established opinion that where they were, either the public treasury was wronged or the subjects oppressed. It is curious to see these publicans turning the new ideas to their own profit, and denying, in accordance with the doctrines of Euhemerus, the divinity of the gods for the purpose of being allowed to levy taxes upon consecrated lands. A priest of Amphiaräus, in Boeotia, claiming the immunity, received answer from the publican: "Pay; your god is only a man!"¹

The conquests made by barbarians are terrible. In three cities Genghis-Khan massacred 4,000,000 men. But when these nomadic invaders have carried their fury elsewhere, quiet is restored, and the wounds made by the sword are so quickly stanchd!² But a nation of poor peasants, accustomed to make the earth yield all that it can, a people who as yet understood of civilization no more than some new material enjoyments, must revel in its victory, and draw every possible advantage from the conquered country. Into the government of the world the Romans carried the habits of their private life. Trained to avarice by poverty, they were greedy, rapacious, pitiless, like Cato, their model, like the usurer, who had been, and still was, so severe among themselves. More terrible than war, this spirit of extortion came down upon the provinces; the publicans were its instruments, and public hatred has branded the name. Moralists reproach them also, and usually with reason. At the same time we must remember that this financial power of the publicans was the first appearance in the Roman world of something very important in modern life, to which we can offer no objection,—the power of capital, without which there could be

¹ Livy, xlv. 18; Cic., *de Nat. deor.* iii. 19: *Negabant immortales esse ullos, qui aliquando homines fuissent.*

² [This is only true when a nation is not decaying. The permanent depopulation of Upper Asia was partly caused by these massacres. Thus the plagues in the days of M. Aurelius permanently weakened the decaying Empire.—*Ed.*]

neither industry, nor commerce, nor the prosperity of the masses. Our army contractors, our financiers on change, our undertakers of great public works, have they always been more honest than the old publicans? The latter had many slaves,¹ it will be said; but they also employed many freedmen and many of free birth, who, together with themselves, made a good living, or even a fortune. Who were these overseers of workmen, *præfecti fabrum*, whom all governors of provinces and chiefs of legion gathered around them?² Balbus commenced in this way, and ended with the consulship. Scipio Africanus said once scornfully, "The same people has no right to be at once the king and the business agent of the world."³ Men emerging from shops and counting-houses are destined, however, to become daily more and more important in Rome, since part of their wealth, employed in the purchase of land, will open to them the five classes of true citizens, even the very first. Separated from the patricians by their manners, and from the people by their wealth, this aristocracy of money will have neither the haughty ambition of the great, nor the vulgar passions of the crowd; but it will have others; and it is this class, which, disturbed in its speculations by the civil wars, will aid Julius and Octavius to re-establish order by converting the government of the many into the government of the one.

¹ This employment of slaves in financial affairs rendered it necessary to create a class of actions at law, — *institoria* and *tributoria*, — to give those with whom a slave had negotiated in his master's name the right to compel the latter to fulfil the engagements made in his name. (*Dig. XIV.*, under the heads iii. and iv.) M. Pardessus (*Collection des lois marit.* i. 55) believes that these actions originated at an early period.

² In speaking of the great public works executed in Italy by Caius Gracchus, Appian says (*Bell. civ.* i. 23) that the tribune attached thus to his interests a multitude of workmen and laborers of all kinds.

³ Cic., *de Rep.*; Festus, s. v. *Portitor*.

⁴ De Witte, *Revue numism.*, 1862, p. 107. Reverse of a large bronze coin of Vespasian.



THE SENATE PERSONIFIED.⁴

CHAPTER XXXVII.

STRIFE BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW.

I. THE REACTION; CATO.

ALL the innovations which we have described irritated the conservative party; the past never disappears without a struggle. Cato made himself the leader of the resistance.

He was born at Tusculum in 233. His sanguine complexion, his piercing gray eyes, his determined air did not betoken an easy-going person; and an incisive use of language at the command of a ready intellect, which was well able to find the weak point in every argument, and to be successful in every undertaking, made him a person not to be overlooked.¹ An epigram current at the time of his death avers that Pluto dreaded to receive this man, "always ready to bite." He was never accommodating; when Eumenes came to Rome he refused to see him. "But he is an upright man," it was said, "and a friend to Rome." "That may be so," was Cato's answer; "but a king is by nature a carnivorous beast." He was scarcely more civil to the populace. One day, when the crowd called for a distribution of corn, he opposed the measure, and his address began with these words: "Citizens, it is hard to speak to the belly, which has no ears." A tribune, suspected of poisoning, proposed a bad law: "Young man," Cato said to him, "I know not which is worse, to drink your potions or to ratify your measures."

From his father Cato had inherited a small estate in the

¹ His name was Porcius; he was called Cato (*Catus*), on account of his shrewdness. Some authors place the date of his birth in the year 238. This is a mistake: for he says himself that he made his first campaign "at the age of seventeen, when Hannibal, still victorious, brought fire and sword into Italy." These words can refer to no other than the year 216; but we are forced to admit that both Plutarch and Livy are wrong in representing him to have died at the age of ninety.

Sabine country. There primitive manners still existed; and at the end of his ground he saw the hut and the seven acres which had formed the whole patrimony of Curius Dentatus. Cato was inspired by this great example of a frugal and laborious life. He truly said, "Idleness kills more men than labor does." And so daily he worked with his slaves, eating and drinking with them, in the winter clad in a simple tunic, in the summer stripped under the hottest sun. When field work was over he practised as an



TUSCULUM (FROM AN ENGRAVING IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE).

advocate in the neighboring towns, exercising himself in those combats which were to be the business of his life.

Economical on his own behalf as well as for the state, he was wont to say that whatever one could do without was dear, even at an obol; and so long as he was in command of the legions he took from the public granaries, for himself and his suite, but four and a half bushels of corn a month. During his consulship his dinner never cost him more than thirty ases; and on returning

from Spain he sold his charger to save the state the expense of transport. It is true that he auctioned his sick or aged slaves. "For my part," says Plutarch, "I could not have the heart to sell my old ox who had used up his strength in ploughing my field." But this was a refinement which Cato did not at all understand. His calm, precise mind lacked elevation and grandeur. The Roman is above all things the man of business, and Cato was more Roman than any of them. Elegance in mind or manners, love of the arts, seemed to him criminal tastes;¹ he so loved the merely useful as even to sacrifice to it the noble. But we must not forget his fine definition of the orator: "The upright man, expert in fine language."

It remained still the custom at Rome for men of rank to seek out and advance to public office young plebeians of promising talent. This was useful to the state and also to the patron, securing to the Republic good servants, and to the aristocracy devoted clients. The English nobility act thus to their great advantage. At times the dependant disappointed the expectations of his patron; thus Marius became the mortal enemy of Metellus, who had opened to him a public career; but Cato, attaining the highest honors in the state, remained friendly to the man who had founded his fortunes. This was the noblest patrician in Rome.³ Valerius Flaccus. Having personal knowledge of the stern virtues and of the talents of Cato, Valerius induced him to come to Rome, and there supported him with his influence; and Cato, though a new man, was able, before he had reached the age of thirty, to attain the legionary tribuneship.⁴ Later he was sent into Sicily



COIN OF CATO.²

¹ He affected a contempt for the Greek muses: *Quandocumque ista gens suas litteras dabit, omnia corrumpet.* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxix. 1.) He regarded Socrates as an old babblers; he ridiculed the school of eloquence taught by Isocrates and the pupils who continued for years with him, as if they were waiting to plead before Pluto.

² M. CATO. PRO. PR. ROMA. Head of Liberty. On the reverse, the word VICTRIX, engraved beneath a seated Victory. Silver coin of the Porcian gens.

³ Concerning the privileges enjoyed by the gens *Valeria*, see Dionysius, v. 39; Plutarch, *Publ.* 20 and 23; Livy, ii. 31; Cic., *de Leg.* ii. 23.

⁴ As early as this time he manifested the severity of his principles by contributing to the passing of the *lex Cincia*, which forbade judges to accept fees or receive presents. (Livy, xxxiv. 1; Cic., *de Orat.* ii. 7; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 5.)

as quaestor with Scipio. While delayed there by his preparations, Scipio at Syracuse amused himself with studying the brilliant literature of Greece, and lived surrounded by books, luxury, and amusements. Cato, who was not friendly to the Greeks, was irritated by this extravagance and self-indulgence. He expressed his dissatisfaction; but the general replied proudly that he should render account at Rome of his victories, and not of a few sesterces, and that he did not require so exact a quaestor; and thereupon dis-



RUINS AT SYRACUSE (FROM AN ENGRAVING IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE).

missed Cato. The latter returned to Rome to swell the number of Scipio's enemies gathered around Fabius Cunctator, his former chief. This, according to Plutarch, was the origin of that hatred with which Cato pursued Africanus even to the tomb. But Livy says nothing about this quarrel; he, on the contrary, shows us Scipio dividing between Laelius and Cato the command of the left wing of his fleet in the passage from Sicily to Africa. Dislike resulted too directly from the characters and manners of the two

men for us to suppose recriminations to have passed between them. Scipio, who had all the tastes of a superior mind and a refined soul, desired his countrymen to unite to the achievements of war and of statecraft those of the intellect. He had learned to love studious leisure; and the great poets and artists of Greece¹ had opened to his mind those wide horizons in which personal objects disappear, and even the city itself is lost from sight.² Scipio, spoiled by successes and by his own genius, forgot that he was the citizen of a Republic whose first law was equality. His former quaestor cruelly reminded him of this.

After filling the office of plebeian aedile, Cato received the praetorship of Sardinia, in which office he gave conspicuous instances



1



2



3



4



5

PHOENICIAN SCARABAEI FOUND IN SARDINIA.³

of his severity and of his honesty. He banished all usurers from the island, and he refused the money which the province, in

¹ Scipio erected in the Capitol, in front of the street leading to the temple, an arch of triumph ornamented with seven gilded statues, two horses, and four marble basins. (Livy, xxxvii. 3.) His second son wrote a history in Greek. (Cic., *de Sen.* 35; Brutus, 77.) Lucius Scipio erected his own statue in the Capitol with the chlamys and sandals. (Val. Max., ii. 6.)

² *Si quis, illo Pacuviano invehens alitum anguinem curru, ultas et varias gentes et urbes despicere et oculis collustrare possit.* (Cic., *de Rep.* iii. 9.)

³ The *Gazette archéologique* has published, with a learned explanatory note (vol. iii. p. 74) by M. Mansell, four Phoenician *scarabaei* found in a necropolis in Sardinia. The intaglios, here represented twice their real size, are cut in the under side of each of these scarabaei, which were at once a symbol of immortality placed within the tomb to console the dead, and an amulet worn by the living to preserve from harm. The subjects represented show the fusion effected between the different religions of antiquity, and render them specially interesting. Nos. 1 and 2 show those beings called in Scripture *satyrs*, in the Septuagint *δαίμονια*, and by Saint Jerome *incubones vel satyros*. They are, in fact, very good representations of the Greek and Roman satyr; they carry drinking-cups, and seem already intoxicated. In No. 3 are four mice surrounding a basket, and in No. 5 an ant; the rat, in the East as well as in Rome, was a prophetic animal. [But there is no word in either Greek or Latin for the rat, which they can hardly have known. — *Ed.*] The fly in No. 4 recalls the Baal-Zebub, or god of flies, of the Bible, the great god of Ekron, who had a famous oracle in the country of the Philistines. Chaldaean books give a prophetic power to flies, as the Phrygian legend of Midas to ants. No. 5 is taken from Della Marmora's work, *Sopra alcune antichità sarde*, pl. B, No. 94.

accordance with the usual custom, voted him. This conduct and the severity of his morals, exceptional in the corrupt city, combined with his rough eloquence, drew all eyes upon him. The people loved their stern censor. They did not obey him, but they applauded him, and Cato crossing the Forum in his cheap attire¹ or reproving the crowd from the rostra, and preventing a gratuitous

distribution of corn, was more respected and listened to than the habitual flatterers of the people. In the year 195 the comitia raised him to the consulship with his friend Valerius Flaccus.

Greece was not yet pacified, Antiochus was threatening, and Hannibal had not left Carthage; Spain and the Cisalpine were in insurrection. But Spain and Gaul, Hannibal and the King of Syria, were all for the moment forgotten. Vainly did kings or people demand attention; one subject only occupied senate, consuls, tribunes, and divided the public mind: Should Roman matrons be permitted to wear more than half an ounce of gold, or a dress of divers colors, or to ride in a carriage in the city? This was



A MATRON.²

the question which aroused stormy debates. These were the prohibitions instituted by the Oppian law in the darkest hours of the Second Punic War; and they had hardly been obeyed, if we may judge by the luxury which the wife of Scipio Africanus displayed in public. "When she left home to go to the temple," says a family friend, "she seated herself in a glittering chariot, herself

¹ He would never wear a toga costing over 100 drachmae.

² Bronze of heroic size found at Resina in 1745. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. vi., 1st series, pl. 67.) This figure, clad in a long tunic, is also wrapped in an ample mantle, which, falling from the head, is parted on the breast by the hands, in the attitude of prayer.

attired with extreme luxury. Before her were carried with solemn ceremony the vases of gold and silver required for the sacrifice, and a numerous train of slaves and servants accompanied her."¹

Two tribunes now proposed the abrogation of this sumptuary law. The Capitol was thronged with the partisans of the opposing sides, and the matrons themselves besieged the Forum and wearied out the magistrates with their tumultuous solicitations. But in the consul, Porcius Cato, they found an inflexible opponent. "If, Romans," Livy makes him say, "every individual among us had made it a rule to maintain the authority of a husband over his own wife, we should have had no trouble to-day with all these women; but now because we are unable to withstand each separately we now dread their collective force.

. . . If then you suffer them to throw off their restrictions, and at last to be set on an equal footing with yourselves, can you



SILVER VASE.²

¹ Polybius, xxxii. 12.

² The Bernay Collection (*Cabinet de France*, No. 2804). "This beautiful vase belonged to one of those pairs (*paria synthesis*) that the ancients delighted to put together. (The Bernay Collection alone contains nine pair of vases.) The handle, of silver, is attached to the vase by a tragic mask, and at the top by two Medusa heads: these ornaments, like the other bass-reliefs, are *repoussés*. The egg-patterns and leaves which decorate the upper edge and divide the two rows of figures are the only part chased. In the lower row the silversmith has represented Achilles weeping over the body of Patroclus, and the ransom of Hector. Around

imagine that they will be any longer tolerable? . . . Often have you heard me complain that the state was endangered by two



VENUS OF CNIDUS.¹

opposite vices, — luxury and avarice ; those pests which have been the ruin of all great empires. These I dread the more as our circumstances grow daily more prosperous and happy ; as the empire increases, as we have now passed over into Greece and Asia, places abounding with every kind of temptation that can inflame the passions, and as we have begun to handle even royal treasures, — so much the more do I fear that this riches will end by conquering us. Believe me, those statues from Syracuse were brought into this city to no good. I already hear too many commending

and admiring the friezes of Athens and Corinth, and ridiculing

the neck is the carrying off of the Palladium. The composition on the matching vase represents Achilles dragging Hector's body, and the death of Achilles, and upon the neck, Ulysses and Dolon. The elegance of the vase, its perfect adaptation to the use designed, the good taste of the relief and of the composition, seem to place it in the best period of art. But a certain heaviness in the figures, and details rather Roman than Greek, scarcely agree with this theory ; we have doubtless in this vase an instance of what Roman work could produce, while yet faithful to Greek taste." (*Saglio's Dict. des antiq. grecq. et rom.* pp. 805-806.)

¹ Ancient copy of the great work of Praxiteles ; Museum of the Louvre, No. 59 of the *Clarae Catalogue*. We do not know whether this statue had already been brought to Rome, but Cato had seen enough of the fair divinities of Greece to dread the comparison with the shapeless deities of early Rome.

the earthen images of our Roman gods. For my part, I prefer these gods, propitious as they are, and I hope will continue to be, if we allow them to remain in their own mansions."

Plautus also had lately exhibited in the theatre a biting satire on the luxury of the matrons, showing them walking the streets decked out with estates, — *fundis exornatæ*,¹ — as Du Bellay later said of the courtiers of Francis I., that their mills, their forests,



GREEK FRIEZE BROUGHT TO ROME, REPRESENTING MINERVA, ARGUS, AND TIPHYS.²

and farms were upon their backs. But poet and consul both failed; the law was abrogated, as it deserved to be. The new manners born of victory were stronger than this sumptuary law, made in a time of peril and public destitution.

¹ In the *Epidicus*. Notice in the *Aulularia* the long tirades of Megadorus. This play, one of the best works of Plautus, undoubtedly belongs to the time when this question of the Oppian law agitated the minds of all.

² In the British Museum. Frieze found at Rome, representing Minerva superintending the construction of the ship *Argo*; Argus works, while the goddess aids the pilot Tiphys to fold the sails. (Müller, *Monum.*, pl. xxxii. No. 238.)

Cato immediately set off for Spain. Upon his arrival he dismissed all the contractors. "The war shall support the war," he said. Scipio, content with possessing the affection of his soldiers, and sure to find them brave and obedient on the day of battle, often closed his eyes to their pleasures and their excesses. Cato, severe towards others as towards himself, was not the man to tamper with discipline. Continual drilling and indefatigable vigilance gave his army the appearance of the old legions. This campaign, which Cato recorded, did much honor to his military talents, and gave him a triumph; his conduct at the battle of Thermopylae also added to his reputation.

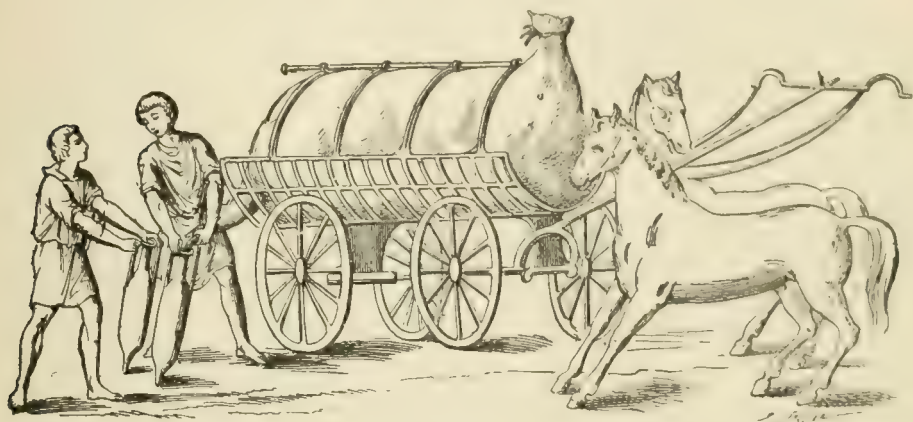
II. CATO OPPOSED TO THE SCIPIOS.

MEANWHILE the opposition towards Scipio increased daily in the Senate and among the people. Since that apotheosis, after his triumph, which he had refused, envy had marked him for its prey; and Cato, who dared not yet encounter him openly, encouraged the sharp attacks of Naevius and Plautus, the popular poets of the day. Naevius especially, a veteran of the First Punic War, which he sang in Saturnian verses, pursued the great men of Rome with his bitter raillery.¹ "More than gold I love liberty! Submit, then; this people submits well. Do you know who will soon destroy your fine Republic?" He once dared to rail at the Metelli: "It is luck, not their services, that makes them consuls!"² They retorted by a line in the same measure: "The Metelli will bring woe to Naevius the poet" (*Dabunt malum Metelli Naevio poetae*). And they did so; Naevius was thrown into prison under a law of the Twelve Tables against the author of defamatory verses. Plautus, his friend, pleaded for him in the theatre, with much show of horror at the punishment inflicted upon the poet, whom he had seen chained to a post, with fetters on his feet day and night. Naevius retracted, and composed two pieces to

¹ Cf. Klussmann, *Cn. Naevii vita et reliquiae*, 1843.

² The line [*Fato fiunt Metelli Romae consules*] may also mean, "It is for the ruin of Rome that the Metelli become consuls."

disavow his petulant attacks.¹ At this price he obtained from the tribunes his liberty. But he soon recommenced, and this time did not fear to attack the regal power of Scipio. "What!" he says, "that which I applaud in the theatre, shall I not dare to wound therewith the ear of one of our kings?"² Alas! slavery now stifles liberty; but at the games of Bacchus we will speak with free voice." In another of his pieces he attacked the austere reputation for morality which the hero had so skilfully secured; upon this Scipio became exasperated, and the incorrigible poet was sent into exile, and made his residence at Utica.

WINE-CART.³

Plautus, warned by this example, no longer dared to mention names; but there are few of his pieces in which he does not deplore the loss of the early simplicity, and attack the manners of the times. Notice his picture of the rhetoricians and philosophers, Scipio's favorite friends: "Those Greeks who, under their long

¹ *Cum in his . . . fabulis, delicta sua et petulantias dictorum, quibus multos ante lacerat diluisset.* (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* iii. 3.)

² *Quemquam regem rumpere.*

³ From a fresco found at Pompeii in a *thermopolium*. (See also, on next page, the drinking-scene from the same source.) The first of these represents a cart containing an immense skin for the transportation of wine; the second, a tavern scene: two of the party (perhaps women) have their heads covered with a kind of hood worn at the present day upon parts of the Italian sea-coast by sailors and fishermen. The drinkers have evidently exhausted their supply, for two cups or drinking-horns are inverted, and a young *pacillator* is bringing fresh ones. Along the wall are hung provisions, — sausages, vegetables, etc.: characters are traced upon the wall, as in the pothouses of our time. (Cf. Roux, *Herculaneum et Pompéi*, iii. 65-67; and Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the words *Carnarium* and *Caupona*.)

cloaks stuffed with books and with the provisions they have begged, assemble, confer, and walk together, all bristling with maxims. At all hours you will find them encamped at Thermopolium, intoxicating themselves with long draughts. When they steal something, they quickly run away with veiled heads, drink it hot, then return, gravely trying to steady themselves upon their drunken legs."¹ And elsewhere of a slave meditating some rascality: "Behold him, about to philosophize!"

DRINKING-SCENE.²

But Plautus does not venture very far upon the dangerous ground of political allusions; he had rather paint the manners of the lower classes,—the knavish valet, the profligate and deluded old man, the usurer of the Forum, the parasite, and the young slave-girl, inevitably declared free in the *dénouement*. [All this was borrowed directly from the Greeks.] By this discretion Plautus only gained the advantage of being overlooked. The favor of the

¹ *Curcul.* II. iii. 13, *seq.* *Thermopolium*, wine-shop, properly a place where heated wine is drunk. The Latin word is retained in the translation, to preserve the ironical allusion to *Thermopylae*. The Romans were fond of mulled wine. Cf. also *Pseudolus*, IV. iii. 18.

² See preceding page, note 3.

aristocracy was reserved for Ennius, for Andronicus and Terence, elegant copyists of Greece and supple worshippers of fortune. Ennius was buried with the Scipios; Terence lived in intimate relations with them.¹ As for the poets of the people, Naevius² died in exile; and if Plautus was not reduced to turn a mill, as he had begun, it does not appear that his favor with the people was ever a compensation for what he lost by satirizing the great men.

The party of the old Romans was defeated in the persons of its poets; Cato avenged it.

In a republic, whoever ceases to rise begins to decline. Scipio could not remain at the height where the victory of Zama had placed him. It was in vain that he obtained the offices of prince of the Senate and of censor, showed in the latter office extreme indulgence, accused an extortioner, L. Cotta,³ and finally caused himself to be sent into Africa to allay the strife between Carthage and Masinissa, which he did not allay;⁴ his popularity was waning. Flaminius, Cato even, were the heroes of the day. To recall the attention of the people he solicited in 194 a second consulship; this was an error on his part, for this second tenure brought him no distinction,⁵ and he gave offence to the people by assigning to senators particular places in the theatre.⁶ When, therefore, in 192, he solicited the office of consul for his son-in-law, Scipio Nasica, and for his friend Laelius, he met with a double refusal. His brother, however, was elected two years later, and intrusted with the command in Asia, whither Africanus went also; but this campaign, more brilliant than difficult, added nothing to his fame, and cost him the repose of his later life. From that

¹ Whatever has been said to the contrary, Terence had some fortune, for he married his daughter to a Roman knight, and left her twenty acres of gardens along the Appian Way.

² Cicero and all commentators following him represent Naevius to have died in 204. But the verses against Scipio could not have been written till after the battle of Zama. In 204 Scipio could not be spoken of as accused and almost deprived of his command, as Naevius speaks of him; the satire at that period would have had no echo: the exile to Utica could not have taken place until after the Second Punic War. Varro, moreover, makes the date much later: *vitam Naevii producit longius* (Cic., *Brut.* 15). — to 199, according to Teuffel in his *Hist. Lat. Lit.*

³ Cic., in *Caecil.* 21.

⁴ Livy, xxxiv. 62. Livy and Plutarch also represent him as going into Asia ambassador to Antiochus; we have already (Vol. II. p. 111) expressed our doubts on this subject.

⁵ According to Plutarch he hastened to take Cato's place in Spain; Livy represents him as going no farther than the Cisalpine; but both agree in describing this consulship as of little importance.

⁶ On the subject of this attack upon equality, see Livy, xxxix. 54, and Val. Max., II. iv. 3.

time onward, to quote the energetic language of Livy, Cato never ceased barking at this great citizen. And yet he had been Scipio's quaestor; but Cato's hard and arid heart had not adopted those sentiments of respect and filial piety, which, in the opinion of the time, were due from the quaestor to his chief. At Thermopylae, Acilius, exaggerating the services of Cato, had declared in the presence of the whole army that the victory was due to him; but when Acilius sued for the censorship Cato forgot the consul's noble conduct, entered the field as a competitor, and, to make the defeat of Acilius more secure, brought against him an accusation of embezzlement of public funds. For a man who prided himself on his old-fashioned morality this was hardly following the examples of early days, or at least the virtues which all men, himself included, ascribed to those times.

At his instigation the two Petilii, tribunes of the people, summoned L. Scipio to account for the treasures delivered up by Antiochus (187). When he had brought his books into court Africanus seized them: "The details are there," he cried, "but they shall not be seen;" and he tore them up. "It shall never be said that I have undergone the affront of being obliged to give account of 4,000,000 sesterces, when I have poured 200,000,000 into the treasury."

The Senate possessed no means of coercing Scipio, and finance did not concern the popular assembly. But above this unwritten constitution of Rome was the idea of popular sovereignty, and the right, in consequence, of the comitia of the tribes to intervene when the established authorities proved inefficient. It was in virtue of this right that the tribunes later became so formidable when they separated from the Senate; and when that day did come the Republic was gone.

The Petilii presented to the tribes a proposal, which Cato supported in a violent speech, to insist that the Senate should institute a judicial commission to examine whether all the spoils of Asia had been lodged in the treasury. It is likely that there were financial irregularities in connection with the expedition. But Manlius Vulso had certainly been guilty of many worse prodigalities or dishonesties. One of the ten commissioners who had been associated with him endeavored to have him included in

the prosecution. But Cato, urged by hatred, would have but a single defendant, that his vengeance might be more certain. The senators were obliged to obey the popular decree, and the tribunal, established under the presidency of the praetor Terentius Culleo, declared L. Scipio, his quaestor, and one of his lieutenants, A. Hostilius, guilty of peculation. The restitution demanded was 4,000,000 denarii. "Unless this sum is paid into the treasury, or security be given for its payment," said the praetor, "L. Scipio shall go to prison." Gracchus, one of the tribunes, opposed his veto to this decree. "Long since an enemy of the Scipios," he cried, "I swear I am so still, and I have no desire to seek to gain their favor by my present course. But the prison to which I have seen Africanus lead so many foreign kings and generals shall not close upon his brother." And he directed that L. Scipio should be set at liberty. But Scipio's property was seized and sold, all of which proved insufficient to pay the fine, — his poverty proving his innocence. His relatives and friends were eager to make up to him what he had lost, but he accepted only enough for the barest necessities of life (187).¹

A year later, being sent into Asia to put an end to the disputes between the kings of Pergamus and Syria, he received from these princes and from the cities in alliance with Rome presents enough to enable him to celebrate on his return with great magnificence games that lasted ten days, in which were displayed all the curiosities that Asia and Africa could offer, — athletic combats, hunts of lions and panthers, and scenic representations. The man whose condemnation Cato had procured became again the favorite of the people.

ROMAN ATHLETES.²

¹ Cicero extols, in one of his orations against Verres, the disinterestedness of Scipio Asiaticus, and in the *de Officiis* that of Africanus. (ii. 22.) [But this evidence, as well as the sale of his (immoveable) property, is but poor evidence against the general belief in his embezzlements; nor does his subsequent display to the people seem consistent with the indignation of injured innocence. — *Ed.*]

² Wrestlers at the pancration. (*Museo Pio Clementino*, vol. v. pl. 36, and Saglio, *op. cit.* fig. 520.)

But the rude peasant of the Sabine country was tenacious in his hatred; Asiaticus having escaped him, he set on foot a criminal proceeding against Africanus before the tribes. "We must," he said, "bring down to the level of republican equality this proud citizen, whose example encourages contempt of the laws and magistrates, and disdain for the customs and institutions of the country." The tribune Naevius accused Scipio of having sold peace to the King of Syria.

SCENIC REPRESENTATION.¹

On the appointed day Africanus appeared, surrounded by a numerous crowd of friends and clients. "Tribunes of the people, and you, Romans," he said, with splendid arrogance, "on the anniversary of this day I conquered Hannibal and the Carthaginians. As, therefore, it is but decent for this day to adjourn

¹ Two female magicians with horses' hoofs, — emblem of infernal power. It is possible they are Hippopodes, — a Scythian nation, whose country is famous in the annals of magic; one of their cities was an Egyptian colony. (Cf. Roux, *Herculanum et Pompei*, vol. iii. pl. 125 and p. 64.)

litigation, I go now to the Capitol, there to return thanks to the gods. Come with me and beseech the gods that you may have commanders like myself, since if you have anticipated my years with honors, I have anticipated your honors with services." Accordingly he went up from the rostrum to the Capitol, and the whole assembly followed him, leaving the tribunes alone with their slaves and the crier. Scipio, thus attended, visited in turn



RUINS OF THE TOMB OF THE CORNELII (A BRANCH OF THE SCIPIOS) UPON THE APPIAN WAY.¹

all the temples in the city; and the day was more of a triumph to him than that on which he led captive Syphax and the Carthaginians, for he now triumphed over the tribunes and over the people of Rome themselves.²

On another occasion he exclaimed, "I have brought back from Africa but a name." And foreseeing nothing but new attacks

¹ From an engraving by Piranesi in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

² Livy, xxxviii. 51. In Aulus Gellius and Polybius (xxiv. 9), words, names, and circumstances are given differently. Livy himself avows that these last years of Scipio are full of uncertainties.

from envy and continual disputes with the tribunes, he withdrew to Liternum, determined not to attend the trial. The day arriving when he was summoned, L. Scipio pleaded the excuse of illness. This the two tribunes would not accept, and were about to proceed to some violent measure, when Sempronius Gracchus once more intervened, declaring that Scipio's excuse should be received, and reproaching his countrymen sharply for their lack of respect for so eminent a citizen. "Will men of illustrious character never," he exclaimed, "through their own merits, or through honors conferred by you, arrive at a safe and inviolable sanctuary where their old age may repose, if not revered, at least secure from injury?" The affair was abandoned; and the Senate thanked Tiberius Gracchus for having consulted the public good rather than his personal feelings.

Having thus withdrawn to Liternum, Scipio finished his days there, devoting himself to the muses in a villa which the humblest of Seneca's contemporaries would have despised. Ennius came often to read to him his verses, and to seek from the conqueror of Hannibal inspiration for a poem upon the Second Punic War. A monument consecrated the memory of this friendship between the poet and the hero. The Scipios placed a statue of Ennius, between those of Asiaticus and Africanus, upon the cenotaph erected by them near the Porta Capena. Tradition tells that in the solitude of Liternum pirates landed one day, coming from a remote country. Scipio armed his slaves; but no sooner were the brigands aware whose was the house, than they threw down their arms, and, approaching, placed upon the threshold gifts like those offered to the gods.¹ Polybius places the death of Africanus in the same year with that of Philopoemen and of Hannibal (183). What is believed to be his tomb is shown at Patrica, the ancient Liternum, and the second word of the inscription which was engraved by his own order: "Ungrateful country, thou shalt not have my ashes."²

¹ Val. Max., II. x.

² Whatever has been said on this point, we find it impossible to imagine Scipio embezzling the public funds. A man who had done such great things could never have sunk to meanness like this, especially one who, like Scipio, acted the part of the demigod. Notwithstanding the anecdote related by Val. Maximus of the dowry of 10,000 *ases* given to the daughter of Cneius Scipio, the family must have been a rich one, for Asiaticus and Africanus, very young, sought

Ennius had composed for him another epitaph: "Here lies a man whose exploits could never be suitably rewarded;" and he makes the hero say: "From the lands of the rising sun, beyond the Palus Mocotis, no man can measure his exploits with mine. If to mortal man it be permitted to ascend into the region where dwell the immortal gods, to me shall open the wide portal of the skies." These words are certainly not modest, but it was allowable for the poet to put them into his hero's mouth. Modesty, moreover, was never a Roman virtue, and men would readily have forgiven the savior of Rome if he possessed none of it.

III. THE CENSORSHIP OF CATO.

CATO was triumphant. The Scipios were humbled, and all the aristocracy with them. After the discovery of the Bacchanalia, the people, notwithstanding the keen opposition of the nobles, gave even the office of censor to this new man, whose hatred for all that was high corresponded with that instinctive jealousy against the best citizens which exists in the lowest class in calm and prosperous times. Cato had not so much sued for this office as demanded it; yet he would not have it except in company with his friend and early protector, Valerius Flaccus (184). "The city needs to be purified," he said; "and it is not the most agreeable physician, but the severest, that she requires." The aristocracy and the publicans were roughly handled. He expelled seven members of the Senate, among them an ex-consul, the brother of Flaminius, and Manilius, a candidate for the consulship. The examination of the equestrian order was equally severe; but when he deprived L. Scipio of his horse, after having already ruined him, he was suspected of envy, says his biographer. It was thought he did this only to insult

and obtained together the burdensome office of aediles (Polybius, x. 4); but their wealth was that of an early period. Africanus fixed the dowry of each of his daughters at fifty talents, it is true, but he gave nothing while he was alive; and after his death his widow was able to pay to the sons-in-law but half of what had been promised to them. The remainder was finally paid by Scipio Aemilianus after the death of Aemilia. Nor was this sum of fifty talents an extraordinary dowry, since Plutarch affirms that Paulus Aemilius left scarcely enough to pay his wife's dower (Paul. Aemil., 4), estimating the value of his estate at 370,000 drachmae (*ibid.* 43), or, like Polybius, at more than sixty talents. As to Scipio's buildings, his villa of Liternum was very modest. (See Seneca's letter dated from that village.)

Africanus, and once more to defy the entire nobility in the person of a Scipio. Not content with the official censure, he added violent language¹ or scandalous revelations. Flaminius having imprudently asked the reason of the disgrace Cato had inflicted on his house, the censor told the following fact: in going to take command of his province, Flaminius had taken with him a favorite boy; one day during a feast, the latter reproached the consul with having taken him away from Rome on the eve of a gladiatorial display; just at the moment, a Gaul of high rank had presented himself at the consul's tent, imploring protection for himself and family. "Since you missed the show of gladiators," said Flaminius, "would you like to see this man die?" On the boy's approval, the consul seized his sword, struck the Gaul while he was yet speaking, and laid him dead at the feet of his minion. The Flamini, like the Scipios, were therefore humbled; the Galbas were to have their turn; and the Fulvii, often attacked by Cato, escaped his blows only to fall by the censure of one of their own relatives.²

The finances at this time were in the worst possible condition. Cato farmed out the revenue, at a very high price, and made advantageous contracts for public works. This integrity excited such clamor among the publicans that the Senate, gained over by the faction of Flaminius,³ broke the leases, declared the sales invalid, ordered new assignments, and granted discounts, no doubt for the interest of the state, but certainly also of individuals. Some tribunes of this party went so far as to cite Cato before the popular assembly, that he might be condemned to pay a fine of two talents. The censors reluctantly obeyed the Senate; they assigned contracts for the revenue at slight reductions; but, by way of punishment to those who had broken their first engagements, denied all such persons the right to bid. These measures were well meant, but trivial, short-sighted attempts to save the state by an imitation of the severe integrity of earlier times on the part of men who had no conception of the vast and thorough reforms of which the Republic had need.

¹ *Acerbae orationes . . . in eos quos.* (Livy, xxxix. 42.)

² In 176 Fulvius the censor degraded his own brother from the Senate.

³ Plutarch, *Cat.* 17.

Cato further took revenge during this censorship for the defeat that he had suffered in the matter of the Oppian law; he included in the enumeration of property owned by the citizens the women's dress, ornaments, and carriages, and ordered further that young slaves bought since the last census should be valued at ten times the price they had cost, and should be taxed one third per cent. Water at Rome and in its arid neighborhood was a matter of the first



SOURCES OF THE ANIO, NEAR SUBIACO.¹

necessity; but most of the aqueducts being then for the larger part of their course subterranean, like the *Aqua Appia*, the *Anio Vetus*, and the *Aqua Marcia*, fraud was easy; a strict examination brought to light many thefts of water, impoverishing the public supply, to the profit of wealthy landowners. These the censors

¹ The Anio, whose head-waters were remarkably cold and limpid, fed two aqueducts, the *Anio Vetus* (271), which began but twenty miles distant from Rome, below the city of Tibur, and the *Anio Novus*, constructed by the Emperor Claudius, who took the water much higher, at a point forty-two miles from Rome and only six from Subiaco (*Sublaqueum*).

suppressed; and they also caused to be demolished within thirty days all buildings or sheds belonging to individuals which projected into public ground; they employed contractors in paving

cisterns with stone, in cleansing the sewers, and in constructing others in quarters of the city where they were required. A road was made through the Formian mountain, and a court of justice, called the Porcian basilica, was erected.

His conduct as censor, so hostile to the rich and to the aristocratic party, procured Cato violent enmities; but it also gave him a splendid name and the affection of the people, who erected to him a statue in the temple of Hygieia, with an inscription signifying that he had through salutary decrees and wise institutions saved the commonwealth when on the way to ruin. There was, it is evident, a large party who sym-

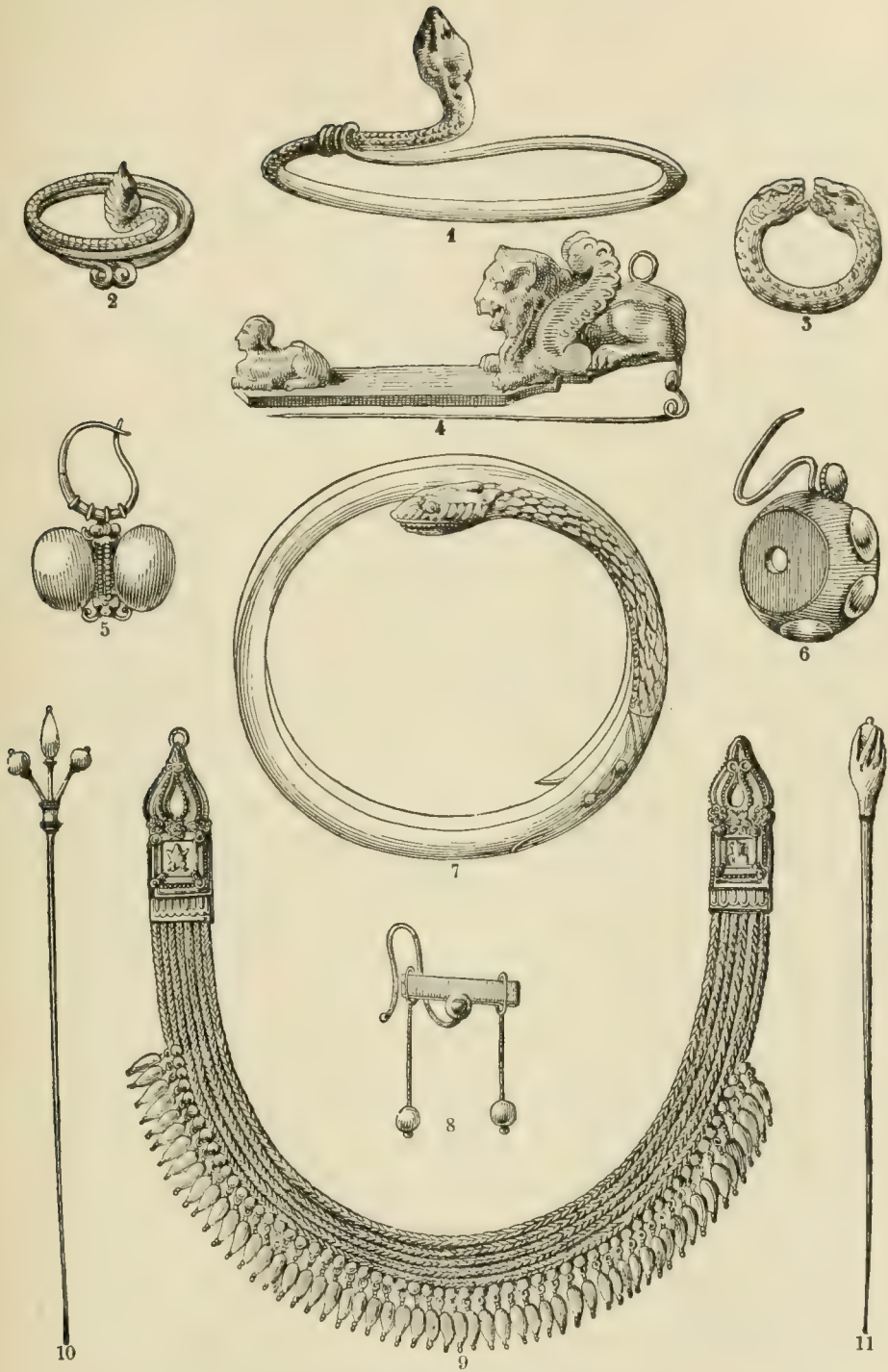


HYGIEIA.¹

pathized with the rigid censor. At its head Cato never ceased

¹ Louvre, No. 84 of the Clarac Catalogue. Hygieia, one of the four daughters of Aesculapius, was by reason of this reckoned among the tutelary divinities. She is represented in the Louvre offering to the mystic serpent the emblem of health or of life, the cup containing his food.

NOTE.—See p. 411 for illustration,—Women's Jewels:—1. Bracelet. 2. Ring representing a little serpent, the head raised. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. vii. pl. 94.) 3. Ring with double-headed serpent. (Roux, *ibid.*) 4. Pin. 5. 6. Earrings. (Niccolini.) 7. Bracelets in the form of a serpent, the eyes a disk of silver. (Roux, *ibid.*) 8. Earring with double pendant of pearls, shape frequently found in excavations. 9. Radiated collar, *monile*



JEWELS (SEE NOTE, PAGE 410).

to combat the ambition, avidity, and luxury of the great, sometimes by accusations of individuals, sometimes by enforcing the sumptuary laws, which have never been efficient, and by all those propositions which gave new but useless guaranties to old institutions. Among these are: —

In 181 a law against the custom of soliciting office, and the



HYGIEIA AND AESCULAPIUS.¹

Orchian law, to limit the number of guests and the expense of feasts.²

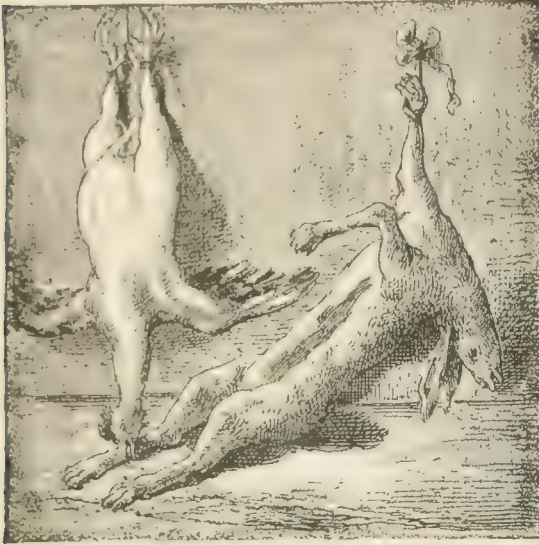
In 180 the Villian, or *lex Annalis*, repressing the office-seekers' canvass still further, by requiring every candidate to give proof that he had made ten campaigns, and by fixing the age requisite before a man might hold office as follows: thirty-one for the quaestorship; thirty-seven for the curule aedileship; forty for the praetorship:

radiatum, band formed of scales ingeniously interlaced, to which are attached seventy-one pendants: each side of the clasp, decorated with a frog, had a ruby cut pear-shaped: one only has come down to us. (Roux, *ibid.*) 10, 11. Hairpins.

¹ Bas-relief in marble from the Pio Clementino Museum.

² Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 17 See also Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xv. 9.

forty-three for the consulship; an interval of at least two years being required between holding any two of these magistracies.¹



NO. 1.



NO. 2.

DAINTIES.⁴

law. These prohibitions were extended in 144 to all Italy by the Didian law. See in Macrobius (III. xvii. 4) the untranslatable discourse of an orator supporting the Fannian law: *Si quidem eo res redierat, ut gula illecti plerique ingenui pueri pudicitiam et libertatem suam reddiderent; plerique ex plebe Romana vino madidi, in comitium venirent et ebrii, etc.* These sumptuary laws were many times renewed, but always in vain.

⁴ Pompeian paintings. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. v., 4th series, pl. 49.) Part of

In 169 the Voconian law, to prevent, as at Sparta, the accumulation of property in female hands.²

In 161 the Fannian law, against luxury of the table.³

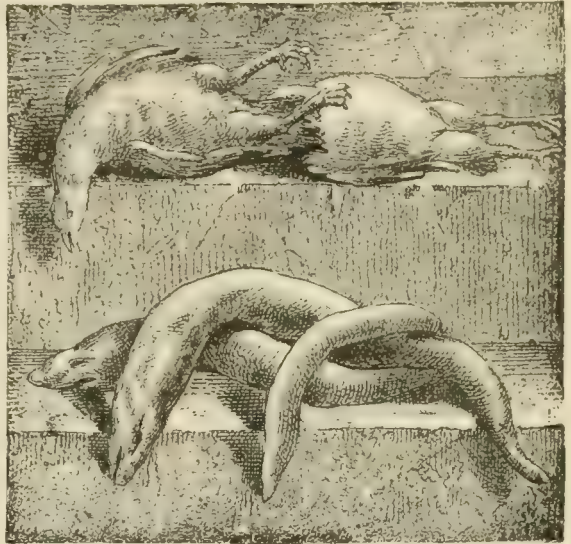
¹ Cic., *Fam.* x. 25. Other calculations, founded on the necessity of the ten campaigns, which might begin at the age of seventeen, bring the age for the quaestorship lower.

² A woman could neither be made general legatee, nor could she receive more than 100,000 sesterces (Dion., lvi. 10), or a legacy larger than that of the principal heir. (Aulus Gellius, vii. 13, xvii. 6; Cic., in *Verr.* II. 42, 43; *pro Balbo*, 8; *de Senec.* 5.) The Furian law (183) forbade to leave more than 1,000 ases to any one individual [not the direct heir?]. An attempt was made by these laws to prevent the excess of legacies which parcelled out estates and brought about the extinction or impoverishment of old families. (Cic., in *Verr.* II. i. 40.)

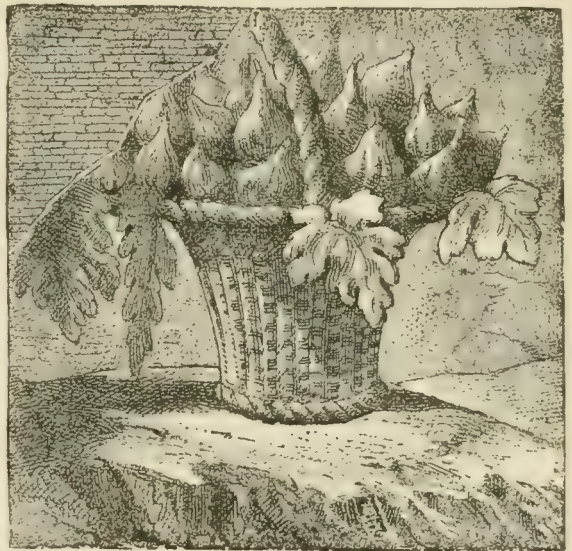
³ This law limited to 100 ases the expense of banquets given during the Roman and plebeian games, the saturnalia, and other of the great holidays; to thirty ases for other sacred days; finally to ten for ordinary repasts. Certain meats and drinks it forbade absolutely. (Aulus Gellius, II. xxiv. 2-6; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* x. 50.) Not only the host, but the guests also, were liable to the penalties of this

Finally, in 159 a consular law, with capital penalties against office-seekers convicted of bribery.

We may note further, as a symptom of the ideas then prevalent, that four years after this the consul Scipio Nasica caused a permanent theatre to be demolished because such an edifice would have been a standing temptation to a pleasure which the fathers of the Republic had not known.¹ In 169 Cato had instigated the decree that kings should not be allowed to come to Rome, where they always left behind them some of the vices of their courts; later he caused Carneades to be expelled, and sent home the Achaeans who had been detained in Italy. He did not even, after the fall of Perseus, feel willing to encourage a war with Rhodes, whither all generals and soldiers alike would have gone to seek



NO. 3.



NO. 4.

DAINTIES.

the decoration of a dining-room, which reveals to us the culinary tastes of the Romans:—No. 1. A fat chicken hanging beside a hare, — the latter so highly esteemed that the proverb, “to live on hare,” had the meaning to live in great luxury.

(Aristoph., *Vesp.* 709, and the *scholia*.) No. 2. Thrushes and mushrooms. No. 3. Partridges, a lamprey, and an eel from the Ganges (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ix. 3) or from Lake Copais. (Athenaeus, vii. 13.) No. 4. A basket of figs for dessert. (Cf. Roux, *op. cit.*, vol. v. pp. 91–94.)

¹ These sumptuary laws were so futile that in 145 magnificent games were given by Mummius.

that which Manlius had brought back from Asia; namely, new wealth and new vices.¹ "I have no doubt," he said, with bitter and cynical eloquence, "I have no doubt that the Rhodians would have been glad to see us less successful in this war. They are not alone in wishing it. . . . Still they did nothing in aid of Perseus. . . . The Rhodians wished to become our enemies; but what law punishes this mere wish? Who will say that if a man wishes to have 500 acres of public land, or if he wishes to possess more flocks than the law permit, he shall for this be fined? Assuredly every one of us wishes to have more than is permitted to him; are we punished for this? Further, it is said, the Rhodians are arrogant. I should in truth be sorry that any one should address this reproach to me or to any of my family; but what is it to us if the Rhodians are arrogant? Is it possible that we take offence because there is a people in the world prouder than ourselves?"



COIN OF CASSIUS
LONGINUS.²

He constantly reiterated his demand that Carthage should be destroyed,³ for the reason that he saw the rapid progress of corruption, and he felt that it was only wise for the Romans to overwhelm with a final and complete destruction their formidable enemy while they yet possessed the strength and resolution to do it. Coming generations, depraved by self-indulgence, would never, he feared, be equal to this task. During his consulate he had obtained the passage of a law, *de provinciis sumptibus*, to limit the burdensome exactions of the governors. And no doubt he approved, very late in his life, of the efforts of the tribune Calpurnius Piso, the creator of the *quaestiones perpetuae*.⁴ Further reforms of the same nature were the *leges tabellariae* of the tribunes Gabinius and Cassius, establishing vote by ballot in 139 for the election

¹ (*Rhodienses*) *quorum opibus diripiendis possidendisque non pauci ex summatibus viris intenti infensique erant.* (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* VII. iii. 6, the oration of Cato *pro Rhodiensibus*.)

² LONGIN. III. V. A senator about to deposit his vote in the basket, with the letter V (*votum*). Silver coin of the Cassian family.

³ Cato was not the only man to say, *Delenda est Carthago*; this cry was so popular [especially among the mercantile classes] that Plautus repeats it in closing his wishes for the prosperity of Rome in the *Cistellaria* (I. iii. 51): *Ut vobis victi Poeni poenas sufferant.*

⁴ See pp. 368-369.

of magistrates, and in 137 for the judgments pronounced by the popular assembly;¹ and not long after this all voting was in this way, making bribery more difficult. Montesquieu and Cicero are in favor of open voting, in order that the lower classes may be enlightened by the higher, and restrained by the gravity of eminent men. But when corruption is general, what can Brutus or Cato do? Moreover, even with the secret ballot, the people are sure to know what these grave personages advise and desire. Cicero's former opinion is, therefore, to be preferred; namely, that the secret ballot is the silent defender of liberty.



VOTING
SCENE.²

This vigorous war made by Cato upon the manners of his time, this attitude of perpetual censure, had created for him too many enemies to leave him in the enjoyment of tranquillity.³ Fifty times he was cited before the magistrates. The last of these occasions was in his eighty-third year. Nevertheless he prepared and delivered his defence himself, in which occur these noble and simple words: "It is indeed difficult, Romans, for a man to answer for his conduct before the men of a new generation." At eighty-five he cited Serv. Galba once more to appear before the people; "for," says Livy, "he had a soul and a body of iron, which old age had not been able to impair."

But this persevering hatred had at last called out an aristocratic reaction. Not being able to impose silence on this perpetual censor, the nobles had rendered his opposition less dangerous by breaking in his hands the weapon he was using against them. In the year 179 they destroyed the democratic organization of the comitia.⁴

¹ Cicero enumerates four of these laws: the *Gabinian* (*de Amic.* 12); the *Cassian* (*Brutus*, 25, 27); the *Papirian*, in the year 131, for the adoption or rejection of proposed laws (*pro Mil.* 3; *ad Fam.* ix. 21; *Brut. ibid.*); the *Caelian*, in 107, for voting in cases of sentence upon high treason (*perduellonis*). The tribune Cassius (Longinus Ravilla) was, after Cato, the severest and most upright man of the time. In 113 he condemned several Vestals whom the pontifex maximus had spared: we shall hear again of him.

² P. NERVA. One of the *pontes*, or narrow passage-ways, through which the voter passed to deposit his vote, — an arrangement designed to shelter him from the final and most dangerous solicitations of the candidate. A person presents a voting document to another citizen, while a third is casting it into the basket; above, an obscure symbol. Reverse of a silver coin of the Silian family.

³ *Nec quemquam saepius postulatam et semper absolutum.* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 27.) In the time of Cicero no less than fifty of Cato's discourses were in existence. (*Brut.* 17.)

⁴ Livy, xl. 51. See our Vol. I. p. 642. The old assembly by tribes still existed, however.

Lepidus and Fulvius, who had succeeded Cato in the censorship, had re-established for the centuriate assembly qualifications of property, that is to say, — the system of classes, abolished before the Second Punic War. Sempronius Gracchus completed this reorganization of the comitia by withdrawing the freedmen from the rustic tribes, and collecting them in one of the city tribes, the Esquiline.¹ Later the institution of the *quaestiones perpetuae*, although justified by the public interest, again furnished to the nobles, who alone filled these offices, an occasion of seizing upon the right — until that time belonging to the popular assembly — of judging finally in criminal cases.

In this return towards the past, this reaction so favorable to their privileges, the aristocracy were not negligent in the observances of religion, which all the established powers persisted in considering an important means of government. The more the spirit departed, the more resolutely they clung to the letter; and the people were terrified by prodigies upon prodigies, the magistrates recalled by severe measures to respect auspices,² the sacredness of holy days religiously maintained (the Fufian law), and lastly, even the assembly of the tribes placed by the Aelian law (167) in dependence upon the will of the augurs.³

Thus there came about by means of laws, religion, and judicial authority, as well as through the concentration of property and the degradation of the people, a complete aristocratic reaction. "Rome," says Sallust, "was divided, the nobles on one side, the people on the other; and in the midst the shattered Republic and dying liberty. The faction of the nobles was victorious; the public treasury, the provinces, offices, triumphs, all the glory and wealth of the world was theirs. Without any bond of common interest, without strength, the people was but a powerless multitude, decimated by wars and by poverty. For whilst the legionaries were fighting abroad, powerful neighbors were evicting the fathers and the children of the absent soldiers. The lust of dominion and an insatiable cupidity caused all things to be invaded, to be profaned,

¹ Livy, xlv. 15.

² Two consuls were recalled from their provinces and compelled to resign office on account of informalities in their elections. (Cic., *de Div.* ii. 33.)

³ Cic., in *Vat.* vi. 9; *ad Fam.* vii. 30; *Proc. cons.* 19.

until the day when that very tyranny brought about its own downfall." ¹

This downfall Cato had foreseen, and, to his eternal honor, had made his life one long battle to avert it. During a period of more than sixty years he had striven against the laxity of discipline in the army, against the venality of the people, the extravagance of the women, the new tone in manners and morals. But finally, conquered himself, he gave way before the torrent. His ostentatious simplicity and frugality were lost in the scandal of his later years. Cato also lived a day too long.

"He had many slaves, whom he purchased among the captives taken in war, always choosing the youngest and such as were most capable of instruction, like whelps or colts, that may be trained at pleasure. . . . When he was a young soldier, and as yet in low circumstances, he never found fault with anything that was served up at his table, but thought it a shame to quarrel with a servant on account of his palate. Yet afterward, when he was possessed of an easy fortune, and made entertainments for his friends and the principal officers, as soon as dinner was over he never failed to correct with the whip such of his slaves as had not made good attendance or had suffered anything to be spoiled. He contrived to raise quarrels among his servants and to keep them at variance, ever suspecting and fearing some bad consequence from their unanimity; and when any of them were guilty of a capital crime he gave them a formal trial and put them to death in the presence of their fellow-servants.

"As his thirst after wealth increased, and he found that agriculture was rather amusing than profitable, he turned his thoughts to surer investments, and employed his money in purchasing ponds, hot-baths, fullers' fields, and estates in good condition, having pasture-ground and woodlands. From these he had a great revenue; such a one, he used to say, as Jupiter himself could not deprive him of. He practised usury upon ships, which was considered disreputable. His method

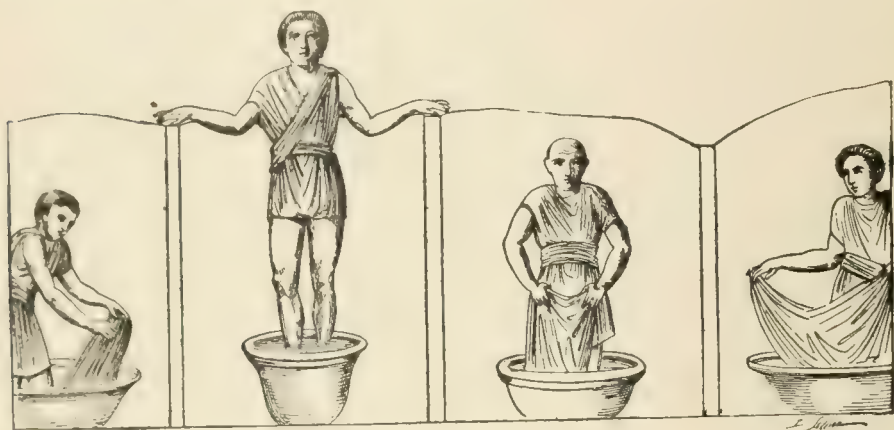


MERCHANT VESSEL.

¹ *Jugurtha*, 41, and *ad Caesar*, 4. Lucan sums up (i. 167) the causes of the Republic's fall, but with less energy than does Sallust.

was to insist that those whom he furnished with money should form a company. When there were fifty partners and as many ships, he demanded a share for himself, which he managed by one of his freedmen, who sailed and trafficked with them. Thus, though his gain was great, he did not risk his capital, but only a small part of it.

“He also lent money to such of his slaves as wished it, which they employed in purchasing boys, who were afterward trained and sold to Cato. To incline his son to the same economy, he told him that to diminish his substance was not the part of a man,



WORKSHOP OF FULLERS.¹

but of a widow woman. Yet he carried the thing to extravagance when he hazarded this assertion, — that the man truly wonderful and God-like, and fit to be registered in the lists of glory, was he whose accounts showed that he had increased what he had received from his ancestors. At an unseasonable time of life he

¹ Pompeian pictures. (Roux, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. pl. 127.) The fuller's workshops were important and extensive establishments, for the reason that all Italy clothes itself in wool. One existed in Pompeii between the street of Mercury and that of the triumphal arch; the two frescos of pages 420 and 421 decorated its peristyle. In the first of these, workmen, placed in something like niches, and standing up to their knees in vats of water, tread the fabrics with their feet. In the second, a slave is carding a white fabric bordered with red, — no doubt a senatorial toga. Another, crowned with olive-leaves, is bringing the wicker cage, over which the materials are stretched to expose them to the vapor of sulphur. This object is surmounted by the bird of Minerva, tutelary divinity of manufacturers of stuffs. A woman, wearing a collar, a gold net, and emerald bracelets, receives the completed work, and appears to be the mistress, or at least the directress, of the manufactory.

married a young girl, the daughter of his secretary, — a union unworthy of him, and at his age even to be called disgraceful.”¹

Cato conquered, Cato the object of scandal, and saying publicly that he could not understand how it was possible for two augurs to look at each other without laughing! Who was



WORKSHOP OF FULLERS.

left to withstand the torrent? Before abandoning himself to it, the austere censor had seen the flood coming in on all sides. He had caused the Greek philosophers to be driven out, he had sought to close Rome and Italy against them; but against ideas, no laws are strong enough, no walls high enough.² The senators

¹ Plut., *Cat.* 24.

² Nevertheless, in his old age, Cato read the Greek authors much, especially Thucydides and Demosthenes, and his own writings were enriched with maxims and incidents of history

Julius, Aufidius, Albinus, Cassius Hemina, Fabius Pictor, and others left Cato to write his *Origines* in Latin, themselves composing their histories in the more learned language; and this taste for Greek letters, passing through Italy, penetrated to the foot of Mount Atlas, where a son of Masinissa, Manastabal by name, extolled the muses of Mount Pindus.¹ It had been the aim of Cato to bring back frugality, labor, the dignity of the poor man; but daily the fields were more and more deserted, luxury became more ruinous, and the servility of the people greater; the elections were a market, and the tariff of votes was a public thing. He had given, in command of provinces, the example of a wise and unselfish administration; but never were exactions so numerous and so cruel. He had combated the disorder in the army; and Scipio Aemilianus found the soldiers in Spain in the most frightful state of insubordination. He had sought to bring back the nobles to a recognition of equality, to a respect for the laws, and he had beheld the formation of an aristocracy which dominated the very Senate itself. The space between the nobles and the people had widened, an abyss yawned deeper and more fatal than ever. At the close of his life Cato, if he had remained himself, would have been a stranger in Rome.

IV. SCIPIO AEMILIANUS.

ROMAN society, therefore, was hurrying towards revolution. And the movement was legitimate; for it must needs have been that this city, in becoming an empire, should be itself transformed; that this Italian town, before it could enclose the world within its limits, should renounce its narrow spirit, its local religion, its laws hostile to the stranger; that it should open itself to all ideas and all forms of worship, that it might finally be opened to all peoples of the world. By dint of multiplying gods, they drew near to that idea of divine unity soon after proclaimed

drawn from Greek authors. Many of his sayings are translated word for word from the Greek. (Plut., *Cat. in fine*; Cic., *de Senec.* 1.)

¹ Livy, *Epit.* xlix. Masinissa had Greek musicians at his table, Athenaeus tells us, and Micipsa established at Cirta a colony of Greeks. (Strabo, xvii. 831.)

by Cicero; by destroying municipal patriotism they were to rise to that conception of the universal city, whose laws Marcus Aurelius was to write. And we, are we justified in complaining of the transformation, without which we should have been but disinherited children of the ancient world? If the Romans had conceived for Greek literature that contempt which Alexander's soldiers had for the civilization of Africa, Phœnicia, and Central Asia, the long labor of a race endowed with all intellectual gifts would have been lost for us, as was lost the wisdom of the priests of Egypt and Chaldaea. To-day we strive with difficulty to awaken a few of those sacred echoes on the shores of the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Ganges, as we penetrate the ruins of Palenque, or explore the banks of the Ohio, asking from the New World the secrets of its mysterious past. It is fitting, therefore, that we own our obligation to the Romans, in that they showed neither the haughty contempt of the Greeks, nor the savage indifference of the Spaniards for the civilizations they destroyed, but the honest admiration which made of them docile scholars of their captives, and preserved for us so many great works.

Further, we must not regard Rome as falling suddenly and completely into vice and effeminacy. In becoming rich and powerful, she had assumed the modes of living which belong to wealth and fame, as, at an early day, she had been fashioned by poverty and weakness. Many of her citizens abused their opportunities; many, however, were capable of uniting the elegancies of the new life with the virtues of the earlier time, and the necessary evolution which was going on would have had only fortunate results if the movement could have been retained within the limits which certain of the nobler spirits sought to maintain. The severe genius of Latium, slowly fertilized and polished by Greek science and refinement, would doubtless have given us the most glorious products; and this it was which the greatest Romans hoped for,—Paulus Aemilius, whose life was consecrated by turns to public affairs, his children's education, and the pursuits of literature, who brought home from Macedon, as his sole booty, the library of Perseus;¹

¹ Plut., *Paul. Aemil.* 43, and Polybius, xxxiii. 8. There was not means to pay to his wife the dowry she had brought him, and it became necessary to sell land for the purpose. A son of Paulus Aemilius, Fabius, wrote Roman annals.

Scipio Nasica, declared by the Senate to be the most upright man in the state, and his son Coreulum, so modest that he refused the title of *imperator* with the triumph, and so influential that he was



READER.⁴

able thrice to postpone that destruction of Carthage upon which Cato was determined;¹ Calpurnius Piso, the austere, surnamed *Frugi*, a skilful orator, a valiant leader, a profound lawyer and writer;² the Scaevolae, eminent at the Forum and the bar;³ the two Laelii, renowned for their constancy in friendship, especially the second, surnamed "the Wise," who was the friend of Pacuvius and Terence, perhaps also their guide and counsellor; Sempronius, the father of the Gracchi, and

the pacificator of Spain; Fabius Servilianus and Manlius, who both punished with death the disorders and extortions of their sons;⁵ lastly, the Tuberos, of the Aelian family, who held four consulships during this period. They were so poor, notwithstanding their alliance with the Aemilian and Cornelian families, that

¹ In 159 the censors built a theatre with comfortable seats; Nasica represented it was dangerous to public manners to encourage scenic plays too much, and the construction of the theatre was delayed for a time.

² He composed memoirs or annals of his time.

³ Of this family the most eminent were Publius, the consul during the tribuneship of Tiberius Gracchus; Quintus, the guide of Cicero, a man who dared, in the open Senate, to resist the all-powerful Sylla; another Quintus, son of Publius, whom Cicero calls the greatest orator among lawyers, the greatest lawyer among orators. Cicero relates of the first Quintus that, buying an estate one day, he paid 100,000 sesterces more than was asked, because he considered the price insufficient. (*De Off.* iii. 15.)

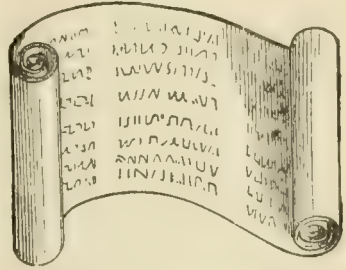
⁴ From a bas-relief in marble; a man reading a *libellus*, a volume formed of pages of parchment bound as our books are. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the word *Libellus*.)

⁵ The province of Macedon accused Silanus of extortion. Manlius, his father, judged in the case, banished the son from his presence, and when the latter, in his grief and despair, hanged himself, the father refused to be present at his funeral. (Livy, *Ep.* liv.; Val. Max., V. viii. 3; Cic., *de Fin. bon.* i. 7.)

sixteen of them held jointly only one small house and farm in the Veian country. Quintus Tubero, the son-in-law of Paulus Aemilius, never possessed any other than earthenware vessels, with the exception of a little silver cup given him by the conqueror of Macedon.¹

But the grandest figure of all among these illustrious personages is Scipio Aemilianus, and the grandson, by adoption, of Africanus. His friendship for Polybius is celebrated in antiquity.

"Our intimacy," says Polybius, "began by the conversations that we had together in respect to the books which he lent me. When the Achaeans who were summoned to Rome were dispersed through different cities of Italy, Scipio and his brother Fabius urgently desired of the praetor that I should be allowed to remain with them. . . . One day, while Fabius was absent at the Forum, I found myself alone with Aemilianus, who said to me with gentleness, and blushing as he spoke: 'Why is it, Polybius, when you share the same table with my brother and myself, you always address your conversation by preference to him? Apparently you think me, as do my fellow-citizens, indolent and idle, because I am not devoted to legal studies and practice. Why should I be, indeed, when all men say that



BOOK (VOLUMEN).²



SILVER CUP.³

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 50. Paulus Aemilius gave to him as his share of the booty five pounds of silver. In respect to all these eminent men, who sought to blend the virtues of Rome with Greek refinement and elegance, see M. Hinstin's interesting study, *Les Romains à Athènes*.

² From a Pompeian painting. A manuscript on papyrus, formed by pasting together pieces so as to form a long roll (*volumen*), which the reader opened as he read.

³ Guhl and Koner, *Das Leben der Griechen und Römer*, p. 569, fig. 452.

it is not an orator, but a general whom the Scipios should furnish to Rome?' 'In the name of all the gods,' I replied, 'do not believe that if I do as you say it is for lack of esteem towards you, but only because Fabius is the elder. Moreover I greatly admire your sentiments and your enthusiasm; and if my counsels can in any way aid you worthily to sustain the name you bear, I beg that you will command my services.' Then Scipio, taking me by the hands, exclaimed: 'Oh, when shall I see that happy day in which, free from all engagements, and living in my house, you will give me all your thoughts! I shall then feel myself worthy of my ancestors.'"¹

Scipio disposed his affections nobly; another of his friends was Panaetius, "the Rhodian master," whose philosophy, softened by Platonic influence, humanized the severities of the Porch. In his judgment virtue was the greatest good; but he admitted that other forms of good might find their place at the side of virtue, and he taught his illustrious pupil the true foundation of social order: "There is nothing virtuous which is not useful; and all which is really useful is virtuous."²

The first effect of this noble intercourse with great minds was to inspire Scipio with a love for serious studies, and an aversion for the licentious manners of the Roman youth. Thus, while Greece and Asia were infecting Rome with their vices, the friendship of Polybius increased in Scipio the old virtues of the Republic, giving them a more elevated tone; and while the spirit of rapine was invading Rome, Scipio astonished his fellow-citizens by his indifference towards money, the great problems of the city's welfare and of the life of man filling that noble mind.

These virtues of Aemilianus even won the esteem of Cato, who, hoping to find in him the destroyer of Carthage, was willing for the moment to lay aside his hatred of the Scipios. "That man alone," he said of Aemilianus, applying to him a verse of Homer,³ — "that man alone has sense; others flit like shadows." We have elsewhere spoken of his military services, his efforts to restore discipline, and his integrity in the midst of the spoils of Carthage.

¹ Polybius, xxxii. 9.

² Cic., *de Off.* iii. 6.

³ [ὁὗτος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκίαι αἰσσοῦσι.]

A few years later, when sent into the East to regulate the affairs of nations and dispose of crowns at his will,¹ he exhibited at those voluptuous courts a proud simplicity of life. He had with him Panaetius the philosopher; perhaps Polybius, and five slaves only; but at his approach kings descended from their chariots, and Ptolemy Physcon forgot his effeminacy and his claims to divine honors. "The Alexandrians," said Scipio to Panaetius, "owe us at least this, — that they have once seen their king walking."

On his return he was elected censor by the people, who refused for his sake the haughty Claudius. Into this office Scipio desired to bring a salutary severity. But he was defeated in all his efforts by the weakness of Mummius, his colleague; and in allusion to this, he said to the people that he would have justified their confidence if he had had, or if he had not had, a colleague. To preserve the early Roman virtues, simplicity, discipline, and at the same time to

MARS.³

honor the new Muses, even so far as perhaps to have aided the poet Terence, were the aims of Scipio Aemilianus. Around him were gathered a group of friends who shared in his pursuits, — the Fannii, of whom one gave his name to the first sumptuary law, and the other was an eloquent adversary of the Gracchi;² Sem-

¹ Ἐπὶ τὸ καταστήσασθαι τὰς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην βασιλείας, ἵνα τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἐγχειρισθῶσιν. (Polyb., *Fr. hist.* 77.)

² Vell. Patere., ii. 9. A third, C. Fannius Strabo, son-in-law of Laelius, wrote annals which M. Brutus abridged. (Appianus, *Iberica*, 67; Cic., *de Rep.* i. 12; *de Amic.* 1.)

³ Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iv. pl. 63. From a Pompeian painting, in which the formidable divinity of the Romans is represented with an air of graceful delicacy. See in Vol. I. p. 199, upon a coin, a head of Mars Ultor, of a very different aspect.

pronius Asellio, author of a history of the war against Numantia, where he had served as legionary tribune; the high-minded Rutilius Rufus, who wrote a history of Rome and his own memoirs, the former in Greek, the latter in Latin; the historian Caelius Antipater,¹ Tubero his nephew, and his friend the wise Laelius, to whom Cicero attributes such noble words in his treatise *de Amicitia*.²

But that which distinguishes Aemilianus from all the Romans of his time, is an elevation of mind till then unknown to the rapacious and rude inhabitants of the city of Mars. He who had wept over Carthage was struck with the fatal revolutions of empires, and was anxious about the future of Rome. When at the close of the lustrum, the herald, according to custom, prayed the gods to make the fortunes of Rome more prosperous and greater: "Rome is fortunate enough and great enough," he cried; "let us ask the gods no more than to preserve her where she now is!" He well measured the dangers which surrounded the Republic, surveying with an anxious eye the slow decomposition going on in morals, institutions, and even in the people itself. Perhaps he might have been able to arrest it. Cicero believed so; and the title that Aemilianus later accepted, of Patron of the Italians,³ the attempt made by his friend Laelius during the former's consulship to call for a partition of the public lands,⁴ show that he would have attacked abuses with no timid hand.

Tiberius, says Plutarch, did no more than take up the projects which Scipio had commenced. What then were these designs? Cicero, always so faithful in his *Dialogues* to the character of his speakers,⁵ puts into the mouth of Scipio the eulogium of a balanced monarchy, — a mixed government, where king, nobles, and people harmoniously work together.⁶ Elsewhere he mentions that "the favorite book of Aemilianus was the *Cyropaedia* [of Xenophon],

¹ This author was a friend of Laelius, to whom he dedicated his *History of the Punic War*. (Cic., *Orat.* 69.)

² C. Laelius Sapiens was the son of C. Laelius, the friend and brother-in-arms of Africanus.

³ App., *Bell. civ.* i. 19.

⁴ Plut., *Tib. Gr.* 8. "Tiberius would have succeeded," he said, "if Scipio had chanced to be in Rome at the time when he proposed his first law."

⁵ He himself speaks of the care he takes to draw faithful portraits; cf. his letter to Atticus on Varro and Scaevola.

⁶ *De Rep.* i. 30; *Ep. ad Quint.* i. 1.

—a work in which are omitted none of the duties of an active and moderate government;” but this book is the ideal picture of a royalty absolute, though benevolent.¹ Did Scipio then think, a hundred years before the establishment of the Empire, that Rome could save herself only by abandoning her liberty? Again we find the confused notion of some great change necessary to save the state, in that passage in the *Dream of Scipio* where Africanus says to his grandson: “The entire state will turn towards thee; the Senate, all good men, the allies, the Latins will place on thee only their last hope; and, as dictator, thou wilt regenerate the Republic if thou canst escape the impious hands of thy kindred.” Then he shows to him beyond all worlds, in the midst of the divine harmony of the celestial spheres, a place brilliant with stars and glowing with light,¹ where under the eye of God they who have saved or exalted their country enjoy immortal felicity. “It is from heaven that come,” he says, “it is to heaven that return, devoted leaders and saviors of nations. *There* is the true life. Thy life is only death; train thy immortal soul by the most serious labors; above all, keep watch over thy country’s safety.”

Unhappily Scipio could not always be at the helm to guide his country. He was far away at the gates of Numantia when the revolution burst forth; upon his return Rome had already entered upon those paths of blood and violence whence there was no return, and where he himself found his death. It was because all men, himself perhaps excepted, closed their eyes to the gravity of the situation, and none thought of seeking means to amend it.² Like those old senators who in their curule chairs awaited, motionless and dignified, the entrance of the Gauls, so the Scaevolae, the Calpurnii, and the Tuberos believed they were doing enough for their country in giving her the example of a spotless life; and ready to die, but incapable of fighting, virtue suffered the evil days to draw near without action. For the most part Stoics, they were better able to suffer than to act; as jurisconsults they remained attached to the old system, and did not see that the

¹ For Cicero the consular office represented royalty. We shall see him seek to establish that equilibrium between classes in the Roman state.

² In Cicero’s *de Republica* Laelius also is indignant against Tubero and Scaevola, because they are more occupied with the apparition of two suns in the sky than with the dangerous condition of the Republic.

state had need of violent remedies which only new legislation could afford.

We will not apologize for this long examination of the morbid phenomena and the recuperative forces which the Roman Republic exhibits after the great wars were over. The moral revolution we have been considering is more important than details of battles, for it explains in advance the political revolution whose sanguinary phases for a hundred years we are now to follow. These changes going on silently in nations are like those which occur beneath the waters of the ocean. Here reefs are slowly rising out of the depths and coming near the surface, and mighty ships shall presently strike where once there was deep water; there, beneath the moving current of human affairs are born and developed new needs, — reefs upon which old institutions shall be shipwrecked when the pilots are not experienced enough to see the danger and avoid it.

¹ Colossal bust in the Louvre bearing on the two sides of the helmet the she-wolf suckling the founders of Rome. (No. 166 of the Clarac Catalogue.)



ROME DEIFIED.¹

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE GRACCHI.

I. FIRST REVOLT OF SLAVES.

THE last century of the Roman Republic witnessed but three great wars,—those against the Cimbri, Mithridates, and the Gauls. At the same time no period in her history was more sanguinary; for during that entire century the Romans ceased scarcely for a day to turn their arms one against another. The conquerors of the world now cut each other's throats, to determine who should enjoy the spoils.

These civil wars were complicated still further by unlooked-for incidents: the subjects joined in their masters' quarrels. Each oppressed class, even the slave, had its day of liberty and vengeance,—strange and savage saturnalia, which ended by effacing privileges, levelling conditions, confusing ideas, until a new spirit,—a new world,—emerged from the chaos of old ideas and old institutions.

To the heroism of youth had succeeded the ambition of mature years. Instead of great parties, there were only great men, who unconsciously and often, in spite of their crimes, served the cause of humanity. More and more, Rome's spirit and her people were to disappear; and this tide, constantly bringing to her Forum and her senate-house new men and new ideas, in its reflux will presently bear far away, even to the Plains of Thessaly, Macedon, and Africa, those of her chiefs who had ceased to be ashamed to appeal to arms. The Gracchi, pacific though revolutionary, will fight and die, as did the tribunes of an earlier day, upon the Capitol and the Aventine. But for their battle-field Marius and Sylla will take Italy; Caesar and Pompeius, the whole Roman world.

Three great names, the Gracchi, Marius, and Caesar, mark three great divisions in the history of the last century of the Republic. All three are vanquished, — Marius by his vacillation, the Gracchi and Caesar by assassination; and the nobles triumph. But for every adversary who falls, they see more enemies arise, and the debate become hotter. In the early struggle, they had for opponents only the plebeians; now there is the great crowd of the oppressed, the poor of Rome, the Italians, slaves, provincials. At every thirty years' interval they rise in insurrection: Saturninus and Cinna respond to the Gracchi; to the insurrection at Fregellae, the Social War; to Eunus, Athenion, and the complaints of the provinces, the revolt of the East under Mithridates, and of the West under Sertorius. All of these, it is true, were crushed by Sylla and his lieutenants; but if they did not each gain his cause, still they were fighting to gain a single master; and the revolution, replacing by a monarchy the dominion of the nobles, was in part their work.

The time following the Second Punic War had prepared the destruction of republican liberty; the century which preceded the battle of Actium completed its ruin, and brought forth, amid unutterable pangs, royalty, and with it public peace, which was, for two centuries and a half, the Empire's ransom.

Of the oppressed, those who took arms first were those who were suffering most; the revolt of the Sicilian slaves opened this era of blood.

The ancient world despised industry. At the present day the struggle with nature has assumed such proportions that it demands the noblest efforts of the mind, and industry is, so to speak, spiritualized; while, in having for its aim, not the greater luxury and license of the few, but the comfort of all, it has justified its power, and successfully ennobled labor. The ancients knew no other arts than eloquence and war; in a word, to act upon man by speech or by force of arms, but never upon the external world, which their frugality disdained, or from which they required only the coarser pleasures.¹ The two oracles of the

¹ Thus they trained lions, tigers, stags, and ostriches to draw chariots in the arena (Montaigne, *Chapter upon Couches*); they exhibited elephants dancing on the tight-rope

wisdom of antiquity, Cicero¹ and Aristotle, said: "To slaves belong all those occupations which require the exercise of physical strength; to citizens, those which demand the employment of the mental powers, excepting only war, to defend the city, and agriculture, to give it food."² There is something grand in this theory. But unfortunately it degrades [mechanical] labor, by separating it from intellect and from liberty; it throws into idleness and sedition the man of free condition who is poor; and making the slave only a machine³ with a human frame, it creates all the dangers of slavery.

The contempt of the citizen for the slave in every city appeared on a larger scale in the scorn with which the warrior nations regarded the working nations; and the old world, without a law of nations, or any general policy, was but a bloody arena, where the industrious were always the conquered. Athens fell under the blows of Sparta. Miletus and Phocaea perished by the hand of the Persians; Tyre was destroyed by Alexander; Tarentum, Syracuse, and grandest of all, Carthage, by the Romans. The reason is apparent; these cities, having converted their citizens into rich voluptuaries or timid artisans, were obliged to intrust their defence to mercenary soldiers, who could not stand against the national troops of the warrior nations. When the latter saw industry everywhere the companion of weakness, they held in supreme disdain the practice of the useful arts, and the poorest amongst them could hardly resign himself to seek in industry a

(Cuvier, *Hist. des sc. nat.* i. 234); they fattened for the table the peacock, the crane, the dormouse, even snails; they practised pisciculture and the artificial fecundation of fish. But if there was in all this much for their pleasures, there was nothing for their common utility. (Isid., Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire.)

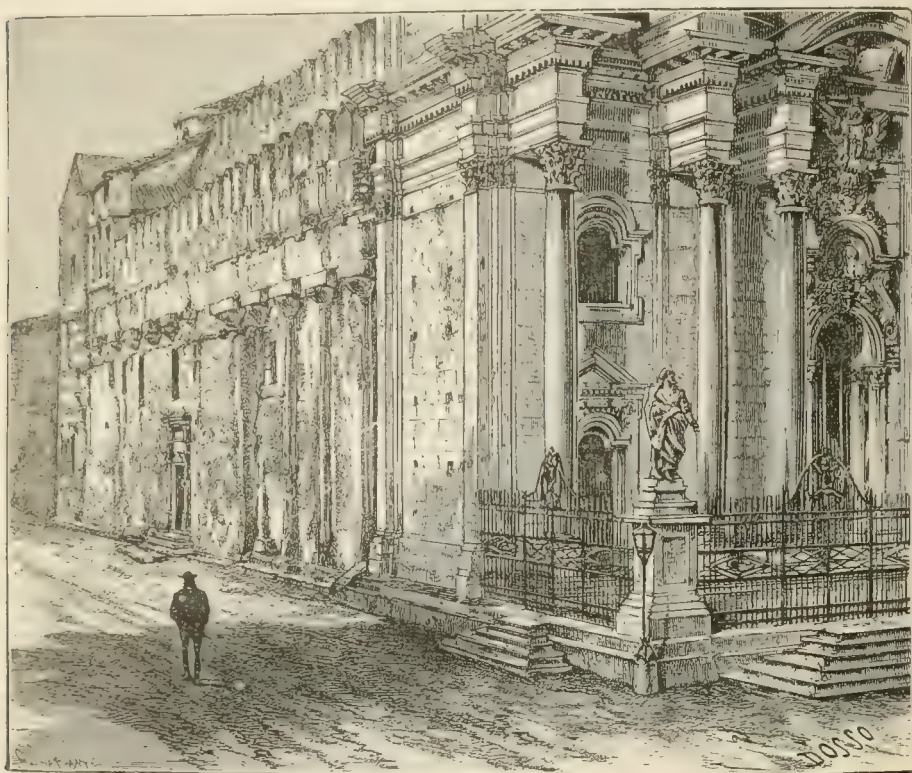
¹ Even in the mind of Cicero, the slave represented evil; and he thus defines the master's authority: *Domini servos ita fatigant, ut optima pars animi, id est sapientia, [fatigat] ejusdem animi vitiosas imbecillasque partes, ut libidines, ut iracundias, ut perturbationes cæteras.* (St. August., *Contra Julianum Pelagianum*, iv. 12, 61.)

² Aristotle writes: "It is manifest that some are naturally free, and others naturally slaves; and that for the latter, slavery is as useful as it is just." (*Polit.* I. i. 4.) Plato accepts slavery as an existing condition, but he does not justify it. [So does the New Testament.] In his ideal *Republic*, there are no slaves; but in his *Laws* he is pitiless towards them. Upon the question of slaves, see Wallon's *Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquité*. This work is the best authority upon the subject.

³ The Aquilian law made no distinction between the slave and cattle: he who killed a laboring ox or a slave, paid to the owner a sum equal to the highest price at which the beast or the man had that year been sold. (Gaius, iii. § 210.) *Servile caput nullum jus habet.* (*Dig.* iv. 5, 3, § 1.)

resource against want: and only the slaves and the freedmen had the pains, as well as the profits, of labor.

In the time of simple and frugal manners, Rome had few slaves; as wants increased with luxury, more hands were needed, and war abundantly supplied the market, the captive being by right a slave, *ex jure gentium*.¹ We have seen what number of



SYRACUSE. TEMPLE OF MINERVA TRANSFORMED INTO A CHURCH.²

slaves Paulus Aemilius, Sempronius Gracchus, and Aemilianus sold. Later, Marius sent to the public market 140,000 Cimbri and Ambrones. In a single city³ Cicero derived in five days from the sale of prisoners a sum equal to about \$500,000. Pompey and Caesar boasted of having sold or slain 2,000,000 men.⁴ In time of

¹ *Dig. i. 5, 5, § 1.* In the camps of Lucullus, slaves were sold for four drachmae. (Plut., *Luc.* 14.)

² Saverio Cavallari, *Monum. della Sicilia*, tav. xi.

³ *Ad Att.* v. 20.

⁴ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 27; Plut., *Caes.* 19. Frequently a war between two rival cities

peace a slave trade was carried on not only by the pirates who covered the seas, but by the legions and consuls. Popilius Laenas carried off at one time 10,000 Statielli, and Cassius thousands of mountaineers. In modern times—thanks, at least, to the aristocracy of color—the negro alone has occasion to fear being enslaved. Formerly, possession was title; violence secured right. Women, children, men, were kidnapped in the cities and on the highways;¹ for the human being was then the principal commodity in the market. How many eminent men in those days fell into slavery, to speak only of Plato, Diogenes, and Terence!² The city's law no longer recognized the citizen whom force had deprived of his liberty. He remained in the eye of that law marked, even after his enfranchisement, with an indelible stain; and if he sought to recover his rights, he must return into the city secretly, so that the law might accept his excuse of absence;⁴ and if his wife had re-married, the second union remained valid.

A NEGRO.³

In default of war and piracy, regular commerce supplied the

would end by the sale *en masse* of the population of the vanquished. Thus Sicyon sold all the inhabitants of Pallene; Thebes, those of Plataea; Alexander, those of Thebes; Demetrius, those of Mantinea; Rome, lastly, those of Capua, Numantia, Corinth, Carthage. (De Saint-Paul, *Disc. sur l'esclav.*, p. 71.)

¹ Cic., *pro Cluent.* 7. This was so common that many old comedies are founded upon it.

² We may add Phaedo, the friend of Socrates and the founder of the school of Elea; Aesop, Phaedrus, Andronicus, Griphon, the teacher of Cicero; C. Melissus, the creator of the Octavian library; and most of the eminent grammarians quoted by Suetonius.

³ Museum of the Louvre, No. 554 of the Clarac Catalogue. This negro, dressed in striped material, is a very valuable specimen of polychromatic sculpture.

⁴ This was the right of "secret return." (*Dig.* xlix. 15; *Fest.*, s. v. *Postliminium*; *Plut.*, *Quaest. Rom.* 5.)

market with slaves. Surrounded by a belt of barbarous nations, the Roman world found, like the slave-traders upon the African coast, a host of petty chiefs ready to sell their prisoners, or in case of need, their subjects. From the remote parts of Gaul, Germany, and the lands of the Scythians, came down incessantly to the



GOLD COIN OF PANTICAPAEUM.²

shores of the Mediterranean long files of chained barbarians, brought by the merchants of Marseilles, of Panticapaeum, Phanagoria, and Dioscurias. There came even Britons.¹ A proof of the extent and activity of this traffic is that the Germans,

whose frontier the legions had not yet touched, were so numerous in the army of the gladiators that they formed a division apart. A little money, stuffs, weapons, or the article most needed—in Thrace and Africa, salt; in Gaul, wine—were the objects of exchange. Among the Gauls, says Diodorus, for the cup, you get the cup-bearer.³ Utica and Egypt furnished negroes; Alex-



COIN OF PHANAGORIA.⁴

andria, grammarians; the marts of Sidon and Cyprus, those intelligent, docile, corrupt Asiatics, prized as house-servants; Greece, her handsome boys and girls; Epirus and Illyria, good shepherds; Germany, Gaul, and Thrace, gladiators; Cappadocia, vigor-

ous but stupid laborers. The Spaniards had a bad name; they were said to be inclined to murder and suicide. All the barbaric world, all the conquered nations, were thus represented in the *ergastula* of Italy; and Spartacus was able to divide his companies into the Gallic, Thracian, Germanic, etc. In Sicily, the Asiatics and Syrians were in the majority. The latter especially were the insolvent debtors, ruined men, or those sold by their fathers or their princes to pay the tax; often men who had given themselves up to save their families.⁵ If we remember that in the provinces the rate of interest

¹ Strabo, *passim*.

² V. xvii. 25.

³ Head of Pan; reverse, ΠΑΝ, a griffin holding a spear-head.

⁴ Head of Bacchus; reverse, a quiver and the city's monogram. Bronze coin of Phanagoria.

⁵ Children exposed by their parents belonged to those who took them in. There were slave-growers; Cato and Crassus did not disclaim this means of gain (Plut., *Cat. maj.* 32; *Crass.* 2).

was as high as 48 per cent. that the publicans intrusted with the collection of taxes committed frightful exactions, we shall understand how entire populations might be sold to liberate cities, provinces, or kings. When Marius sought aid from the King of Bithynia, Nicomedes replied: "Your publicans have left me nothing but old men and children."¹

Thus were gathered in city and country houses an incredible number of slaves: Cato of Utica, eminent for his simplicity, had not less than fifteen to attend him in the country; Damophilus, an obscure landowner in Sicily, had 400; and the Roman merchant established at Utica,² Demetrius, a freedman of Pompey, had enough to compose armies.³ Pompey raised 300 horsemen from his shepherds; and Caesar's *familia* was so numerous that more than once it made the Senate tremble. Claudius Isidorus complained that the civil wars had left him but 4,116. Scaurus, who erected a theatre supported by 360 columns, and adorned with 3,000 statues, and large enough to accommodate 80,000 spectators, had, it is said, 8,000;⁴ and Athenæus represents certain private individuals as possessing 20,000.⁶

THRACIAN GLADIATOR.⁵

An unnatural condition can be maintained only by unnatural laws. To crush down into servitude,

¹ Diod., fragm. of book xxxvi. 3.

² Plut., in *Cat.*; Diod., V. xvii. 25; Plut., *Cat.* 68.

³ This Demetrius left his patron 4,000 talents, or \$3,800,000. (Plut., *Pomp.* 2.)

⁴ This M. Aemilius Scaurus was son-in-law to Sylla.

⁵ From a terra-cotta lamp. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, at the word *Thrax*.)

⁶ Cf. Plut., in *Crass.*; Suet., *Jul.*; Sen., *de Tranq.* 8; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 47. Orgetorix, a Helvetian chief, had 10,000 slaves. (Caes., *Bell. Gall.* i. 4.) In the question of the number of slaves, M. Dureau de la Malle takes part with M. Letronne against the school of Vossius and of Saint-Paul. That Athenæus may have given an exaggerated estimate, especially for Aegina; that the *μυριάδας* of Strabo (book xiv. p. 666) for Delos must not be taken literally, — I am willing to admit; and the more since Strabo says simply: "What encouraged the pirates to capture free people was the fact that they found at Delos a rich commercial place, a market capable of receiving and despatching in one day many thousands of slaves." He does not say that this was done every day. But passages in Seneca (*de Clementia*, i. 25), in Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 6), in Plutarch, and elsewhere, do not appear to me so easy to explain

into misery, and often into infamy, the man once free, a warrior, a chief even, whom war had enchained, needed a pressure which must be made stronger, the more energetic was the moral resistance. Hence that severity towards the slave, and those laws of blood, "the black code" of antiquity :¹ "No leisure for the slave,"

said Aristotle ;² "Let him sleep or work," added Cato. It would not do to give him time to think. Others, to restrain them through hunger, fed them insufficiently. "Do not take," was the prudent advice of the day, "slaves from a free nation ; they are too

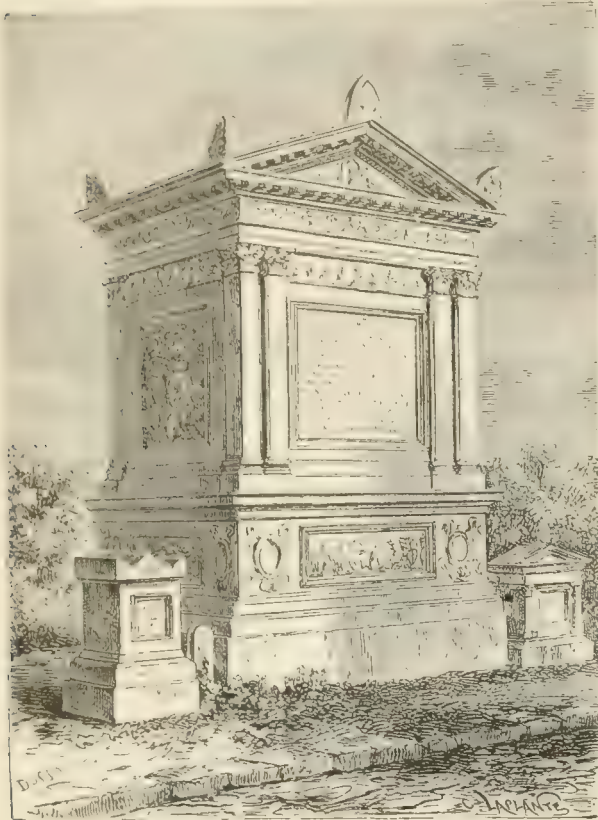
away. Moreover the fact itself of the concentration of property in a few hands brings with it necessarily the concentration also of the instruments of cultivation. On the other hand, the rich being few in number, and the middle class being destroyed, we cannot reckon from the number of slaves held by an Ovidius or a Crassus how large was the actual number in the Roman world. It is an insoluble problem.

¹ In Plautus (*Mil. glorios.*, II. iv. 19, 20), a slave says :

Scio crucem futuram mihi sepulcrum ; ibi mei sunt majores siti, pater, avos, proavos, abavos.

² Οὐ σχολή δούλοις. (Arist., *Pol.* vii. 8.) In Italy there were only ten holidays, that is to say, days of rest, in the whole year. It is quite enough, says Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in order that such marks of humanity may render the slaves docile. Later, Collumella (ii. 12, 9) counted forty-five days of festivals, or of rain, and therefore of enforced rest ; but we have seen that Cato and others knew how to utilize even the holidays, and the rainy days as well. At the beginning of the third century of the Christian era, Tertullian (*de Idolis*, 14) remarks that the pagans had not the fifty days of joy (Sundays) of the Christians.

³ Canina, *La prima parte della via Appia*, t. ii. pl. xx. This tomb, situated upon the Appian Way, between the fourth and fifth milestone, is not that of Demetrius, the rich freedman of Pompey, but was that of a member of his family, — not, however, to be determined, even by Borghese, owing to the mutilation of the inscription. We give from Canina the restored tomb, in order to show how closely our funeral monuments imitate those of the ancients.

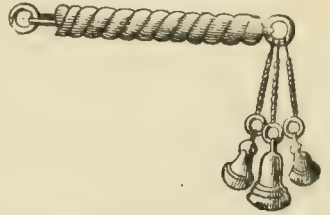


TOMB OF A FREEDMAN OF POMPEIUS.³

dangerous. Have but a few from any one nation, that they may not conspire together; for as many slaves as a man has, so many enemies has he. Speak to them in monosyllables, to keep them at a distance. Treat them as if they were wild beasts, and render them twenty times more servile by frequent lashes."¹ They were spoken of as "the chained people," *ferratile genus*.²

The master had the right of life and death over him, — *vitæ necisque potestatem*.³ For a slight offence, for a caprice of the master, the slave died under the rod, upon a cross, crushed between two millstones, or abandoned upon the bare ground, with feet and hands, and nose and lips cut off; or hung in the air upon four iron hooks, to be devoured by birds of prey. If, to avenge his long sufferings, a slave killed his master, upon his confession all his companions also perished by tortures.⁴ If they were not in fact his accomplices, they were so in intention; and in any case they were guilty, in that they had not protected their master. Pollio, the favorite of Augustus, caused slaves to be thrown living to the eels.⁵ Augustus himself crucified one who had killed and eaten a fighting quail.⁶

If to escape these tortures and subterranean prisons,⁷ and the ever-ready whip of the executioner (*lorarius*) the slave became a fugitive and fled to the mountains, he was hunted as a wild beast, and easily recognized by his shaven head, his scarred back, his ankles lacerated by the fetters, and by the words branded on his forehead, — perhaps the name of his owner; perhaps, "I am a fugitive, a thief;" or possibly some favorite sentence of his master.⁸ On being



THE WHIP OF THE LORARIUS.⁹

¹ *Totidem hostes esse quot servos.* (Seneca, *Ep.* 47.) *Omnis herus servus monosyllabus.* (Erasmus, *Adag.* 2,393.) Plato and Aristotle insist upon the danger of having slaves *δμόφυλοι, πατριῶται ἀλλήλων.*

² Plaut., *Mostell.* I. i. 18.

³ Gaius, i. § 52.

⁴ The Silanian senatus-consultum merely gave legal sanction to the ancient customs.

⁵ Sen., *de Ira*, iii. 40.

⁶ Plutarch, *Apophth.* Rom. 20.

⁷ *Ergastula.* (Colum., i. 6.)

⁸ Suidas, s. v. *Ἀρράγας*; in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xviii. 3: *inscriptique vultus*, to designate slaves.

⁹ From a model discovered at Herculaneum. This whip (*flagrum*) was composed of several chains, with metal buttons at their extremities. These small chains, attached to a short

re-captured, he perished under the scourge. — unless, perhaps, avarice saved him, to send him to the mines or to the mill, whence there was no escape. “Then,” says Diodorus, “there is neither respite nor compassion; men sick or disabled, women, or old



A SLAVE UNDER THE SCOURGE.²

men, all labored, urged by blows, until they fell exhausted.” “Ye gods!” cries Apuleius, on entering a mill, “what a deformed population! what livid skins marked with strokes of the whip! All have been branded on the forehead, a chain on the ankle, the hair shaven on one side, and are without clothes. Nothing can be conceived more hideous than these spectres, whose eyelids are inflamed by the smoke and the strain.”¹

Suicide or flight, therefore, became so frequent that at Rome a purchaser might recover his money from the seller if he had not been warned that the slave had already been a fugitive, or had made an attempt to kill himself.³

The slave had nothing, not even a name; whatever he might earn outside of his regular labor, might be taken by the master;⁴ he had neither wife nor children, for he formed accidental unions,⁵ and his young, as Aristotle called them, belonged to the master.⁶ When he became ill, aged, or infirm, he was carried around the temple of Aesculapius; after which it was the god's affair whether he lived or died.

handle, gave heavy blows rather than lashes. Cf. Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, at the word *Flagrum*.

¹ Apul., *Metam.* 9.

² From a bronze pot found at Pompeii. Here the *lorarius* is using the *flagellum*, formed of twisted cords, which was said to inflict more painful wounds than the *flagrum*. Rich, *ibid.*, at the word *Flagellum*.

³ *Dig.* xxxi. 1.

⁴ *Dig.* xxi. 2, 3, 5. See the monologue of Davus at the beginning of Terence's *Phormio*.

⁵ Plautus, in the prologue to *Casina*, says that at Athens, at Carthage, and in Apulia, slaves could marry; but he found it difficult to persuade his audience. The marriage of the slave was called *contubernium*, and produced no legal ties of parentage.

⁶ The children belonged to the owner of the mother, by extension of the principles governing property in animals. (Pellat, *Droit privé des Romains*, p. 151.) In law, however, the slave was not a thing, but a person *alieni juris*.

We have here the first act in the sad drama which forms the history of labor. The Middle Ages saw the second, with their serfs of the soil; modern times, with its proletariat, sees the third. But notwithstanding the several enfranchisements, the war between labor and capital is unhappily not ended yet. May the solution be speedily found which shall establish peace in this world of sore trouble!

Like cities built upon a volcano, civilizations which rest upon slavery always feel the ground tremble under them. Six times the Senate was obliged to repress partial revolts among the slaves, before having to contend against the formidable insurrection of Eunus.¹ This Syrian, a slave in Sicily, had predicted that he should be king, and confirmed his prophecy by a miracle; in speaking he breathed flames from his mouth; a nut filled with sulphur, lighted, and held in the mouth, being his method of accomplishing this prodigy. By his impostures he had acquired a great authority over his companions in misfortune, when the cruelty of a master, a very rich man of Enna, named Damophilus, brought about an outbreak.² His 400 slaves, having burst their fetters, escaped into the fields; and soon returning, massacred all the inhabitants. Damophilus himself paid hideous satisfaction to their revenge: no one was spared but his daughter, who had showed them some compassion. A similar revolt occurred at Agrigentum, and 5,000 men joined the slaves of Enna, who had put at their head the Syrian prophet, under the name of King Antiochus. As soon as there was a camp, a place of refuge, slaves from all parts of the island made their escape thither. In a few months Eunus had an army of 70,000 men. This was the time of the shameful disasters experienced by the legions before Numantia; and they were repeated in Sicily. Four praetors and a consul were defeated in turn. Masters of Enna, in the centre of the island, 200,000 slaves spread terror from Messina to Lilybaeum, and from Tauromenium, on the sea-coast, they showed their broken chains to their brothers in Italy. From one end of the empire to the other,

¹ Cf. Livy, books xxii. xxvi. xxvii. xxxii. xxxiii. xxxix., and *Epit.* lvi.

² Clinton (*Fasti Hellen.*) fixes the commencement of this war in 134; but Diodorus Siculus asserts that it broke out sixty years after the battle of Zama; that is, in 141.

the slaves were in excitement, and explosions here and there betrayed the fire that was secretly spreading,—at Delos, in Attica, in Campania; even in Latium there were attempts at revolt. Happily for Rome, these great slave-centres were separated by the seas, or by scantily populated regions. Then, as later, an insurrection could not cross the strait, because the incitements



AGRIGENTUM.—SOLE APPROACH TO THE FORTRESS COCALUS, ON THE SUMMIT OF AGRIGENTUM.¹

which came from Sicily were lost upon the solitudes of Bruttium and Lucania.

A servile war has always a savage character. In this revolt against a society which inflicted upon them such intolerable sufferings, the slaves sought nothing save vengeance and the satisfying of their worst passions. More depraved than their masters, they had no idea of making any change in the established order of things; and these men, still scarred with chains, offered no protest against the system of slavery. Eunus enslaved workmen of free condition of whom he had need. It is painful to say it, but the success of the servile insurrection would have been a frightful misfortune. The French Jacquerie were far better; but

¹ From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

after all, what did they do with their success? It is impossible to be in advance of the epoch. Slavery—that is to say, compulsory labor, the universal law of the ancient world—could give way only when free labor was honored and organized.

In 133 Calpurnius Piso, having re-established discipline in the army, compelled the slaves to raise the siege of Messina; Rupilius,



PROSERPINE'S LAKE, NEAR ENNA.¹

his successor, took Tauromenium, after having reduced them by famine to the greatest straits; Enna, finally, was given up by treachery. Then the slave-army dispersed, and only a few bands were left, easily hunted down among the mountains. All those who were made prisoners perished by torture. "King Antiochus," who had not had the courage to kill himself, was captured in a cave with his cook, his baker, his bather, and his



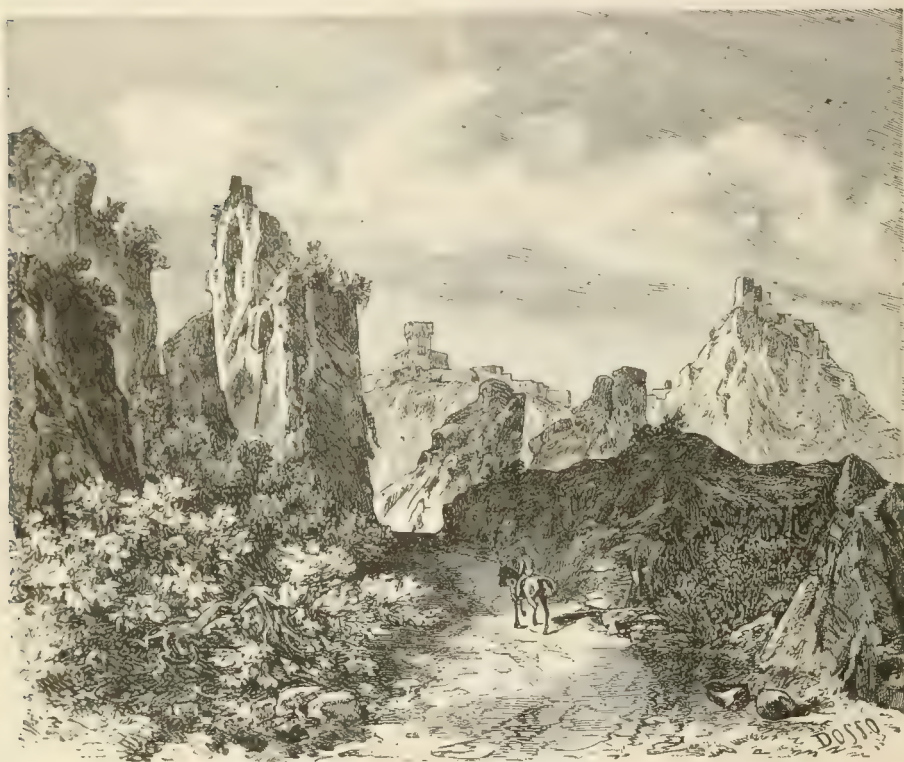
COIN OF CALPURNIUS PISO.²

¹ From an engraving in the National Library. Proserpine and her mother, Ceres, were the tutelary divinities of Enna. See Vol. II. p. 26, the coin of this city.

² Laurelled head of Apollo; behind it a laurel-branch. Reverse, C. PISO L. F. FRVG. Naked horseman racing. Silver coin of the Calpurnian family.

buffoon. He was left to die in a dungeon. Rupilius attempted to ward off danger of further insurrections by wise regulations, which the avidity of the masters soon rendered useless.¹

The revolt of the slaves was suppressed; but a civil war was beginning.



ROAD BETWEEN MESSINA AND TAUROMENIUM.²

II. TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

IN England the aristocracy for a long period commanded both Houses of Parliament. The heads of the great houses sat in the House of Lords as hereditary peers, while the younger members of these families were elected by their tenants to the Lower House. Something analogous to this in reality, though in form very

¹ See upon this war, Diod., fragments of bk. xxxvi.; Val. Max., *passim*; Flor., iii. 19.

² From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

different, existed at Rome before the Gracchi. The chiefs of the great houses were senators, their younger relatives composed the college of tribunes; and in this way the same spirit, the same interests, reigned in the Forum and in the senate-house. Those whom the people considered their defenders, and with whom originated their resolves and their votes, were not merely friends of the nobles, they were themselves nobles. Thus the aristocratic faction ruled even in the Forum, where formerly storms had gathered against the government. But these storms must burst forth anew as soon as nobles occupy the tribune's office who, renouncing the spirit of their caste, take the cause of popular interests.

The first of these nobles were the Gracchi.

If an inheritance of fame obliges a man to noble actions, the Gracchi, descendants of Scipio and sons of the conqueror of Sardinia, must needs rise to great heights to remain worthy of their ancestors.

This renown of the Sempronian family had a character of its own. Military exploits were not wanting to it; but there was, moreover, something like a generous sympathy with the oppressed. It was a Sempronius who had consented to command that army of slaves whose courage did so much toward saving Rome after the battle of Cannae; and upon the battle-field he had enfranchised them all. He who conquered Spain had pacified it also; and his name was honored in the mountains of Celtiberia as much as it was popular in Rome itself, with that popularity which clings



BUFFOON, OR JESTER.¹

¹ From an engraving. Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the word *Mimus*.

about great characters, and not with that favor which the crowd accords to him who flatters it best. "A man prudent and serious," says Cicero;¹ "just and inflexible," Cato said, who saw in him a Roman of the old days,—Sempronius Gracchus always showed himself the defender of the early constitution. He supported the tottering religion;² and whilst he opposed with moderation and dignity the Scipios and the other nobles,³ on the one hand he repressed the publicans, and on the other confined the freedmen to a single tribe,⁴ striving at once against the foreign crowd and the new aristocracy, in order to leave the Forum free for what still remained of the true Roman people. In the great families of Rome these domestic traditions were not forgotten; and when Tiberius offered his agrarian law, it was not, as has been asserted, on account of his hatred of the Senate, but for the sake of relieving the destitution which his father had doubtless lamented, to prevent the misfortunes he had foreseen.

Tiberius and Caius soon lost their father; but Cornelia worthily filled his place. She surrounded them with the most learned Greek masters, and herself directed their education.⁵ In their eloquence Cicero recognized their mother's, whose letters he had read.⁶ Because she reproached them for the fact that she was spoken of as the mother-in-law of Aemilianus rather than the mother of the Gracchi, her ambition has been censured. It is true she was ambitious; but the sentiment was noble and legitimate. It was her hope that her sons should save their country; and it is easy to pardon the daughter of Scipio that she rose above the weakness and egotism of maternal affection. For herself she asked no other jewels than the glory of her children; and she refused the hand of a Ptolemy⁷ and the crown of Egypt. If Tiberius had been successful, far from accusing Cornelia, men would have adored,

¹ *De Or.* I. ix. 38.

² Cic., *ad Quint.* III. ii. 1; *de Nat. deor.* II. iv. 10.

³ He was, while tribune, the enemy of Scipio. Cf. Livy.

⁴ See his censorship in Livy, *ad Ann.* 169 (xlv. 15). His wife, Cornelia, bore him twelve children, of whom nine appear to have died young. One of his daughters married Scipio Aemilianus. [Cf. fuller details of his life in Neumann's *Verfall der röm. Rep.*, p. 105 *seq.*—*Ed.*]

⁵ In respect to the severity of the education bestowed in good families, see Tacitus (*de Orat.* 28).

⁶ Cic., *Brut.* 58.

⁷ Ptolemy VI., Philometor.

as she herself said in an eloquent letter, the divinity of his mother.¹

Tiberius, nine years older than his brother,² was distinguished among the young men of his time by his gentle gravity and by the virtues which early gave him a conspicuous position among the nobles. Appius Claudius, an ex-consul, ex-censor, and prince of the Senate, gave him his daughter in marriage. He at first served in Africa with distinction under the command of Scipio Aemilianus, his brother-in-law, and was the first man to scale the walls of Carthage. Later (in 137) he accompanied the consul Mancinus to Spain as quaestor, where he saved the army, obtaining terms of peace from the Numantines which they had been unwilling to grant to the consul. The Senate annulled the treaty, however, and it was their intention to deliver



CORNELIA.³

up to the Numantines the consul and his quaestor naked and bound as slaves. But the people would not suffer Tiberius to be punished for his chief's rashness, and Mancinus was given up alone.

Upon his return from Spain, Tiberius found the fertile fields of Etruria deserted; in Rome, an idle and hungry multitude,⁴ no longer nourished by war; throughout Italy many millions of slaves, excited by the news of the successes of Eunos. What remedy could be found for this threefold evil,—the poverty and degradation of the people, the extension of slavery, the desolation of the

¹ Corn. Nepos. During his rule, Caius erected to her, amid the applause of the people, a bronze statue, with the inscription: To Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi.

² Plutarch represents him as thirty years of age at the time of his death: but as he was quaestor in 137, and must have been thirty-one to be eligible to this office, we must consider him as being thirty-five when he became tribune.

³ The figure is also known as the "Reader,"—a name more suitable, no doubt, than Cornelia. (*Description des principales pierres gravées du cabinet du Duc d'Orléans*, t. ii. pl. 18, and p. 41.)

⁴ A tribune in Cicero's time, advocating an agrarian law, said, *Urbanam plebem nihil in republica posse exhauriendam esse*. (Cic., *de Leg. agr.* ii. 26.) The last colonies founded had been *Luna*, in 177, and *Auximum*, in 157. Since that time no assignment of land had been authorized.

country? One alone,—to divide those immense domains that the nobles had unjustly seized,¹ to restore to ownership, to regenerate by virtue of labor, the indigent crowd,² to expel the slaves from the fields by establishing free laborers there, and to change into useful citizens those freedmen who as yet had nothing Roman save



A MENDICANT.³

the name,—in a word, to set the Republic back a hundred years by reconstituting, as the result of an agrarian law, petty ownership in land and a middle class. Not merely was this the only way of salvation left for Rome, but it was the direct carrying on of that wise policy of concessions the Senate had long followed. By this policy the Conscrip

Fathers had rendered Rome so strong that they had never refused to consider the interests of those new elements which from time to time came into existence in the city. To the plebeians they had granted seats in the senate-house, to the poor they had given lands, to the allies privileges, combining with uncommon skill conservative and reform principles, the interests of the original citizens, and the welfare of the new members of the Roman world. But since universal conquest had relieved the nobles of all fear and all restraint, they disquieted themselves little about that mass of human beings whom victory had cast into Rome. It seemed to them that the time for compromises had past; in their ambition and pride they did not see that this crowd, sooner or later, would make room for itself; they did not understand that they must find a bed for this torrent under penalty of seeing everything swept away. Tiberius, in taking up the rôle of Licinius Stolo, was not, therefore, a blind revolutionist. The primitive duality had reappeared; Rome again contained two hostile peoples. The fruitful union which the tribune of the

¹ In Cicero's time, of the immense domains that the state had held in Italy, there was left only the *ager Campanus*. Cf. *de Leg. agr.* i. 21; ii. 76, *seq.*; iii. 15; and *ad Att.* ii. 16.

² These again are the counsels which Sallust, or the author of his letters, gives to Caesar.

³ From a painting in Herculaneum.

fourth century had brought about between patricians and plebeians must be renewed by him of the second century between the nobles and the proletariat. If he had succeeded in this — if he had been able to succor first the Roman poor and then the Italian people, as his brother intended, a long day of repose, of strength, and of liberty would have been secured to Rome.

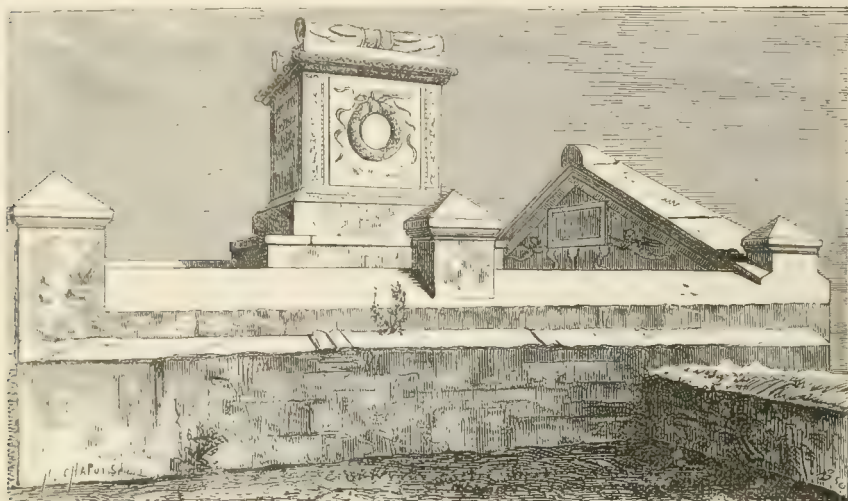
The present foundation of socialist doctrines, namely, that in some form the state owes to all its members land, implements, and credit, — that is to say, an opportunity to work, — was, for very different reasons, a thoroughly Roman idea. It came from the very heart of that society, — a persistent trace of the ancient *gentes* and of the obligations of the patron towards his clients; like the right, too, of the citizens to divide among themselves that *ager publicus* which they had won for the Republic by their courage. The agrarian laws, the cancelling of debts, the founding of colonies, had been the application of this idea. But it was now long since land had been distributed; and yet there had never been so many poor in need of it. Rome at that time was waging no war but that against the Numantines, — a formidable and unprofitable campaign, — and that against the slaves, which offered no prospect whatever of gain. All those who for the last seventy-five years had lived by the pillage of the world and by the largesses of generals, were now without employment, restless, and eager for any change. Thus revolution was in the air; and there needed only a single voice to say aloud what all men were thinking, and the aristocratic rule must be shaken to its foundations.

The Gracchi were that voice; the weapon they used was the rights of the people, — of late only vaguely perceived as a confused something above the Senate, and brought down by them from the clouds which veiled it, when they gave back to the Forum its revolutionary energy, and to the comitia of the tribes their early daring.

As soon as Tiberius had obtained the tribuneship¹ the people looked to him at once with the expectation of relief from all their distresses (133). Porticos, temple walls, and tombs were placarded

¹ Dec. 10, 134 B. C. The election occurred in June; but the tribunes did not enter upon their duties until December.

with appeals urging him to call for the restitution to the poor of the public lands. Blossius of Cumae and Diophanes of Mitylene, — his former masters, now his friends, — his mother, venerable senators, — all encouraged him. At last, having taken counsel with his father-in-law, Appius,¹ with the pontifex maximus, Licinius Crassus, with Mucius Scaevola, consul for the year and the most celebrated lawyer of his time, Tiberius Gracchus proposed in a tribal assembly of the people the following laws: —

A TOMB.²

“That no person should occupy more than 500 *jugera* of the *publicus ager*; ³

“That no person should send to the public pasture-lands more than 100 head of cattle, or 500 of sheep;

“That each landowner should have upon his estate a certain number of free laborers.”

This was the original law of Licinius Stolo, which no legal act had ever abolished. In order to render the execution of this law less burdensome to the rich, Tiberius added the following clause: —

¹ Political views were hereditary in the great families of Rome, as is now the case in England. This Appius, a friend of the Gracchi, was a descendant of the censor of the year 312 who was so favorable to the middle classes (see Vol. I. p. 406), and of the decemvir of 451, who was perhaps also a friend of the poor. (Vol. I. p. 331.)

² Tomb at Pompeii. (From Zahn, vol. i. pl. 1.)

³ Appian (*Bell. civ.* i. 9), Plutarch (*Tib.* 8-14), Livy (*Epit.* lviii.), and Cicero (*de Leg. agr.* ii. 31) show that he intended only the public lands; 500 *jugera* equal about 110 acres.

“That those occupying public lands should further be allowed to retain 250 *jugera* for each of their sons; and that an indemnity should be allowed in cases where money had been expended in improvement upon lands of which the holders were now to be deprived.¹

“Lands thus recovered by the state were to be distributed among the poorer citizens, the distribution to be of thirty *jugera*

COW-HERD.²

(about 19 acres) apiece, to be made by lot, by triumvirs elected as a permanent magistracy; and the estates thus obtained were then to be inalienable, and to pay no rent to the public treasury.”

These estates constituted, therefore, veritable landed property in every respect, except that they could not be sold.

The rich were overwhelmed with consternation. They complained indignantly that this law proposed to deprive them of the

¹ Μισθὸν ἅμα τῆς πεπονημένης ἐξεργασίας αὐτάρκη φερομένου (App., *Bell. civ.* i. 11), and not an indemnity for the value of the land given up, as has often been said, accepting Plutarch's view. (*Tib.* 9.) Appian also says that each child, *ἐκάστῳ*, and not all the children collectively, should have 250 *jugera*; but it appears that the head of a family might occupy in the name of two sons only, making 1,000 *jugera* the maximum.

² Cow-herd driving cattle to pasture. From the *Vergil* of the Vatican.

tombs of their ancestors, the dowry of their wives, the inheritances received from their fathers, lands which they had bought with money, upon which they had bestowed labor, which they had covered with buildings. All this was true. Since the Licinian law had fallen into abeyance, lands unlawfully seized from the public domain had been, like other property, bought, bequeathed, given in pledge, or bestowed as dowry.

Among the actual holders many had acquired this property honestly, although without legal title. But could the state lose its rights, and Liberty her last hope?



SHEPHERD.¹

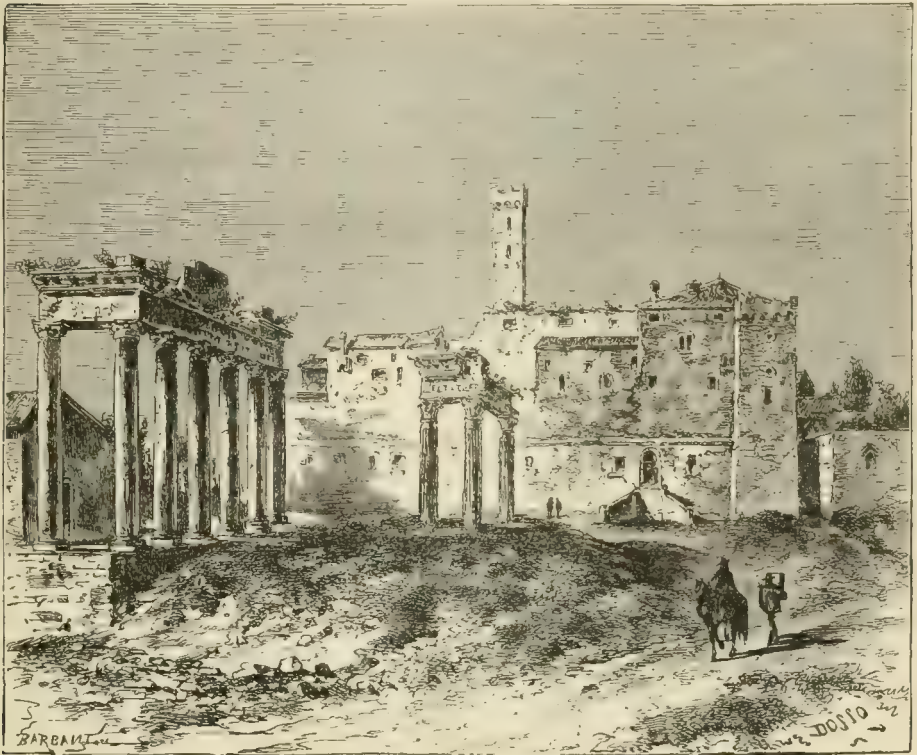
The pillage of the public domain had not been profitable to the nobles of Rome and to the publicans only. In the colonies, in the municipia enjoying the right of citizenship, wherever wealth existed, there were occupiers of the public lands. They flocked to Rome; and until the day of the comitia the city was a prey to the most violent agi-

tation. The day having arrived, Tiberius ascended the rostra. "Is it your judgment," he said to the assembly, "that the lands which belong to the people should be given to the people? that what was conquered by all should be divided amongst all? Do you believe that a citizen is more useful than a slave? a brave legionary than a man who cannot fight? a faithful Roman than a foreigner and an enemy?" And, addressing himself to the rich: "Relinquish a portion of your wealth, lest some day the whole be taken from you."

To these words he added prophetic advice: "The larger part of our territory," he said, "is a gain from war, and the conquest of the world is promised you. You will succeed if you have citizens enough; you will lose even what you now

¹ From a Pompeian painting. Shepherd leaning upon the *agolum*, or goad.

possess, if their number, as at present, continues steadily to decrease." The first part of this prediction was fulfilled; but as the nobles would not aid the Gracchi in putting an end to this pauperism which was undermining the Republic, it was by mercenaries, who filled the place of citizens under her banner, that the world was conquered. And these mercenaries deprived the Roman aris-



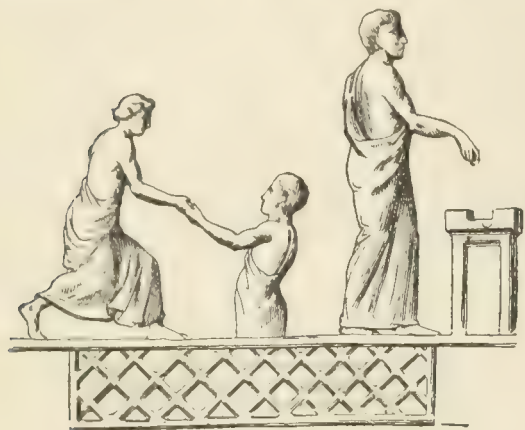
ASPECT OF THE ROMAN FORUM IN 1653.¹

tocracy not only of its wealth, but also of its power, and brought to ruin the old liberties of Rome.

The people were about to vote by their tribes; but the rich faction had secretly gained over the tribune Octavius, himself a large holder of public lands, and he interposed his veto. Tiberius, exasperated, withdrew the two clauses which alone rendered his proposed law tolerable to the other party,—the indemnity and the

¹ From the work of Du Pérac, who visited Rome at a time when many buildings existed which have since disappeared.

larger allowance to the present holders and their sons.¹ From this moment nothing but violence could be anticipated; for the reform was growing into a revolution, and threw into the opposition those moderate persons who would have been willing to buy peace and



VOTING UPON THE PONS SUFFRAGIORUM.²

security at the price of a part of their fortune, but whose patriotism did not go so far as to brave actual penury.

Octavius adhered to his veto. In vain Tiberius employed the most eloquent persuasions, and in vain offered to indemnify his colleague from his own purse for his possible losses.

The tribune could not be

moved, and Tiberius was impelled to desperate measures. In virtue of the unlimited power given by the tribune's veto, he suspended the entire administration of government, prohibited the magistrates from exercising their authority, sealed the door of the treasury, and forbade any other affairs to be brought forward until the vote upon the law should have been taken.³

There ensued a curious scene; the rich assumed mourning, and went about the city soliciting the compassion of the people. In secret they posted assassins, to destroy Tiberius. The latter, warned of his danger, allowed the point of a poniard to be seen from under his toga. Upon the day of the assembly, when he called the people to vote, the opposition seized and carried away the urns. This act of violence would have been the signal for an appeal to arms; but two senators of consular rank threw themselves at the feet of Tiberius, and conjured him to renounce his endeavor, or at least to refer the matter to the Senate. The all-powerful tribune was so convinced of the justice of his cause that

¹ Plut., *Tiber. Gracch.* 10; Appian says nothing of this withdrawal.

² From a coin. To guard against fraud, the voters were obliged to pass one by one across an extremely narrow bridge to deposit their vote.

³ [This expedient of stopping a government's supplies is the ordinary weapon of a constitutional opposition nowadays. — *Ed.*]

he consented to go to the senate-house ; but the faction of the rich were supreme there, and no conciliation was possible.

Tiberius then proposed to Octavius that as one or the other of them must be deposed, they should appeal on this point to a popular vote ;¹ but Octavius refusing to agree to this, Tiberius proposed to the people the deposition of his colleague. Seventeen out of the thirty-five tribes had voted for it, when Tiberius made a last effort. He stopped the voting, and throwing his arms about Octavius, conjured him in the name of their old friendship not to expose himself to the affront of a public deposition, and to spare him the odium of so extreme a measure. Octavius for the moment was moved to tears ; he stood silent. Then, turning towards the crowd of nobles gathered in the Forum, he seemed suddenly to fear their reproaches, and cried haughtily : “ Let the people do what it desires ! ” Upon this the voting was resumed ; and being deposed, he was dragged down from the rostra, and would have been murdered by the crowd, had not Tiberius interposed and rescued him. A slave preceding him through the crowd fell, pierced with many wounds. This was the first blood shed in the civil war ; and the deposition of Octavius was the first attack upon the sacredness of the tribuneship.

Up to this time Tiberius had been in the right. Henceforward he was in the wrong ; for he, who as tribune was especially bound to defend the constitution, had ignored its most essential principle. The great tribunes of the fourth century did not act thus. Licinius Stolo had conquered the patricians, not by passion, but by perseverance. That which Licinius had been ten years in obtaining Tiberius sought to obtain in a day ; and he obtained it but for a day.

The law passed, indeed ; but the difficulty was to execute it. Tiberius had proposed that triumvirs, elected by the people, should proceed at once to effect the distribution, and should remain in office until the work was accomplished.² The three individuals appointed were himself, his brother Caius (at the moment absent in Spain), and Appius, his father-in-law. But now began innumerable

¹ [This was no doubt a conscious imitation of the expedient of ostracism at Athens, which Tiberius had learned to understand from his Greek masters. — *Ed.*]

² At least we only find them replaced by others in the event of their death.

difficulties in the execution of the law. How was it possible to recognize public land which had been illegally occupied for centuries by private holders? how to make and distribute the lots? Withal, there was the impatience of the poor to be restrained, and the ill-will of the nobles to be baffled. The Senate refused Tiberius the tent usually allowed to all citizens occupied in public duty, and for his expenses had made allowance to him, upon the report of Scipio Nasica, only nine obols a day. All methods which had succeeded against Cassius, Manlius, and Spurius Maelius were now tried against him. A senator attested that Eudemus, who had brought to Rome the will of Attalus of Pergamus, had given Tiberius the purple robe and diadem of the king, which the tribune proposed some day to wear in Rome. Tiberius, by way of reply, obtained a decree that the treasures of Attalus should be distributed among the poor citizens who received the public lands, to enable them to buy cattle and agricultural implements.

Up to this time, in order to simplify his position, he had abstained from any attack upon the political rights of the nobles; but he now exasperated the whole Senate by declaring that he should personally make his report upon the kingdom of Pergamus to the assembly of the people. This was no less than a first attempt to transfer from the Senate to the popular assembly the administration of foreign affairs. Moreover, he sought to abridge the time of military service, to re-establish the appeal to the people from sentences of all kinds, and in the tribunals to add to the senators an equal number of knights. According to some authorities he also made promises to the Italians.¹ But already the people had ceased to follow him. To impress the crowd, simple ideas are needed. When it was a question of the agrarian law the thirty-five tribes had voted as one man. In the midst of the complications presented by new propositions, the poorer classes no longer recognized that positive and immediate profit which had rallied them around the tribune. Two centuries before, to obtain the opening of the consular office, Licinius had succeeded only by declaring his agrarian law inseparably connected with his political

¹ Vell. Patere., ii. 2.

changes. Tiberius brought forward the latter subsequently, and was unsuccessful. Yet he was still popular. One of his friends having died, the crowd rushed to carry the body to the funeral: and as the first pile would not take fire, it was loudly asserted that the man had died by poison. Tiberius felt his own life in danger, staked, as it were, upon the formidable game he was playing. One day he appeared in the Forum clad in mourning, leading by the hand his two children, and implored the people's protection for them and for their mother. The crowd was moved by this appeal, and for some time a great number of citizens watched night and day over their tribune's safety. But they were already beginning to blame him for his conduct in the affair of Octavius. A certain Annius, whom he had accused, having said to him: "If I appeal to one of your colleagues, and if he oppose his veto to your act, will you have him also deposed?" Tiberius, much disconcerted, broke up the assembly; and on the morrow made reply by a long discourse on the inviolability of the tribune's

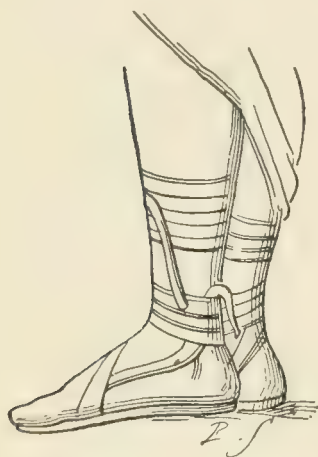
VESTAL OF THE FLORENTINE MUSEUM.¹

¹ Vestal guarding the sacred fire. (Gore, *Mus. flor.*, pl. 92, and Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 772, No. 1,929.)

office. "Yes," he said, "the tribune is sacred and inviolable; but on one condition,—that he is faithful to his duty. Are we to permit a tribune to tear down the Capitol, to burn the military stores, to weaken or destroy the power of the Roman people? What! the people may dispose at will of the offerings in the temples, may use and transfer that which has been consecrated to the gods; and shall they not, in case of need, take away an office they have themselves bestowed? Our sacred virgins who guard the undying flame in the temple of Vesta are for a negligence in their duty buried alive; and shall not the man who, as tribune, instead of serving the people, uses against them the very authority they have given him, be at least deprived of his office as the penalty of his crime?"

All this was true; but the inviolability of the tribunes, oppressive as it sometimes was, had been till now respected.

Tiberius in disregarding it had betrayed the fatal secret, that the fickle crowd of the Forum could, in a moment of caprice or anger, overthrow the laws, the constitution, and the customs of their ancestors.



PATRICIAN SANDAL (CALCEUS PATRICIUS).¹

To be secure against all the enmities that he had excited, Tiberius needed a second term of office as tribune; and he sought it. But the larger number of his partisans were at that time of year occupied at a distance in gathering in their harvests, and most of his colleagues were unfriendly to him. Plutarch gravely relates that on the day of the assembly

Tiberius was for a moment shaken by presages of evil. Two serpents had hatched their young in a richly ornamented helmet which he had used in war. The sacred chickens which he had sent for refused to come and be fed, although their guardian shook the cage violently, to compel them to come out. He himself, on coming out of his house, struck his foot so violently

¹ *Museo Borbonico*, xi. 25; *Tischbein*, 14; and *Rich*, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the word *Calceus*.

against the threshold that the nail of his great toe was split, and the blood flowed over the sandal. To end the list, scarcely was he in the street when he beheld two crows fighting upon a roof, and a fragment of a tile fell at his feet. So many superstitious terrors possessed the minds of this people, who had ceased to believe in their gods, but still had faith in Fate, as revealed by signs, that the boldest partisans of the tribune sought to turn him back. "What a disgrace for the grandson of Africanus," cried Blossius, however, "to allow himself to be stopped by a crow!" At the same moment came pressing messages to Tiberius from his friends gathered in the Capitol, where the election was to take place. All was going well, they said. He was received with the most cordial applause, and a guard was kept, to make sure that no unknown person should approach him. Two tribes had already voted for his re-election, when the opposition, who were present in great numbers, cried out that a tribune could not hold office for two terms consecutively. A collision was precipitated; the partisans of Tiberius fell upon their opponents, who fled with the tribunes of their party, and spread the news through the city that Tiberius had proclaimed the deposition of all his colleagues, and had seized upon the office for the following year.

Meantime he had about him not more than 3,000 men. "At this moment the senator Fulvius Flaccus, standing up in a position where he could be seen by all the assembly, made a gesture indicating that he wished to speak to Tiberius. The latter directed that room should



PATRICIAN SANDALS.

be made for him to approach, and Fulvius made known that the faction of the rich in the Senate not having been able to secure the consul on their side, had formed the design to kill Tiberius; and to this end had armed their clients and their slaves. Upon receiving this information the friends of Tiberius girt their robes about them, and seizing upon the lictors' rods,

broke them, and armed themselves with the fragments for purposes of defence. Those too distant to hear what had been said being eager to know the meaning of these preparations, Tiberius raised his hand to his head, to indicate the danger which threatened him. Upon this his enemies ran to tell the Senate, who had gathered in the temple of Fides, that he was asking for the crown. This news caused the Senate extreme anxiety. Scipio Nasica called upon the consul to go to the rescue of Rome, and strike down the usurper. Scaevola replied, mildly, that he would not set an example of violence, and would cause the death of no citizen without due forms of law. 'If,' he said, 'the people, either won over by Tiberius, or coerced by him, pass any ordinance contrary to the laws, I will not ratify it.' Then Nasica cried out: 'Since the chief magistrate is false to his country, let those who will rescue her follow me!' Saying these words, he threw a corner of his robe over his head and made his way to the Capitol, followed by certain of the Senate and of the faction of the rich, who were also accompanied by their slaves armed with clubs and sticks, and who seized as they went fragments of benches which the people had broken in their flight. Thus they came up to Tiberius, striking down all who sought to defend him with their bodies; many were killed, others pushed towards the Tarpeian rock and hurled over, while the rest fled away.¹ Tiberius himself ran round the temple of *Fides*, whose gates had been

FIDES.²

closed by the priests; but stumbling over a dead body, he fell near the door, at the foot of the royal statues. As he was endeavoring to rise, one of his colleagues, Publius Satureius, wounded him on the head with a fragment of a bench, and the second blow was given by Lucius Rufus, another tribune, who prided himself upon the act as of a deed well done. More than 300 of the partisans of Tiberius perished with him." After wreaking their vengeance upon the dead bodies, the victorious party flung them into the

¹ See (Vol. I. p. 260) the topographical map of Rome, and (p. 335) the Tarpeian rock.

² FIDES AVGVST. S.C. *Faith* standing, holding ears of wheat and a basket of fruit. Reverse of a great bronze of Plotinus.

Tiber; Caius Gracchus, just returned from Spain, vainly sought to recover the body of his brother.

The Senate and the city remained for some time under the terror of this blow. "After the death of Tiberius," says Sallust, "the whole people was accused and prosecuted."¹ All the friends of the late tribune who were not seized were banished, and the others were put to death. Among this number were Diophanes and a certain C. Villius, who was shut up in a barrel filled with serpents and vipers. When Blossius was brought before the consuls he averred that he had done nothing more than follow the orders of the tribune. "But," rejoined Nasica, "if he had ordered you to set on fire the Capitol?" — "Tiberius would never have given such an order." "But if he had?" — "I should have obeyed him; for if he had ordered it he would have done so for the good of the people." Blossius succeeded in making his escape, however, and fled to Aristonicus. After this prince was defeated, he killed himself, to avoid falling again into the power of the Romans.

Those who had supported the tribune, even among the most important personages in Rome, now made haste to disown their former conduct. It is sad to find among this number the consul Scaevola, declaring that Nasica, although a private individual, had done rightly in taking up arms, and issuing decrees honoring the latter for his courage. Perhaps the consul, alarmed by the tribune's tendency in his later acts, sought, by sanctioning an act of violence now irreparable, to disarm the nobles and to save at least that agrarian law which he had himself prepared.

Despite these bloody reprisals no one at the moment dared attack the law, so thoroughly was its necessity manifest to all moderate and sagacious men, both in the Senate and out of it. Licinius Crassus, father-in-law of Caius, was chosen to fill the place of Tiberius as triumvir; and upon his death in the war against Aristonicus, a popular senator, Fulvius Flaccus, received the appointment. When Appius died, his successor was also an eloquent defender of the law, Papirius Carbo; and an inscription exists

¹ *In plebem Romanam quæstiones habitæ sunt.* (Sall., *Jug.* 31.)

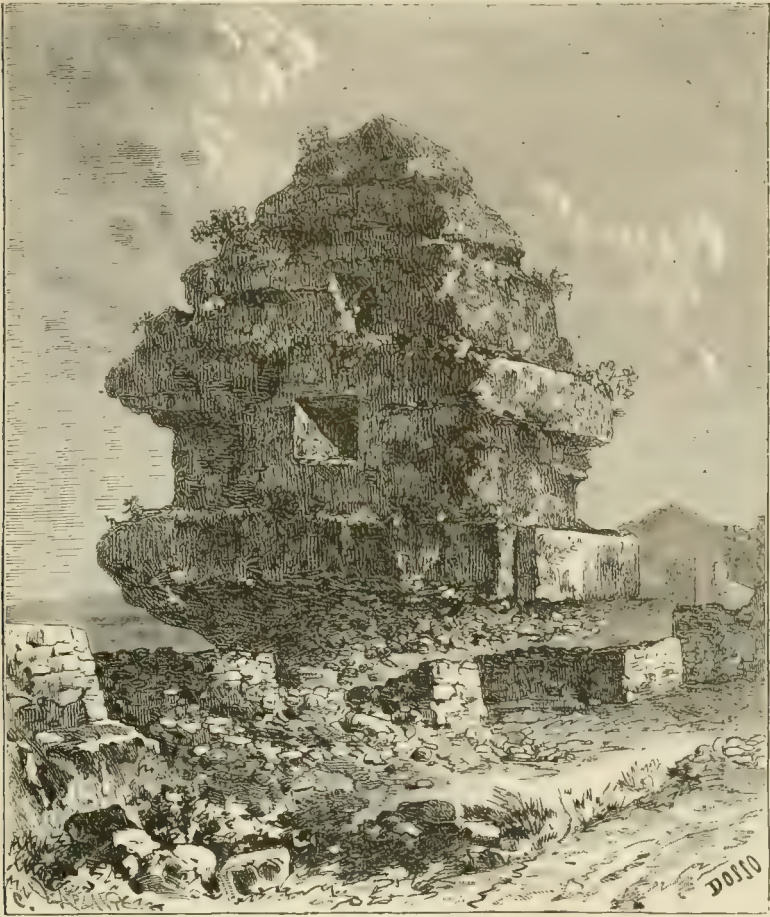
wherein Popillius, the consul of that year and a persecutor of the friends of Tiberius, boasts that he was the first to substitute upon the allotted domains the stationary laborer for the wandering shepherd.¹ The allotments continued to be made, and their effect was quickly visible. The census of 131 had given but 317,823 citizens competent for service in the legions; that of 125 gave 390,736. In six years the reserve of the army had increased by 72,000 men, and the proletariat had diminished by the same number. This is the justification of the Sempronian law. The tribune, though dead, once more became formidable. The people accused themselves of having allowed him to be destroyed; and Nasica could not show himself in public without being hooted. It was already proposed to cite him before the tribunal, when the Senate removed him under pretext of a mission into Asia. He wandered in foreign lands for a long time, consumed with chagrin, and at last ended his life in Pergamus.

III. DEATH OF SCIPIO AEMILIANUS.

WHEN, during a revolution, a great political body takes no decided position, it virtually abdicates. In the strife with Tiberius the Senate had suffered a private individual, Scipio Nasica, to play the leading part. The Senate lost the prestige of its power, and the satisfaction given to the people by the exile of Nasica only had the effect of encouraging new popular leaders. Carbo, the triumvir, being appointed tribune in 131, recommenced the struggle. He began by proposing ballot for the laws, to the end that the faction of the rich might not be able to exercise surveillance over the voting, and arrest it when it appeared to go against them. In the next place he demanded that an immediate second term of office should be allowed the tribunes, so that the law should no longer give room for the violence by which Tiberius had perished. Another tribune, Atinius, using the means already sanctioned by the nobles, dared to have the censor Metellus seized and beaten because the latter had expelled him from the Senate, and would

¹ *C. I. L.*, vol. i. no. 551, p. 154: . . . *eidemque primus feci ut de agro publico aratoribus cederent.*

have precipitated him from the Tarpeian rock if his colleagues had not interposed to save him.¹ Lastly, Caius Gracchus was already



TOMB, SAID TO BE OF THE METELLI, UPON THE APPIAN WAY (RUINS).²

beginning to emerge from the seclusion to which his brother's death had consigned him. In respect to the propositions of Carbo,

¹ Livy, *Epit.* lix. It has been maintained that this was the tribune Atinius who obtained the passage of the Atinian law, by which every tribune was declared a senator *ex officio*; before that time the tribunes being obliged to wait till the censors had inscribed their names upon the senatorial list. (Aulus Gellius, xiv. 8.) This law, which gave to the tribunes the *jus sententiæ dicendæ* in the Senate, — that is to say, the full enjoyment of senatorial powers, — appears to Willems (*Le sénat de la répub. rom.*, p. 230) to have been necessarily posterior to the *lex repet.* of 123. That assigns a very late date to it; but the problem is obscure. In 169 a tribune opposed his veto to a proposal of the censors because they had not inscribed his name upon the senatorial list. (Livy, xlv. 15.)

² Canina, *La prima parte della via Appia*, pl. xxx.

the first passed; the second, which tended to establish a popular royalty, failed for the time by reason of the opposition of Scipio Aemilianus.

Terrified, like Mucius Scaevola, by the revolutionary character the reform was taking, Scipio had condemned his brother-in-law: "So perish all that do the like again,"¹ he had said on hearing



ROMAN SOLDIER.²

the news of the death of Tiberius; and returning to Rome with his victorious army in 132, he had not hesitated to sacrifice his popularity by publicly opposing the laws of Tiberius and of Carbo. He thus went over to the party of the nobles, this man to whom the people had given, against the nobles' will, and contrary even to the laws, two consulships and the censorship, who knew so well the evils which were destroying the Republic; but he went over carrying with him vast designs. Tiberius had but partially succeeded; his law, advantageous to the poor of the rustic tribes, had not sent into the fields the city population; that starving crowd had not been willing to resign a life passed idly under

the porticos in the Forum, or at the doors of the great.³ They had refused the competency offered them at the price of labor, and had not dared to defend their own champion. This indolence and timidity inspired the conqueror of Numantia with inexpressible contempt for these men, — who, moreover, had never been soldiers. One day, when they interrupted him in the Forum: "Silence!" he cried, "you whom Italy will not acknowledge as her

¹ A verse of Homer, *Odys.* i. 47.

² From the arch of Septimius Severus.

³ Appian says expressly that the partisans of Tiberius belonged to the rustic tribes; and Tiberius was killed, as we have seen, without resistance when the harvesting had called away the country people from Rome.

children!"¹ And on their increased murmuring against him: "Those whom I brought hither in chains shall never terrify me because some one has stricken off their fetters!" And the freed-men held their peace.

This was the first time that the word Italy was put forward. At the sight of the rustic tribes depopulated, and the city encumbered with a strange crowd, Scipio understood that the days of Rome were ended, and that the days of Italy were about to begin. To remain a city, however great, was to exist subject to all the disorders of the little decayed republics. This city must become a nation. For the ancients, who concentrated sovereignty in a definite place, and desired to wield it directly, without the help of representation, this problem was difficult. It was not perhaps above the grasp of the man whom Cicero took for his hero.

In this new plan the agrarian law was no longer necessary. It would have diminished somewhat the sufferings of the poor, and reduced some fortunes which had been unjustly acquired; but no one desired it except the citizens of the rustic tribes. The Roman populace and the nobles alike opposed it, and the people of Italy regarded it with ill-will. To force the holders of public lands themselves to report their estates, the triumvirs had called upon all citizens to denounce them and bring them to justice. From this arose a multitude of embarrassing lawsuits. "Most of the proprietors had no documentary evidence of sale or of grant, and when these papers did exist they were mutually contradictory. When the measurement had been verified it appeared that in some cases estates had passed from cultivated land, built over with dwellings, to mere pasture, and others from fertile ground to marshes. Originally the conquered territory had been very carelessly divided; and, further, the decree which ordered the waste lands to be cultivated had furnished occasion for many individuals to reclaim the ground adjacent to their estates, thus confusing the boundaries of both. The lapse of time had, moreover, changed everything; and the extent of the illegal occupation, though undoubtedly considerable, was now difficult to determine.

¹ Later, on his return from exile, Cicero used the same words: "No! this populace whom Clodius gathers in a mob and suborns to his purposes, is not the Roman people; the citizens of the municipia are the true people, sovereign over kings and nations."

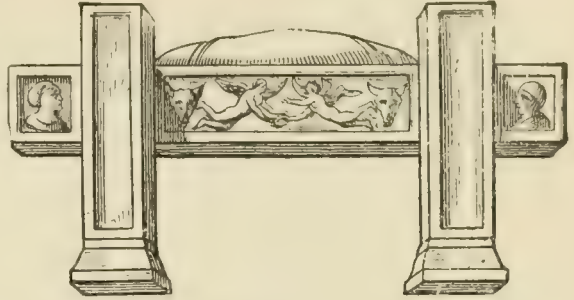
“Irritated at the haste with which all this was being carried out by the triumvirs, the Italians determined to take for their defender against so much injustice the destroyer of Carthage, Cornelius Scipio. Their zeal in his wars would not permit him to refuse this duty; he presented himself in the Senate, and without openly blaming the law of Gracchus, through regard for the plebeians, he set forth at length the difficulties in the way of its execution, ending by the proposal that the right of deciding in these disputes should be taken from the triumvirs, as being persons not having the confidence of those concerned. This proposition appeared reasonable; the Senate adopted it, and the consul Tuditanus was appointed to make the decisions. But the latter had no sooner begun the work than he became alarmed at the complications it involved, and set off for Illyria. All the business was subsequently adjourned. This result naturally set the populace against Scipio. Twice they had made him consul, and he now was disposed to act against them in the interests of the Italians. The enemies of Scipio said openly that he had decided to abrogate the agrarian law by force of arms and with great shedding of blood.”¹ The word “dictator” was mentioned. “We have a tyrant,” said Caius Gracchus; and Fulvius threatened Scipio. “The enemies of the state do well,” said the latter, “to wish my death, for they know that Rome cannot perish while Scipio lives.”

“One night he had withdrawn with his tablets to meditate upon the address he was to make to the people on the morrow; in the morning he was found dead, but with no trace of violence. According to some the blow was dealt by Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, who feared the abolition of the agrarian law, and by her daughter Sempronia, the unattractive and barren wife of Scipio, unloving and unloved of her husband. According to others he had committed suicide in his despair at not being able to fulfil his promise. A report was current that certain of his slaves, being put to the torture, confessed that unknown persons, introduced by a back door, had strangled their master, and that they had feared to declare the fact, knowing the people would rejoice at it.” It

¹ Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 18, 19, 20.

cannot be doubted that this murder was a reprisal for the murder of Tiberius; both sides began to taste blood.

The nobles, who perhaps dreaded Aemilianus as much as did the people, made no attempt to avenge his death; no inquiry was made as to its cause, and he who had destroyed "the two terrors of Rome" had not even a public funeral. One of his political opponents, however, paid him a noble testimony; Metellus Macedonicus desired that his sons should carry



FUNERAL COUCH.¹

the bier. "Never," he said to them, "will it be in your power to render this duty to a greater man."

The Italians, long so eager for the right of citizenship, had for a moment believed that their efforts would at last be rewarded. Every day some of them slipped into Rome; one of their number, Perperna, had just been made consul, and Scipio had undertaken their cause. His death leaving them defenceless, the nobles made haste to shake off the new enemy who sought to mix in their domestic quarrels; and the Senate caused all the Italians at that time in the city to be banished from Rome; so that the aged father of the conqueror of Aristonicus was compelled to snatch from his dwelling the consular emblems, and return to his village of Samnium, ignominiously expelled from a city which had once witnessed the triumph of his son (126).

The leaders of the popular party quickly perceived, however, that the Senate by their severity were putting the opposition in possession of a powerful weapon; and they seized it with an able hand. Caius Gracchus, at this time quaestor, opposed the expulsion of the Italians; and one of the triumvirs, Fulvius, a friend of the elder Gracchus, being elected consul, gave them permission to appeal to the people against the decree of banishment. Then, in order to unite in a common cause two interests hitherto conflicting,

¹ From a funeral bas-relief. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*.)

the people and the Italians, he proposed to give the right of citizenship to all those who had received no portion of public lands (125). Fortunately for the Senate, whom the consul refused to convoke, the Massiliots at this time implored the assistance of Rome against their neighbors. Fulvius set out with an army. Caius had also been removed by being exiled as pro-quaestor to Sardinia, where an insurrection had just broken out;¹ and the inhabitants of Fregellae, making the attempt to grasp by force that which had been denied to their entreaties, had an army sent against them under the praetor Opimius. The city, betrayed by one of its inhabitants, Numitorius Pullus, was taken and destroyed, and to this day has never been rebuilt.² This sanguinary vengeance delayed for thirty-five years the insurrection of Italy (125).

IV. CAIUS GRACCHUS.

CAIUS was twenty-one years of age at the time of his brother's death. More impetuous, more eloquent, perhaps less pure in his ambition, he gave grander proportions to the struggle commenced by Tiberius. The latter had sought only to relieve the condition of the poor; Caius assumed to change the constitution itself. At first he had appeared to turn away from the legacy of blood which his brother had left him; but one night, says Cicero, he heard Tiberius saying to him: "Why hesitate, Caius? Thy destiny shall be the same as mine,—to fight for the people, and to die for them."³ Meanwhile he found the number of his partisans increasing as the assignments of land went on, and prosperity was conferred upon many by the Sempronian law. The first time he spoke in public, loud applause welcomed him and inspired him with confidence. He supported the laws of Carbo;³ and in 127 he offered himself as a candidate for the quaestorship. He was designated by lot to accompany the consul into Sardinia (126). Such was the ascendancy of his name among the allies that, the province having

¹ Val. Max., IV. i. 12; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, x. 3. See later the Social War; Val. Max., III. iv. 5; Cic., *Phil.*, iii. 6; Livy, *Epit.* lx.

² It is not certain where this city stood, probably opposite Ceprano, but upon the left bank of the Liris.

³ Plut., *Caius*, 28 seq; Cic., *de Divin.* i. 26. Cf. Val. Max., I. vi. 7.

on account of a bad season been remitted the requisition of clothes for the soldiers, the quaestor went from town to town and obtained everywhere more than he asked for. Out of regard for him, Micipsa, the Numidian king, sent into Sardinia a great supply of corn. The Senate were alarmed at the popularity of a young man who could feed and clothe an army; and to hinder the return of Caius to Rome, the consul was ordered to remain in his province even after the disbanding of the troops, which were replaced by new levies. But Caius did not accept his exile. He hastened to Rome to canvass for the tribunate; and being accused before the censors of having violated the law which required the quaestor to remain with his general, he defended himself by scattering from the rostra, as he himself said, swords and daggers:¹ "I have made twelve campaigns, and the law requires but ten; I have remained three years quaestor, and I could have retired after one year's service. In the province, not my ambition, but the public good has directed my conduct. I had no banquets in my abode, nor handsome young slaves; and at my table your children's modesty has been respected more than in the tents of your chiefs. No man can say that he has given me a bribe, or spent money for me. The purse that I took full from Rome has come back empty.

YOUNG SLAVE.²

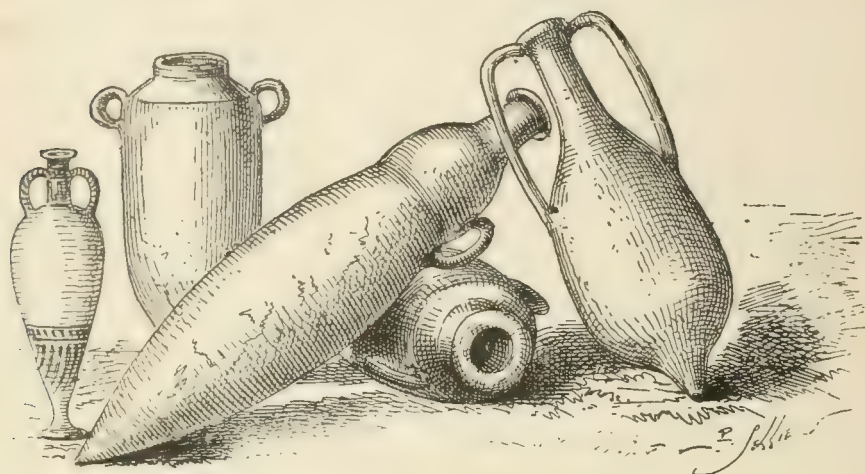
¹ Cic., *de Leg.* iii. 9.

² Bronze bust. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. vii. pl. 22.) The beauty of the hair added value to the possession of slaves of this kind. Thus the epithet *comatus*, the long-haired, became a synonyme of profligate. (Mart., xii. 99.)

Others have brought back full of gold the amphorae that they carried out full of wine.”¹ Other pretexts were alleged against him, such as complicity in the revolt of the Fregellians; but this merely secured for him the favor of the Italians.

Meanwhile the brave Cornelia’s courage began, it is said, to fail. It filled her with terror to see her younger son following in his brother’s footsteps; and she strove to dissuade him.²

But Caius could not draw back. The day of the election to the tribunate all the clients of the nobles, all the citizens scattered

AMPHORAE.³

throughout Italy came in. The struggle was severe: the nobles could not prevent his election; but he was fourth on the list.

He was eager to inaugurate his office by offering to the manes of his brother an expiatory sacrifice of his enemies and murderers. “Whither shall I go?” he cried, with a powerful voice that thrilled all hearts to the remotest ranks of the crowd, “where shall I find an asylum? In the Capitol? But the temple of the gods is stained with my brother’s blood. In my father’s house? But I find there an inconsolable mother. Romans, your fathers

¹ Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xv. 12.

² The authenticity of her letters, some fragments of which have been preserved by Cornelius Nepos, has been called in question. It is certain, however, that she wrote letters, and eloquent ones, admired by Cicero (*Brut.* 58); but the eloquent apostrophe to Caius given by Nepos is not genuine.

³ Campana Museum.

declared war upon the Faliscans because they insulted the tribune Genucius. They condemned to death C. Veturius because he did not make way for a tribune who was crossing the Forum. It is a custom derived from our fathers that when a citizen accused of a capital crime does not appear, the herald shall go to his door in the morning, shall sound a trumpet, and call him by name; only after this may the judges pronounce sentence. But under your eyes these men have slain Tiberius, and dragged his corpse ignominiously through the streets of the city!"

When he saw the people stirred by these words he proposed two laws: the first, directed against Octavius, was to the effect that no citizen once degraded from office by the popular vote could ever again be elected to any public position; the second, that a magistrate who should have put to death or exiled a citizen without due form of law should be summoned before the people. At the entreaty of Cornelia he withdrew the first of these propositions; but the former consul, Popillius Laenas, the persecutor of the partisans of Tiberius, fled the city as soon as the second became law. Tiberius had set the fatal example of impairing the inviolability of the tribuneship; Caius, in making his two laws retrospective, established the precedent of employing the law in the service of private vengeance. The day came when Clodius remembered this.

Having thus offered satisfaction to his brother's manes, Caius took up the projects of Tiberius and developed them further. They were as follows,—a new confirmation of the agrarian law; regular distributions of corn at half price ($6\frac{1}{3}$ *ases* the bushel);¹ gratuitous supply of military clothing to soldiers serving, and prohibition of enrolment of young men before the completion of their seventeenth year;² the establishment of new taxes upon

¹ In Livy (*Ep. lx.*) it is said $\frac{2}{3}$ of an *as*: *semisses et trientes*; but the manuscripts authorize us to read: *senos [aeris] et trientes*, as has been written by the Schol. Bob., *ad Cic. Sest.* 25. Cf. Mommsen, *Die röm. Tribus*, p. 179. (The *modius* is a little more than a peck of our measure.) In commerce the *modius* was worth three or four *sestercies*, that is, twelve to sixteen *ases*. (Boeckh, *Metr. Unters.* p. 420.) If the price of the *modius* had been only $\frac{2}{3}$ of an *as*, Cicero would not have been able to say in his oration *pro Sestio* (25) that Clodius in suppressing all taxes had caused the state to lose $\frac{1}{2}$ of its revenues. The quantity allowed to each citizen was five *modii* a month.

² And perhaps also a reduction in the duration of military service required; from ten, namely, to six campaigns.

articles of luxury imported from foreign countries;¹ the establishment of colonies for the benefit of the poor; and lastly, for those who needed employment while waiting for the agrarian law to take effect, the construction of public granaries, of bridges, and



ROMAN HORSEMAN.³

highways, laid out by himself, and designed to increase the value of lands by opening thoroughfares. Caius also established mile-posts, indicating distances, and blocks to accommodate riders.² At the same time he flattered the pride of the multitude. The rostra had been placed before the comitium, under the eye of the Senate, and public speakers had been wont to turn towards the Senate in their addresses; Caius, however, always pointedly addressed the crowd as the true masters, the sovereign people of Rome.

The laws proposed by the new tribune were all excellent; one of them, however, has given rise to many declamations,—the selling of corn to the people under the market price. But this measure, to which the Senate had often recourse, was a strictly logical consequence of the rights involved in victory, as understood by the Romans, and with them by all ancient nations. In accordance with these ideas, the conquered owed, as the price of his life, a portion of his income, which he paid in the form of a tax, and a portion of his land, which he gave up for the public domain of the victor. These lands and this money were then divided into two parts,—one, reserved for the needs of the state; the other, claimed in the name of those who, being, in spite of

¹ *Nova portoria*. (Vell. Patern., ii. 6.) The *portorium*, or port-dues, was an *ad valorem* tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for ordinary objects (Quintil., *Declam.*), and for objects of luxury of 12 per cent.

² [The ancients used no stirrups; hence mounting on horseback was always difficult for ordinary riders. — *Ed.*]

³ From the column of Marcus Aurelius.

their destitution, the sovereign people, had a right to apply by vote to the relief of their own suffering what was gained in common upon the field of battle, but of which the rich had hitherto assumed the sole disposal. Now the *ager publicus* was at this time sufficiently extensive, and the revenues drawn from the provinces abundant enough, to justify the state in dividing both lands and corn among its poorer citizens. To those who were willing to go away from Rome as colonists Caius gave land; to those who preferred to remain in the city he distributed corn. His law was, therefore, no more than a special form of those agrarian laws which we must consider as legitimate then, though they would be unjust at the present day. That this law had not been proposed sooner was simply due to the fact that it had not been needed so long as the class of petty landowners preserved Rome from pauperism. But institutions change with manners; by the growth of a starving populace the rendering of state assistance became a social necessity, which the second Cato,—one of the chiefs of the aristocracy himself,—recognized when he took up the law which Caius had introduced, and even made it more liberal. The assistance which we give to our poor through charity the Roman society gave from a sense of justice,—at least as justice was at that time understood.¹

After having by these popular innovations gained the army, the rustic tribes, and the poor of Rome, Caius began to attack the privileged classes. Since the year 179 the nobles and the richer citizens had again possessed themselves of the preponderance in the centuriate assembly; to deprive them of it without again throwing this assembly into disorder, the tribune obtained the passage of a decree that in future the order in which the centuries

¹ By the extinction, after the conquest of Macedon, of the only tax which the citizens paid, *tributum ex censu*, Rome had announced her intention of living at the expense of her conquests, which should henceforth pay for the army and the expenses of government. The *frumentationes* were a consequence of this principle: the subjects, by their contributions in kind, furnished a part of their masters' subsistence. Observe that any citizen living in Rome, whether he were rich or poor, *ἐκάστω τῶν δημοτῶν* (App., *Bell. civ.* i. 21), *viritim* (Cic., *Tuscul.* iii. 20), had a right to share in these distributions; but it was necessary to be present in person, as was one day the consul Piso. (Cic., *ibid.*) This necessity had the effect of hindering the rich from taking their share as mendicants; but it confirms what we have said of the character of these laws. The corn paid in tribute was as much the property of the citizens as the money so paid; the former helped them to live, the latter defrayed the expenses of government.

voted should be determined by lot. The last might thus be called on first, and the majority would no longer depend on the vote of the rich. The vote of the century which went first to the polls, the *centuria praerogativa*, had in the eyes of the Romans a special importance, being, as they conceived, in some way the result of divine inspiration;¹ and the determining this by lot gave a demo-

cratic air to the whole transaction. New clauses added to the *Porcian law* forbade all magistrates to proceed against any citizen without the order of the people. This was, in effect, to deprive the Senate of its right to have recourse to a dictatorship or to extraordinary commissions, like the one which had been so severe towards the partisans of Tiberius.



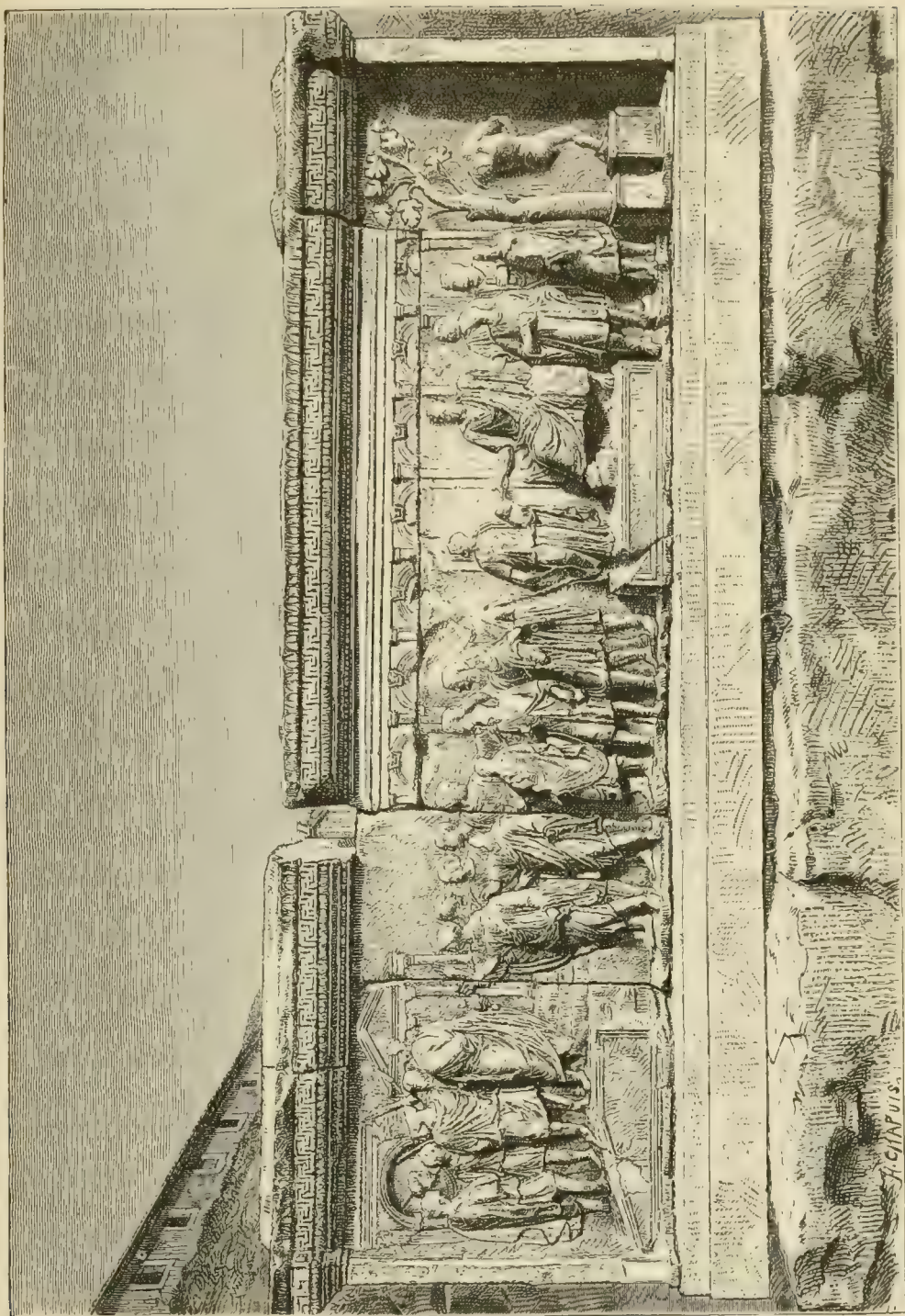
GRATUITOUS DISTRIBUTION TO THE PEOPLE.²

A much more important change gave to the equestrian order all the judicial authority in criminal cases brought before the tribunal of the *quaestiones perpetuae*.³

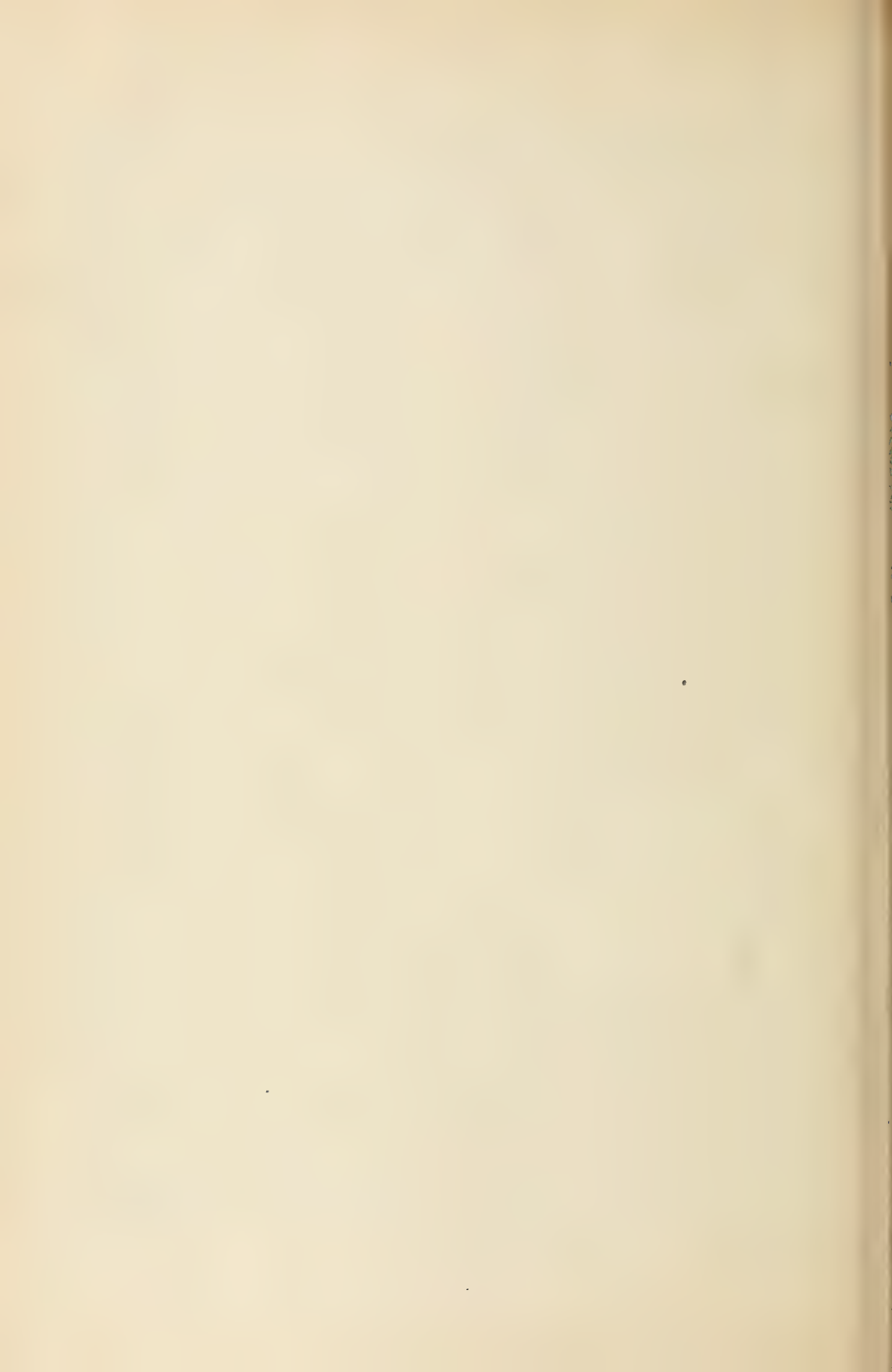
¹ . . . *Praerogativam omen comitiorum*. (Cic. *de Divin.* i. 45, ii. 40.) It has been maintained that by the new order only the first to vote out of the seventy centuries should be selected by lot. (See Vol. I. p. 642, n. 1.) So small a reform as this would not have been worthy the attention of Caius, for it would have changed hardly anything. (Cf. Cic., *pro Mur.* 23, and Sallust, *Ep.* to Caesar, 7.)

² From a coin of Nerva (enlarged). The Emperor in person is seated at the left on a kind of stage (*suggestum*); before him is an officer employed in the distribution of assistance in giving bread to a citizen who is coming up the steps, while another officer or magistrate presents to the inspection of the Emperor the ticket (*tessera*) which the citizen has given him. A statue of Mars presides over the scene.

³ See in Cicero's orations against Verres the political importance which he attaches to the tribunals: *ejusmodi respublica debet esse et erit, veritate judiciorum constituta ut . . .* (*In Verr.* II. iii. 69.) In the last century of the Republic, and perhaps as far back as the year 129 (?), the knights had been obliged to relinquish the horse at public expense, that is to say, withdraw from the equestrian order when they entered the Senate. For the equestrian rank, property of at least the value of 400,000 sesterces was requisite.



BAS-RELIEF FROM THE FORUM, REPRESENTING (1) AN ORATOR ON THE ROSTRA, (2) A JUDGE SITTING IN COURT.



In a republic the judicial power is perhaps the most important. If it fall into the hands of a party, it becomes an instrument of persecution and injustice. Hence in the Italian cities of the mediæval period the *podestat* was never a citizen, but a foreigner. At Rome, when the Senate gave decisions, *judicia publica*, that is to say, when it united the executive and judicial powers, besides a considerable share of legislative authority, the ruling class were almost sure of impunity. At this very time envoys from several provinces were vainly asking for justice upon Aurelius Cotta, Salinator, and Manius Aquillius. Moreover, these senatorial judges were not all men of character. An orator depicts them on their way to their session after revels with courtesans. "When the tenth hour¹ approaches, they send a slave to the Forum to know what has been done, who has spoken on both sides, and how the tribunes have voted. The moment having arrived, they present themselves in the comitium just in time to escape their fine, and come into the tribunal in very ill-humor.² 'Begin,' they cry; 'let us hear the arguments.' They have witnesses summoned, meanwhile making various interruptions;³ then call for the documents in the case, and heavy with wine, can scarcely raise an eyelid. Finally they vote, exclaiming: 'What nonsense all this is! Let us have some good Greek wine mixed with honey, and a fat thrush, with a pike caught between the bridges.'"⁴

Caius profited by this kind of scandal to propose his law, which was designed to separate from the Senate a certain number of wealthy citizens, and place the governors of provinces at the mercy of the bankers (*argentarii*). If the knights, in fact, filled all the tribunals, the publicans had no reason to fear that any

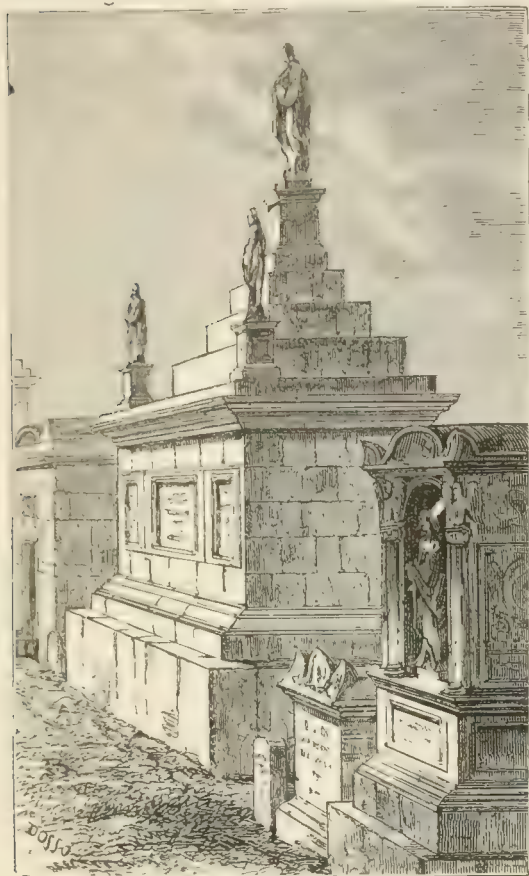
¹ The Roman day was divided, for summer as well as winter, into twelve parts; the hours differing in length according to the time of year. Thus at the summer solstice the first hour began at 4.27, and ended at 5.42½; the twelfth at 6.17½, and ended at 7.33. At the winter solstice the first hour began at 7.33, and ended at 8.17½; the twelfth at 3.42½, and ended at 4.27. The tenth, therefore, corresponded to 3.46½ in summer, and 2.13½ winter. (Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*.)

² Martial, xii. 48; cf. also Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 17.

³ *Quippe qui vesicam plenam vini habent.* (Discourse of the Roman knight Titius in 161 in support of the Fannian law, in Macrobius, *Sat.* II. ix. 12.)

⁴ The pike, fattened upon all the filth of the Tiber, had a great reputation.

one would dare to appeal from their exactions, and upright governors were in danger of a capital sentence.



TOMB OF AN ARGENTARIUS.³

In bringing about a revolution like this in the judicature Caius gave a rude blow to public morals. If the senators did not administer justice in all cases faithfully, the men of money sold it:¹ an infamy to which the nobles rarely stooped. Doubtless he had foreseen this danger, and had anticipated the reproaches of the old Romans who cried out to him: "The Republic has now two heads; shall this civil war be eternal?"² But his brother having failed in creating from the people, by the re-establishment of small farmers, a middle class between the Senate and the populace, Caius resigned himself to the forming of

this intermediate order from men who should belong to the people

¹ However, the praetor Hostilius Tubulus, whom Cicero calls the vilest of men, did, in fact, sell his vote in a criminal case in the year 142; for this crime he was prosecuted and sentenced to death, and took poison in prison. (Cic., *ad Att.* xii. 5; *de Fin.* ii. 16; and Asconius in *Cicero*. Scauro, p. 25, Orelli's edition.)

² *Bicipitem ex una fecerat civitatem.* (Flor., iii. 17; cf. Vell. Patere., ii. 6.) This change was so important that Tacitus reduces nearly to this one question the rivalry between Marius and Sylla: . . . *de eo vel praecipue bellarent.* (Ann. xii. 60.) Cicero says also in the *pro Font.* 3: *Quum . . . maximi exercitus civium dissiderent de judiciis ac legibus.* Plutarch (*Caius*, 3) says that the list of the judges comprised 300 senators and 300 knights. It is possible that in a former scheme of a law Caius made this concession to the Senate; but he must have suppressed it later, for otherwise it is impossible to understand the importance of this reform. Appian (*Bell. civ.* i. 22) affirms, moreover, that Caius transferred the judicial powers from the senators to the knights. It was doubtless he who fixed their property qualification at 400,000 sesterces.

³ Canina, *La prima parte della via Appia*, vol. ii. pl. xxii. fig. 6.

by their origin, and to the nobles by their wealth. Unfortunately this was not creating a new class, but merely a new party.¹ The great capitalists, the men of equestrian rank, and the *publicani* (these latter terms having come to be nearly synonymous)² by this time formed a powerful body, to whom the judicial decisions should by no means have been intrusted if justice was to keep clear from party quarrels. But Caius could not bring down to any lower class the functions which had always heretofore been reserved for the chiefs of the state.³ Half a century must pass before it will at last be understood that, to secure impartiality, the administration of justice must be intrusted not to any one class of citizens, but to the most upright citizens of all classes. And for Caius, moreover, in this reform the political question obscured the question of equity; any weapon seemed to him good against his opponents. He believed that what he took away from the Senate would be of service to the people and to liberty, and that the equestrian order would through gratitude aid him in his other designs. "With one blow I have broken," he said, "the pride and the power of the nobles." They knew it, and threatened him with their vengeance. "But," he said, "though you should kill me, can you pluck out the sword I have buried in your side?"⁴ And in spite of Montesquieu's severe judgment, who wrote in that parliamentary spirit so hostile to revenue-farmers, in spite of the well-established fact that unjust sentences were often given by the new judges, we must applaud this attempt of Caius to create what Napoleon used to call a great intermediate body. Without it perhaps the Republic would have perished earlier than it did; for it was with the equestrian order that Cicero opposed Catiline. But still the world would have been the gainer, had this death-struggle of liberty been of briefer duration.⁵

¹ Judicial decisions became so ready a weapon in the hands of parties, that *seven times* in the space of fifty-three years the organization of the tribunals was changed; and every change corresponds to a revolution in the state.

² Cicero himself says: *Publicani, hoc est, equites Romani.* (In *Verr.* II. iii. 72.)

³ A *lex Serrilia repetundarum* (C. I. L. vol. i. No. 198), and another *lex Acilia*, both of uncertain date, but posterior to Caius, determine various details of the new judicial organization.

⁴ *Exc. Vat.* ii. 10, 115; *ad Diod.* xxxviii. 9. See in Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xi. 10, other very bitter words against the Senate.

⁵ There is no inconsistency between this and what has been said earlier, that the publicans

Caius believed that he had restored strength to the constitution; to make the empire firmer, by interesting a numerous population in its defence, he now proposed to give to the Latin allies the right to aspire to Roman magistracies, *jus honorum*, and to the Italians the right of suffrage. The strength of the democratic party was to be greatly increased; but the aristocratic element was also to strengthen itself by the allied nobles whom their fortune classed with the equestrian order. The Senate with its dignity, the knights with their judicial power, would be strong enough to repress the crowd and maintain the balance of power.



WARRIOR FOUND
NEAR TARENTUM.¹

Thus the soldiers received gratuitous clothing, the poor of the city corn, the Latins a share in the magistracies, the Italians the prospect of citizenship, the equestrian order judicial functions; that is to say, the poor were succored, the oppressed defended, and an attempt was made to establish an equilibrium in the state. Such were the acts of that memorable tribuneship. Caius had put in practice what his brother and his brother-in-law, Tiberius and Scipio Aemilianus, had desired. He seemed greater than either of them; and to see him constantly surrounded by magistrates, soldiers, men of letters, artists, ambassadors, one would

have thought him a king in Rome. He was so, in truth, by the popular favor, by the terror of the nobles, by the gratitude of the equestrian order² and of the Italians; and to this he sought to add the affection of the people of the provinces. The pro-praetor

supported Caesar against the republican oligarchy. They served different men; always, however, remaining faithful to the same conservative principles, — allies of Cicero against the accomplices of Catiline, who wished for nothing but pillage; allies of Caesar against a feeble government, which was ruining them by allowing the empire to be disorganized.

¹ A pretty statuette in bronze, belonging to the collection of M. Gréan, exhibited in the Trocadéro (Paris) in 1878.

² To him had been conceded by the people the right to name the 300 knights who were to be judges. (Plut., *Caius*, 3-7.)

had sent from Spain corn wrung from the inhabitants by extortion; and Caius caused its price to be remitted to them. The consuls had been accustomed to obtain from the Senate such provinces as they individually selected for the prospect of military glory or for the opportunity of pillage; he obtained a decree that the provinces should be named before the election of the consuls, and lots drawn for them, so that the interests of the state, and no longer those of the individual, should be consulted.¹ He also proposed to rebuild Capua and Tarentum, and notwithstanding the imprecations which had been pronounced against the re-building of Carthage, to send thither a colony,² for the purpose of showing to the world the new spirit of free thought and grandeur which henceforth should reign in the councils of Rome.³

Tiberius had formed the design of regulating the financial organization of Pergamean Asia, recently acquired by Rome; but his life had been cut short. Caius now took up his brother's plan, and obtained a decree from the popular assembly that the tithes of Asia should be farmed out at Rome by the censors,—a regulation which has been generally regarded as merely a favor to the publicans, but which, to judge from the general spirit of the tribune's reforms, must have been, at least in the beginning, a measure intended to benefit the new province.

To consolidate his power and render his work lasting, Caius asked the people to appoint as consul his friend Fannius Strabo. As for himself, he had no need to solicit a second term of office, for he was unanimously re-elected. The nobles were completely overthrown. Knowing, however, the fickle character of the populace, they prepared a scheme against Caius, by means of which they ere long succeeded in destroying his popularity; and this was to show themselves more on the popular side than himself. They suborned one of the newly-elected tribunes, Livius Drusus, who outbid in the Senate each proposition of his colleague. Caius had asked for the establishment of two

¹ Sall., *Jug.* 27; Cic., *de Prov. cons.* 2, 15. [This was one of his best laws, provided no great crisis required a special general; but this difficulty was easily met. —*Ed.*]

² This was the first attempt to apply to the provinces the system that had so well succeeded in Italy, by which the Latin race was to be propagated throughout the empire.

³ It should here be said that we are not able to distinguish between the laws of the first and second tribunship of Caius, nor is the question important.

colonies; Livius proposed to found twelve, of 3,000 citizens each. He had subjected the lands distributed to the poor to an annual tax; Livius suppressed the tax. It was his design to give full citizenship to the Latins. This Livius vetoed; but asked and obtained a decree that henceforward no Latin soldier should be beaten with rods. In his eagerness, Caius put himself upon all commissions, drew money from the treasury for the public works that he had caused to be voted, and took charge of them himself;



JUNO.¹

was seen everywhere, and busy about everything. Drusus, on the other hand, affected to limit himself strictly to the duties of his office; and this reserve, this probity careful to avoid even the slightest suspicion of ambition or avidity, charmed the crowd, which is delighted with contrasts, and eager for any novelty.

Fannius also had gone over to the faction of the nobles, and opposed the man to whom he owed his consulship. In opposition to the proposal to accord the full franchise to the Latins, he pronounced a discourse much admired even in the time of Cicero; a remaining fragment of which, however, shows us that exciting the appetites of the rabble was sufficient to hinder a new step in the traditional practice of Rome, namely, the progressive enlargement of the city.

"You believe, then, that after you have given the city to the Latins you will remain what you are to-day; you will have the same place in the comitia, in the games, in the amusements [and we cannot doubt that he added "in the distributions"]? Do you not see that these men will fill all² and

¹ Bronze statuette from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,199 of the catalogue. The right hand is damaged.

² Meyer, *Orat. Rom. frag.* p. 191.

will take all?" No higher arguments were needed with men who, having, as Cato said, a belly, but no ears, sold themselves to the highest bidder.

Weary of this strange strife, Caius set off to conduct 6,000 Roman colonists to Carthage, which he named Junonia, the city of Juno.¹ This absence, imprudently prolonged for three months, left the field open to Drusus; and he was able to make it plain to the equestrian order that they could henceforth only lose by an alliance with this tribune, the executor of the agrarian law, and to the people that the Senate, while even more liberal than Caius towards them, would not degrade them by raising the Italians to equal privileges. When Caius reappeared, his popularity was gone, his friends were in danger, the equestrian order was detached from him, and one of his most violent enemies, Opimius, the destroyer of Fregeellæ, was proposed for the consulate. From this time it was evident that a repetition of the tragedy of Tiberius was at hand. Caius quitted his home on the Palatine, and took lodgings near the Forum, to be in the midst of the people, and called around him the Latins. But a consular edict banished all Italians from Rome, the tribune vainly protesting against this decree, but not daring to hinder its execution. Under his eyes one of his friends and guests was dragged to prison, and he did not interfere. His self-confidence was gone, and soon the last remnant of power slipped from his hands; he could not obtain a third term of office as tribune (122).

The new consul, to exasperate Caius and drive him to some act which would justify violence, spoke openly of annulling the tribunes' laws, and ordered an inquiry into the Junonian colony.

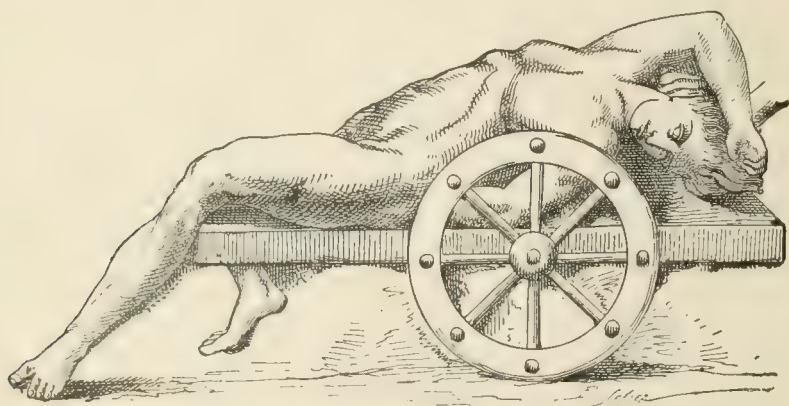
OPIMIUS.²DIADEMED JUNO,
WITH THE AEGIS
OF MINERVA.³

¹ We have seen (Vol. I. p. 614, n. 5) that the legend of Aeneas was received in Italy as early as the middle of the third century B.C.; the name given by Caius to Carthage makes allusion to the other part of the legend preserved by Vergil, the hatred of Juno towards the fugitive Trojans.

² L. OPEIMI ROMA. Victory in a quadriga. Reverse of a denarius of the Opimian family. The consulate of Opimius was remarkable for the extreme heat of the autumn and the excellence of that year's vintage, long famous under the name of *vinum Opimianum*. Some of it had been preserved as late as the time of Pliny. (*Hist. Nat.* xiv. 4.)

³ Sardonyx from the *Cabinet de France*.

Directly all the evil omens of which the Senate had need were forthcoming, —a standard torn by the wind from the hands that held it, and broken in pieces; the entrails of the victim swept from the altar by a furious gust, and flung outside the enclosure; the boundary stones of the city even dug up by wolves and carried off. The gods manifestly would not endure that the accursed city should be rebuilt; and the man who had proposed this was guilty of sacrilege towards the immortal gods and towards Rome. He must defend himself, or expect destruction. The first blood was shed by the partisans of reform; they slew one Antyllius, who, according to some, had merely grasped the hands of Caius, imploring him to spare his country, but, according to others,

CORPSE UPON A CART.¹

being a consular lictor, had insulted the ex-tribune and his friends, crying out to them: "Bad citizens, make way for honest men!"

Violent rain coming on separated the parties; on the morrow, at the break of day, Opimius convened the Senate. While they were assembling, men selected by the consul laid the body of Antyllius upon a bier, and after bearing it through the city with lamentations, set it down before the door of the senate-house. The senators interrupted their debate to come forth and look upon this corpse, so useful to their purpose. They surrounded it, lamenting loudly, and honoring with feigned grief the death of this hireling, —they who not long before had dragged through the streets

¹ Bas-relief from a Roman tomb.

and cast into the Tiber the grandson of the conqueror of Zama. Returning to their seats, they at once invested Opimius with the dictatorial power, by the formula: *Videret consul ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet*.¹

By carrying the dead body through the city, a part of the populace had been excited; by a promise of amnesty to those who should abandon the tribune before the combat, another portion had been detached; the decree "against the tyrants" completed the work, isolating the democratic faction, and serving as a pretext to all forms of cowardice, especially that of the rich, — those same publicans who owed so much to Gracchus, and who did nothing for him.

During the night Opimius had posted a band of Cretan archers in the Capitol and the temple of the Dioscuri, whence he commanded the entire Forum. He enjoined the senators and the knights of their party to arm themselves and their retainers, and bring them to the curia. They eagerly obeyed; even the aged Metellus, conqueror of Macedon and Greece, returned to the senate-house with sword and buckler. On the other side also preparations were made, but without order or decision. The ex-consul Fulvius, one of the triumvirs appointed for the execution of the agrarian law, had armed his followers with the Gallic weapons hung as trophies in his house, and had taken up a position upon the Aventine, the old citadel of the plebeians; he was here joined by a band of freedmen and peasants, whom Cornelia had sent to her son disguised as harvest-men. As he went Fulvius had called slaves to liberty. In the days of their power these reformers had only seen the destitution of the Roman populace; oppressed in their turn, they remembered at the last moment men more wretched still, and added a new cause of displeasure to all those which had so exasperated the nobles against them.

Caius shrank from such a violent struggle; he knew that his last hour had come, and his sacrifice was prepared: these Romans knew how to die. But his great designs must also fall with him; and to feel that soon nothing would remain of his generous efforts — this was the poignant grief that cut him to the heart.

¹ [This decree was a direct violation of the *lex Sempronia*, passed two years before. Cf. p. 474. — *Ed.*]

The evening before, returning from the Forum, he had stopped before his father's statue, contemplating it for a long time, the tears running silently down his face. In the morning he went out, wearing his toga, as usual, and having only a short dagger in his belt, not for purposes of fighting, but to remain master of his life, or rather, of his death. His wife, Licinia, would have stopped him on the threshold, but he gently freed himself from her. When



THE AVENTINE HILL AND REMAINS OF THE PONTE ROTTO.*

he went away she fell fainting, and her slaves carried her, still unconscious, to the house of Crassus, her brother.

Following the advice of Caius, Fulvius sent to the senators his youngest son, carrying a caduceus in his hand; the boy was

¹ The *ponte Rotto*, originally *pons Aemilius* (?), finished while the second Africanus was censor (142), seems to have been constructed with the design of doing duty for the *pons Sublicius*, which was of wood, and preserved from religious considerations, although it had ceased to be employed for traffic. (See Vol. I. pp. 157, 177, and 205.) Engraving from the Duchess of Devonshire's *Aeneid*.

a handsome child, and some of the senators were touched by his appeals for reconciliation, made with tears. Opimius, however, haughtily declared that the guilty should not be allowed to say anything through the medium of a messenger, but must appear in person if they hoped to mitigate the Senate's just displeasure. Caius was willing to go before the Senate, to demand a trial, and to plead once more the people's cause together with his own; but his friends would not suffer this, and Fulvius sent again by his son to obtain if possible some guaranty of their personal safety. Then the consul, impatient to bring the matter to a close, ordered the boy to be detained, and marched upon the Aventine with a body of soldiers and the Cretan archers, whose arrows quickly put to flight the cowardly rabble, already reduced to half its number by a fresh offer of amnesty. Fulvius and his eldest son, having taken refuge in a deserted hut, were discovered and murdered.¹

Caius had taken no part in the struggle; withdrawing into the temple of Diana, he would have plunged the dagger into his breast, had not two of his friends, Pomponius and Licinius, wrested it from him. As the pursuers drew near, his friends dragged him towards the *pons Sublicius*, guarding behind him the narrow entrance to it until they were both cut down. Caius, with a slave, Philocrates, fled, and not an arm was raised to defend him. Had he obtained a horse he would have escaped. He called out for one as he fled; but those who were looking on contented themselves with encouraging him by voice and gesture, "as though he were running a race for some prize." He took shelter in the grove of the Furies, and at his own command was stabbed by his slave, who then slew himself upon his master's corpse. Opimius had promised to pay its weight in gold for the head of the ex-tribune. A friend of the consul, Septimuleius, took out the brain and filled the cavity with lead, demanding and receiving for it the 17 lbs. 8 oz. of gold which it weighed. The same reward had been offered for the head of Fulvius; but the persons who brought it in were poor men,

FULVIUS.²

¹ The soldiers of Opimius had threatened to burn all that quarter of the city if the place of refuge of Fulvius were not made known to them. (App., *Bell. civ.* i. 26.)

² CN. FOLV. M. CAL. Q. MET. Victory in a biga. Reverse of a denarius of the three families united — Fulvian, Caledian, Caecilian. (Metellus.)

and received nothing. In the struggle of that day 3,000 men perished, and those who were not slain were later strangled in prison. The boy Fulvius was murdered in cold blood. The houses of the partisans of Caius were razed to the ground, their property was confiscated, it was forbidden to their widows to wear mourning, and the wife of Caius was even deprived of her dowry (121).

Later, statues were erected in honor of the Gracchi, altars set up where they had been slain, and sacrifices and offerings



RUINS AT MISENUM. (ENGRAVING FROM THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.)

long kept them in public memory. This tardy recognition consoled Cornelia, — too faithful, perhaps, to her austere character. She withdrew to her house at Cape Misenum, and there, surrounded by envoys from kings and by learned men of Greece, she took pleasure in relating to her astonished guests the story of the life and death of her two sons, herself as unmoved and tearless as if she had been telling the story of some hero of ancient days. Sometimes, too, she told the story of her father, Africanus, and she would add: "The grandsons of this great man were my children. They perished in the temple and grove sacred to the gods. They have the tombs that their virtues merited, for they sacrificed their lives to the noblest of aims, — the desire to promote the welfare of the people."

Will the verdict of history indorse Cornelia's judgment? Yes; since Rome, now become a world, could not preserve the constitution which served for the modest city of the Seven Hills. The Gracchi strove to effect these modifications by legal measures; they failed; presently the experiment was tried by force of arms. Caius was the precursor of the Caesars in his struggle against the aristocracy and in the nature of his power; for the most important of all the imperial prerogatives was the tribunitian power,—the same with which Caius was invested, the same also which in our days the Napoleons revived under the name of the *plébiscite*. His two tribunates were nothing less than a monarchy; but without the military element added by the emperors, which presently brought ruin on the empire. He constituted a popular “tyranny,”—using the word in its Greek meaning; and had he succeeded, a civil power would have arisen, in the interests of citizens, allies, and provincials, above the faction of the nobles.¹

Rome was now destined to struggle for a hundred years in the midst of murders, proscriptions, and ruins, against that inevitable solution of the problem of her destinies which by the civil wars became sanguinary, while Caius might have kept it pacific. But by whom was Rome forced into this *via dolorosa*? By those who inaugurated the era of revolutions in assassinating the two tribunes whose laws would have secured to the Romans peace and liberty for many generations. The violence against the Gracchi and their friends was destined to breed other violence; and justice being on the side of the first victims, the last expiation was to be undergone by the sons of their murderers. The logic of history decrees that every great fault, social or political, must have its punishment.

¹ In his treatise *De la propriété d'après le Code civil*, M. Troplong, speaking of this agrarian law, says (p. 97): “The idea was generous, just, useful, and in the good sense of the word it was democratic . . . That Rome perished . . . may be due to the fact that the policy of these great citizens was not heeded.”



SWORD FOUND AT POMPEII.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE ARISTOCRATIC REACTION; EARLY CAREER OF MARIUS; JUGURTHA (121-106).

I. ARISTOCRATIC REACTION.

WHEN the 3,000 corpses had been thrown into the Tiber, the blood washed away in the streets, and the price for the murder paid, the savage Opimius, to render the memory of this odious victory immortal, caused a medal to be struck, representing himself as Hercules with a laurel-wreath and a club. After this he purified the city by lustrations, and consecrated a temple to Concord,¹ — a derisive parody of the last act of the life of Camillus. But Camillus had not murdered Licinius, and had, in truth, closed an era of disturbance; while Opimius opened an era of proscriptions.



HERCULES WITH HIS CLUB.²

Meantime the nobles dared not too quickly make use of their victory; they took fifteen years to overthrow the work of the Gracchi. After having intimidated the triumvir Papirius Carbo, the only remaining friend of Caius, they dishonored him by obliging him to

¹ This temple was rebuilt in white marble by Tiberius, and later restored by S. Severus. There yet remain magnificent ruins, whence has been made the restoration shown in Vol. I. opposite p. 386.

² Statuette of bronze found near Valenciennes, and now in the museum at Rennes. M. E.

defend Ōpimius, cited by a tribune to answer for the murder of so many citizens. The year after they caused him to be himself accused by the young Crassus. Ōpimius had been acquitted, but Carbo only escaped condemnation by suicide. The laws meanwhile were one after another modified or repealed. The permission granted to each man to sell his lot resulted in the land nearly all returning to the rich. Then the tribune Thorius carried a law that the public domain should not be further divided, and that the holders should retain possession by the payment of a tax, the proceeds of which should be distributed among the people. This was, in effect, a poor-law. The populace, encouraged in their idleness, applauded these attacks upon the agrarian law; but presently M. Octavius diminished the gratuitous distributions of corn, and in the year 111 a tribune, whose name Appian does not give, suppressed the tax.²

CARBO.¹

The nobles desired neither the reconstruction of a middle class, who might some day call them to account, nor the extension of citizenship to the Italians, — which would have reduced Rome from the rank of mistress of Italy to the condition of a simple capital, — nor the establishment of transmarine colonies, Latinizing the provinces, and propagating there rights which they would be obliged to respect. Themselves alone in the Senate and in all public functions; below them a populace easy to alarm by the Cretan archers, or to gratify by games and distributions: such was their short-sighted policy. At the same time they dared not yet lay hand upon the laws concerning the judicial offices, lest they should offend the powerful order established by Caius which had just aided them in his destruction. They understood also that to preserve the power which was coming back to them it was needful to prevent by some severe acts new attacks from the tribunes. In the year 116 the censors, Metellus Dalmaticus and Domitius Ahenobarbus, degraded thirty-two senators, two of whom were ex-censors; and they also expelled play-actors from the city, and prohibited all

de Chanot (*Gazette archéol.* 1875) regards it, and justly, as an antique [though very rude] copy of the famous Hercules, whose type is best known in the Farnese Hercules.

¹ CARB. ROMA. Jupiter Tonans in a quadriga. Reverse of a denarius of the Papirian family.

² Cicero, *Brut.* 36.

games except those of dice and huckle-bones.¹ The following year the consul Scæurus published a new sumptuary law, and limited the freedmen to the city tribes. Two years after, the austere Cassius Longinus condemned many vestals whom the pontifex maximus had not dared to punish.² Finally, when the scandals of the Numidian war broke out, the knights, sharing in the indignation of the people, punished a pontifex and several persons of consular family. But the nobles regarded this as going too far; and in the year 106

WOMEN PLAYING WITH HUCKLE-BONES.³

the consul Caepio asked to have half of the judicial positions restored to the senators. "Rescue us!" Crassus, the orator, cried, appealing to the people; "rescue us from the savage beasts, whose cruelty cannot satiate itself with our blood! Do not suffer us to be subjected to any other than yourselves; for we cannot and ought not to have other masters than you, the people!"⁴ These humble

¹ Livy, *Epit.* lxii., and Cassiod., *Chron. Alex.*: . . . *Artem ludicram ex urbe removerunt, præter Latinum tibicinum cum cantore et ludum talorum.* In 92 the censors drove out the Greek rhetoricians.

² Livy, *Epit.* xliii.; Cic., *Brut.* 43.

³ The engraving represents a group in terra-cotta found at Capua, and acquired in 1866 by the British Museum, and published by the *Gazette archéologique* (1876, p. 971), with a learned paper by A. S. Murray.

⁴ Cic., *de Orat.* i. 52.



ARPINUM.



words gained the multitude, which disarmed itself, and the *judicia* were divided.¹ After which there was a general relapse of the poor into extreme destitution, of the rich into luxury and insolence; of the two sons of Cornelia no trace was left but a blood-stained memory.

"But," says another tribune, Mirabeau, whose name is as great, though less pure, "when the last of the Gracchi fell, he threw dust towards heaven; and from that dust was born Marius." Less than two years after the death of Caius, Marius became tribune.

II. EARLY CAREER OF MARIUS.²

THIS man was a citizen of Arpinum,³ rude as Cato, illiterate, loving neither school nor theatre;⁴ and had it not been for the Cimbrian wars, one who could never have played a leading part. An intrepid soldier, a good general, but without superior qualities, and unskilled in the arts of government, he was as irresolute in the Forum as he was firm in the camp. Living from day to day, and having no fixed designs, he betrayed in his long career, by turns, the Senate, the democratic chiefs, and the allies, and ended by re-entering Rome—he, "the third founder of the city"—at the head of an army of slaves enticed away from their

¹ Val. Max., vi. 9.

² Marius had but two names, Caius Marius; Plutarch expresses surprise at this, because the Romans had three, and sometimes four: 1st, the *praenomen*, designating the individual, as Caius, Cneus, Lucius, Marcus, Sextus, and corresponding to our baptismal name; there were not more than thirty of these in the Roman vocabulary; 2d, the *nomen* (*gentilitium*), or name of the *gens* to which the individual belonged, terminating always in *ius* or *eius*; 3d, the *cognomen*, serving to distinguish the different families belonging to the same *gens*, drawn from certain characteristics, — *moral*: Imperiosus (the violent), Brutus (the fool), Cato, Catulus (the crafty); *physical*: Caecus (the blind), Cicero (the chick-pea), Scipio (the staff): or, lastly, *historic*: Magnus, Maximus, Torquatus (with the collar), etc.; 4th, the *agnomen*, conferred in memory of a victory: Africanus, Asiaticus, Creticus, Macedonicus. Thus in P. Corn. Scipio Africanus, Publius is the praenomen, Cornelius the name of the *gens* (Cornelia), Scipio that of the family, and Africanus the surname. It is believed that the cognomen Scipio comes from some Cornelius having guided the steps of his blind father, as the latter might have used a staff, — *patrem pro baculo regebat*. (Macr., Sat. I. vi. 26.)

³ Born in a village of the Arpinate territory, which is still called the country of Marius, — *Casamari*.

⁴ After his triumph he gave Greek games, at which he himself was present only for a few minutes. He was never willing to learn Greek, nor to sacrifice, as Plato says, to the Muses and the Graces.

masters. Scipio had remarked his courage at the siege of Numantia; and it is said that being asked on one occasion what general would take his place, he replied, "This man, perhaps," touching Marius on the shoulder. — a prophecy invented, like so many others, after the fact. The support of the Metelli, former protectors of his family,¹ raised Marius in 119 to the office of tribune. His first act was an



CAIUS MARIUS.²

endeavor to make the elections purer. The candidates and their friends, for the purpose of soliciting votes up to the last moment, were accustomed to station themselves upon the gangways leading to the polls. To keep them away Marius proposed so to narrow the passage that only one man could go through at a time. All the nobility cried out against this audacity of an unknown young man; but Marius, in the presence of the Senate, threatened the consul with imprisonment, and called on his officer to drag Metellus to prison. The nobles were not willing to engage in a fresh struggle for a matter of secondary importance, and the proposal became law. The people applauded. A few days later the tribune interposed to prevent a gratuitous distribution of corn; this assumption to dictate to both parties turned all against him. He failed, therefore, when he sought successively the two aedileships; and

in 117 he was the last of the praetors elected. Even the reproach of having used bribery was brought against him on this occasion. The nobles at this time made a show of great strictness. One of the friends of Marius, the senator Cassius Sabaco, had

¹ He himself was not, however, their client; his father was C. Herennius. (Plut., *Mar.* 5.)

² Statue in the Capitoline Museum. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 902, No. 2,304.) The view of Arpinum is from the work by Marianna, *Viaggi in alcune città del Lazio*, pl. 48.

taken the liberty of bringing his slave with him into the enclosure reserved for the senators; and the day being very hot, he had sent this slave to bring him water. For this offence the censors expelled him from the Senate; either his testimony had been false, it was said, or he was guilty of having given the people an example of effeminacy. Marius himself was accused. Among the witnesses summoned was C. Herennius, who refused his evidence because Marius was his client, and the law freed patrons from this liability. The judges admitted the plea. "But from the time when I was raised to office I have been no longer a client," said Marius, expecting from his patron favorable testimony. Plutarch, who relates the fact, adds: "But this was by no means the case, for only curule offices broke the bond of clientship, and Marius had not yet entered upon the office of praetor, his election having been contested." There was a tie in voting, and an acquittal was the result.

These accusations, this difficulty in making his way, slackened the energy of Marius. He passed the year of his office in obscurity, so that it is not clearly known whether he held the urban or the foreign praetorship; nor did he distinguish himself the following year in his government of Farther Spain, save by the vigor he displayed in repressing brigandage. On his return, the peasant of Arpinum sealed his peace with the nobles by a high marriage. He took for his wife the patrician Julia, the aunt of Caesar; and Metellus, forgetting his conduct as tribune for the sake of his military talents, took him into Africa as his lieutenant.

III. JUGURTHA.

MANY races have passed across that fertile strip of land which edges the great African desert, and in which lay the kingdom of Jugurtha. The Basque race, that impenetrable enigma of modern Europe, perhaps came thence. If the light hair and the blue eyes still to be seen there reveal an infiltration of northern blood among these races, children of the burning sun, we may admit that descendants of those Vandals, who reigned in

the land during the last days of the Roman empire, are yet there. But to whom can we attribute those megalithic remains which seem to have been transported thither by some magic power from the heart of Brittany? *Africa portentosa*, the land of monsters, is also the land of insoluble problems. The Romans cared little for



MEGALITHIC REMAINS: DOLMENS OF SIGUS.¹

these questions, which interest us so deeply. Sallust, who informed himself concerning the traditions in the earliest books of the country, passes quickly over these obscure questions of origin; he speaks of but three peoples, the Numidians and the Moors, in the midst of whom Phœnician colonies had been established, and in the desert the Gaetuli.²

¹ Delamare, *Explorat. scientif. de l'Algérie*, pl. 51, fig. 4.

² The story Sallust tells is legendary; and yet, according to M. de Rougé, Egyptian documents show that between the tribes of northern Africa and the races bearing sway upon the eastern shores of the Mediterranean existed relations of sufficient intimacy to admit of their forming a confederation to resist the encroachments of Egypt. In respect to the megalithic

From the date of the destruction of Carthage, the north of Africa was divided into three governments: on the west, the kingdom of Mauritania; in the centre, and extending far into the desert,¹ that of the Numidians, which reached from Mulucha (Molouya) to the Tusca (Zaine); finally, beyond this river, the Roman province, the ancient Zeugitana, which the Numidian kingdom, stretching towards the Cyrenaica, surrounded on the south and east. But in the region of the Syrtes was a rich and important city, Leptis, which was well able to remain independent of the Numidian kings, and during the war of Jugurtha solicited the friendship of Rome and a Roman garrison.³ Farther to the east Cyrene and Egypt were devoted to Rome; and even on the Numidian coasts the Senate had bestowed the title of allies upon several cities.

COIN OF LEPTIS.²

The Mauri were but little known, and the trading posts that Carthage had scattered along their coasts had perished with her. But the Numidians or Nomads,⁴ — the Berbers or Kabyles of the present time — had made themselves a great name during the Second Punic War. They spoke a language whose traces have been discovered all the way from the Fortunate Islands (the Canaries) to the cataracts of the Nile. They were barbarians whose native shrewdness had been

COIN OF CYRENE.⁵

remains, — now no longer called Druidic, — they are to be found everywhere, and are possibly even now erected by certain tribes. Thus “it was formerly the custom in Kabylia to sanction important resolutions of the confederated bands in the following manner: at the time of meeting of the deliberative assembly, each tribe having the right to vote set up in the ground a stone; and the whole number of these stones formed a circle around the place where the assembly had held its meeting. Then, in case of failure of any tribe to keep to its agreement, the stone representing it was thrown down . . . The last instance of conformity with this custom occurred 130 years ago.” (Communication of M. René Galle to the *Acad. des inscriptions*, Sept. 10. 1869, inserted in the *Academy’s Mémoires*, vol. xxix. part 1, p. 13.)

¹ *Gaetulorum magna pars . . . sub Jugurtha erat.* (Sall., *Jug.* 19.)

² ΛΕΠΤΙΣ Β. Bust of Mercury. Reverse of a bronze coin of Tiberius struck at Leptis.

³ The request was made to Metellus during the siege of Thala.

⁴ *Νομάδες.* (Strabo, ii. 131; xvii. 833, 837.)

⁵ Head of Jupiter Ammon. On the reverse, ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙ and the plant which bears the silphium, a resinous gum, — *assafetida* (?) or *laser*, — which Cyrene exports in great abundance, and to which marvellous curative properties are attributed. Tetradrachma of Cyrene.

developed by their dealings with the Carthaginians, against whom they had been obliged to contend in craft as in their deserts against the gazelle, and in their mountains against the lion and the panther. Masinissa,¹ whom we have seen to be faithless and



NUMIDIAN HORSE.³

unscrupulous, but a gallant rider even at ninety years of age, is a characteristic representative of that race who with their swift horses² lived by the chase and by rapine rather than by agriculture. Their cultivated lands, however, stretched far along the valleys and by the sides of the brooks where the date-palm bears its nutritious fruit. Upon the plains and along the hill-sides, which were protected from

drought by the great forests covering their tops, vast herds of cattle and flocks of sheep wandered the whole year long, without fold or shelter, wherever the pasture attracted them; but everywhere, too, decimated by the wild beasts, which were the true masters of the country. Later, Rome, to secure to her populace the amusements of the amphitheatre, made unceasing war upon the great carnivora, as France now does for the safety of her colonists; and, like so many other royalties, that of the lion will soon cease. Meanwhile, in the neighborhood of the cultivated ground, a few cities had come into existence, perched on low hills or rocks well adapted for defence. Masinissa's conquest of several Carthaginian provinces,



NUMIDIAN COIN.⁵

especially of the fertile Emporia, had increased the number of these cities; and Numidia contained in its western portion flourishing towns, whither Italian traders had already begun to find their way.⁴ Thus, step by step, civilization was making its way among these nomads, attaching them in part to the soil, multiplying objects of exchange, and bringing gold into the hands

¹ An inscription recently found at Delos gives this spelling to the name.

² It has been said that the camel was not imported into Numidia until a comparatively recent period, and that it was brought especially by the Mussulmans. This is an error; camels were used by Juba. (Caes., *Bell. Afr.*, 68.)

³ Reverse of a bronze medal of Carthage.

⁴ To Cirta (Constantine), for example, and to Vacca, which the inscriptions call Vaga.

⁵ Head of Masinissa or Juba. (Müller, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Numidie*, iii. 16.)

of their princes: a grandson of Masinissa believed he had enough to buy the city of Rome! This peaceful change went on, especially



GROUP OF NUMIDIAN PALM-TREES. (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.)

during the reign of Micipsa, who has been called the Philhellene.

The region was, then, a large and prosperous kingdom, the like of which had not before been seen in Africa, whose warlike population might have become formidable, had not the policy of Rome been careful to keep it always divided.

Upon the death of Masinissa, Scipio Aemilianus had already divided the kingdom among the three sons of the old King. A premature



NUMIDIAN COIN.¹

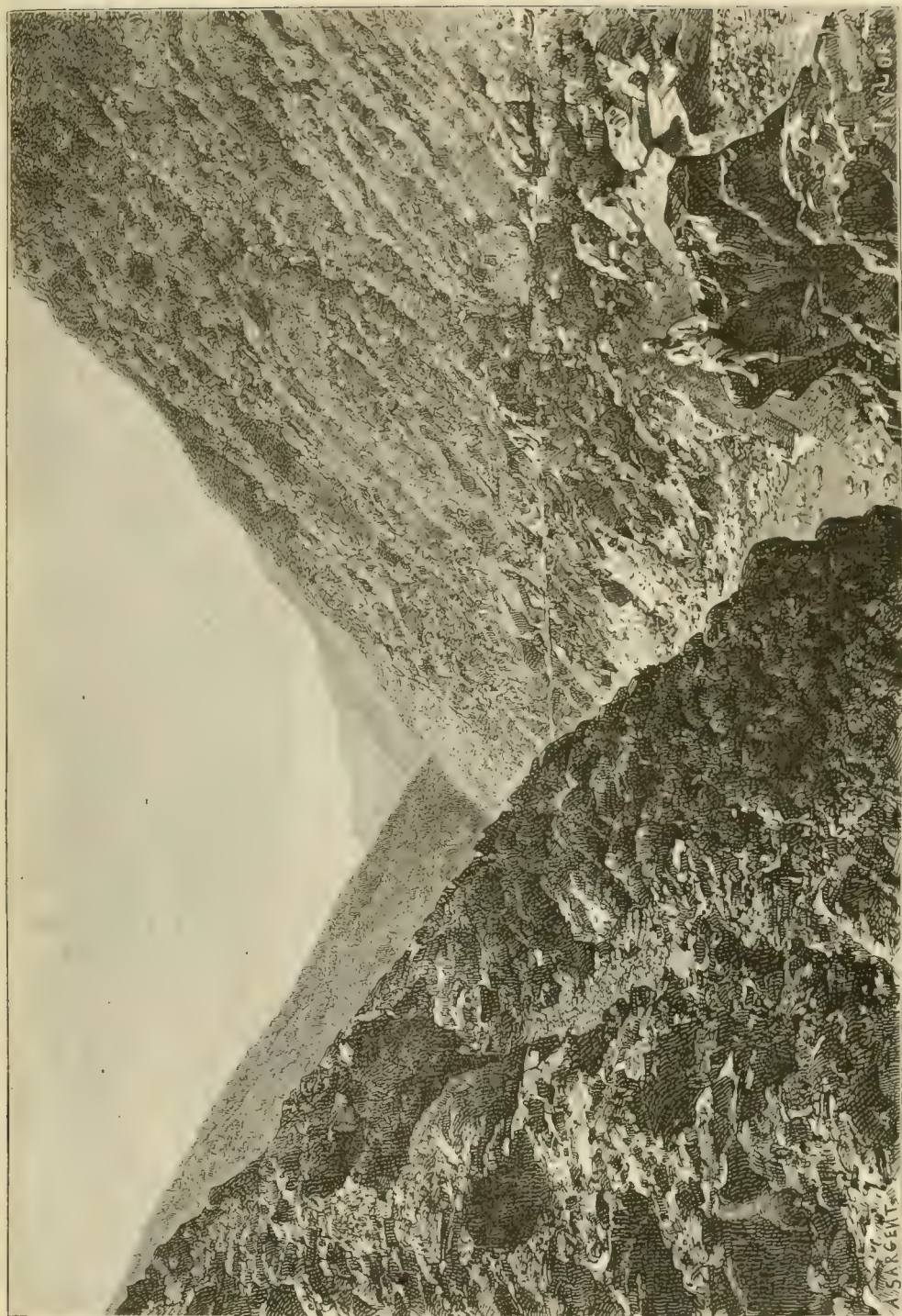
¹ From a tetradrachma. Head of Hercules, crowned. (Müller, *op. cit.* iii. 17.)
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death carried off the two elder, and the third, Micipsa, remained sole king; he himself, however, had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, between whom it was his intention to divide the kingdom.

With his own children Micipsa had brought up an illegitimate son of his brother Manastabal.¹ Jugurtha, who seemed to inherit the indomitable courage and unscrupulous ambition of his grandfather Masinissa. Like him, Jugurtha was the best horseman in Africa, and no man was bolder in attacking the lion. Micipsa, seeing his nephew's reputation increasing daily, feared that he had nourished a rival for his sons; and hoping that war might rid him of this dangerous kinsman, he sent the young man with a body of troops to assist Scipio, at the time besieging Numantia. Jugurtha, however, profited by the opportunity to attach to himself the Romans of distinction who were in the camp; and from this expedition, which had increased his popularity with the Numidians, he returned full of ambitious projects, for he had discovered the fatal secret that with gold all was possible at Rome.² Scipio sent him back to Africa with brilliant compliments, and a letter to Micipsa, in which he said: "Your kinsman Jugurtha has given proof of the greatest valor; I know how much this will gratify you. His services have rendered him dear to me, and I shall do my utmost to make him also the friend of the Senate and of the Roman people. He is worthy of you and of Masinissa, his grandfather." Was this a letter of honest compliments, or of treacherous intent? Did Scipio propose to secure for Jugurtha such a position that Micipsa and his sons would be obliged to respect him? These Romans did nothing without good reason, and the latter hypothesis appears probable. At all events, Micipsa, uneasy at the ambition of the young man, believed it safer not to leave him to make his own way, but adopted him, and on his death left him a third part of the kingdom. He accompanied the gift, if we are to believe Sallust, with wise counsels on the necessity of union among the three rulers. They were but wasted words, which Jugurtha, if he did indeed hear them, forgot

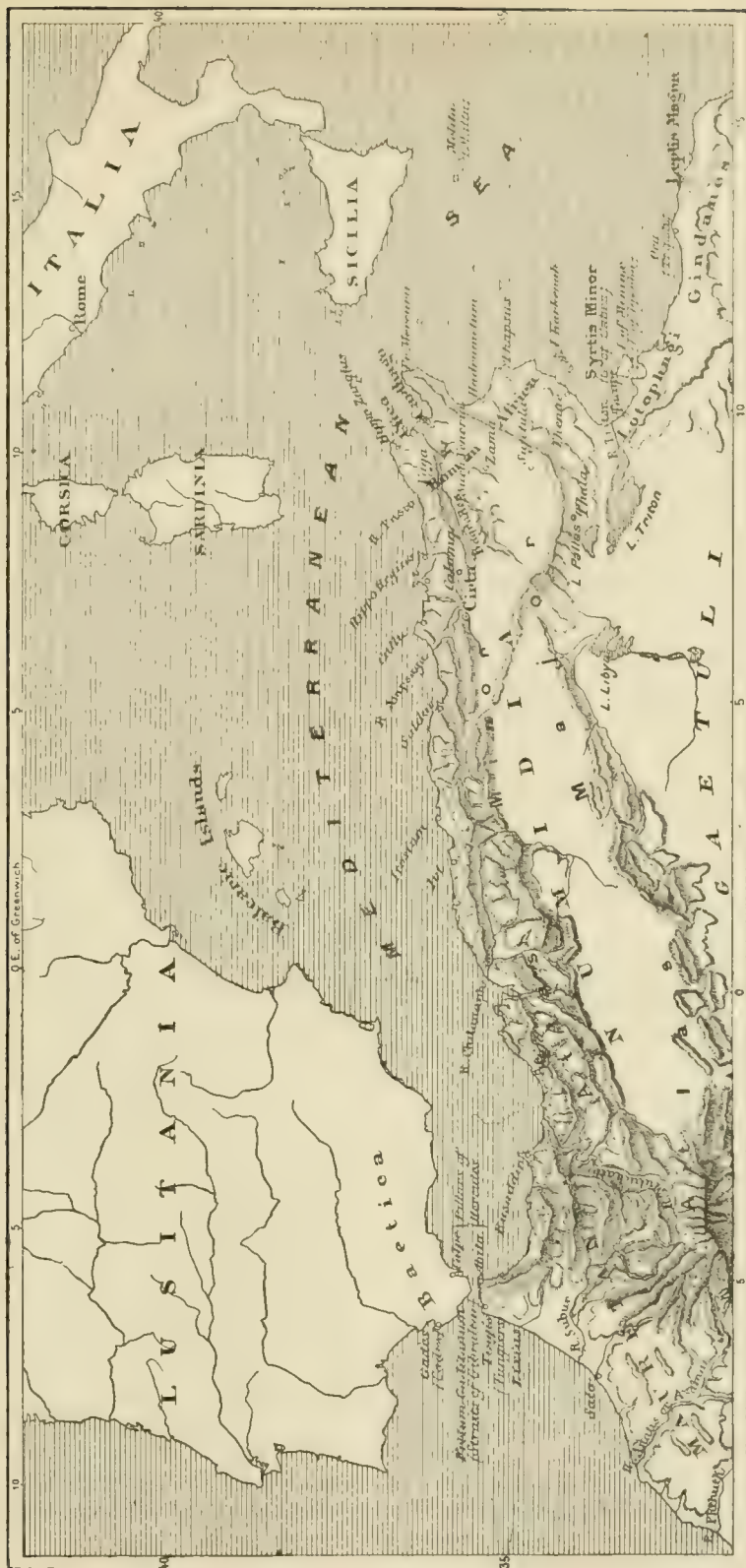
¹ These purely Phœnician names show that the great families of Numidia had lost in degree their indigenous character.

² *Omnia Romæ venalia esse.* (Sall., *Jug.* 20.)



A VIEW AMONG THE NUMIDIAN MOUNTAINS. — THE GORGES OF THE CHIFFA.





Scale
0 100 200 300 400 500 Miles
0 100 200 300 400 Kil.

MAP FOR THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

as quickly as Caracalla did when Severus, to preach concord to his children, read to them upon his death-bed the language put by Sallust into the mouth of the Numidian King.

Adherbal, Hiempsal, and Jugurtha were to reign jointly. Quarrels began at once among them; and Jugurtha, soon throwing off the mask, caused Hiempsal to be treacherously murdered. Adherbal, seeking to avenge his brother, was defeated, and fled for shelter into the Roman province (117). He went to Rome to plead his cause before the Senate; but the envoys of Jugurtha publicly bought up votes, and the Senate, whose policy required that Numidia should remain divided, contented themselves with a decree that ten commissioners should be sent out to divide the kingdom between the two princes.

Opimius, the chief of the embassy, was gained over to Jugurtha even before the embassy left Rome; the others yielded to the influence of Numidian gold; and Jugurtha obtained what he desired,—the larger share in the possessions of Micipsa. He did not long remain contented with this; and the issue of the struggle between the two was obvious,—the one active, restless, ready at any moment to fight; the other feeble and timid.¹ First, Jugurtha caused the territory of Adherbal to be ravaged; then he feigned a conspiracy on the part of this prince against his own life; and in response to the remonstrances of Adherbal he declared



COIN OF CIRTA.²

open war, which ended in a battle under the very walls of the royal city, Cirta (Constantine). Built upon a precipitous rock, and having but a single path of access, Cirta was at the time impregnable. Many Italian traders had established themselves there to utilize the resources of the country, of which the Numidians were not able to avail themselves.³ At the approach of Jugurtha

and his bands of plunderers they took up arms; and Adherbal,

¹ *Motus magis quam motundus.* (Sall., *Jug.* 20.)

² Above a Numidian horse a Punic legend, interpreted by the Duc de Luynes, "Bomilcar, prefect of the camp," and by M. de Sauley, "Bou-Melkart ben Hanna" (Bomilcar, son of Hanna). Bronze coin, much worn.

³ Many Italians at this time were settled in Asia Minor, and many in Spain, which became so quickly Latinized. In thus invading the provinces and the allied countries, Italy depopulated herself, as Spain in the sixteenth century was depopulated by emigration to the mines of the New World.

sheltered amidst them, was able to await for five months the result of his entreaties addressed to Rome. Two of his followers made their way by night through the besieging camp, and brought to the Senate the humble supplications of the unfortunate prince. Some senators were desirous to send out an army at once; but the friends of Jugurtha succeeded in reducing it to a deputation, at whose head was M. Aemilius Scaurus.

This man, now one of the most influential in Rome, had long carried on the trade of a money-lender as a resource against poverty. Having passed, as was the custom, through the offices of aedile and praetor, he sued for the consulship; and suddenly obtaining by fraudulent means a considerable property, was able to buy the popular vote (115).¹ Nevertheless, he showed during his consulship a severity worthy of Cato. Being sent into the Cisalpine, he submitted his army to a rigorous discipline, and imposed upon his soldiers the most arduous labors to drain the marshes of the Trebia.² His successes against the Carni were rewarded with a triumph, and shortly after he received the title of prince of the Senate. Until this time he had shown himself unfriendly to Jugurtha; upon his arrival in Africa he wrote a menacing letter to that prince, directing him to come to Utica to receive the orders of the Senate. Whether through weakness or through corruption, Scaurus and his colleagues, after this demonstration, and after long and useless negotiating, withdrew from Africa, carrying with them a few fair words, and doubtless much gold. They had not yet reached Rome, when Adherbal, forced by famine to surrender, perished under tortures, together with the Italians who had defended him (112).³ Perhaps this bold outrage might have remained

¹ The Scauri were a branch of the great patrician *gens*, the Aemilii; their surname or *cognomen* signifies club-footed. Sallust says of M. Aemilius Scaurus *homo . . . factiosus, avidus potentiae, honoris, divitiarum, eacterum vitia sua callide occultans*. (*Jug.* 15.) Pliny speaks in the same tone; but Cicero and Tacitus are his eulogists. The spirit of party accounts for these contradictions. I note merely that he was born poor and died extremely rich. Now in the Rome of that time no man passed from one extreme to the other by honest means.

² He drained by means of navigable canals the whole plain from Parma to Placentia. Six years later, while censor, he paved the Aurelian Road between Pisa, Vada Sabatia, and Derthona, etc.

³ . . . *Namidas atque negotiatores promiscue interfecit*. (Sall., *Jug.* 26.) Elsewhere Sallust calls these *negotiatores, togati*, that is to say, Roman citizens. If they were so, they must have been of the very humblest class, or else Jugurtha spared them; and the latter was

unpunished, had not Memmius, a tribune, openly accused the nobles. The Senate, compelled by popular indignation, declared that an army and a consul should at once be sent into Africa.

An agrarian law of the same year (111), fixing the conditions of ownership of lands in Carthaginian Africa, seems to have been a precaution taken in order to put an end to many uncertainties among the allies and subjects of Rome in respect to their rights as holders of property, which were very diverse.¹ It was a regulation of general interest, and at the same time a means of preventing Jugurtha from stirring up dissensions in a Roman province surrounded by his kingdom.

The choice being made by lot, Numidia fell to Calpurnius; and the war which was so deeply to humiliate² the pride of the nobles, drew on apace.

The Numidian prince believed it still in his power to bring everything to a stand. He sent his son and two of his agents to Rome with great store of gold; but Calpurnius obtained a decree forbidding them to enter the city, and requiring them to leave Italy within ten days. This was a good beginning. Calpurnius no doubt thought that he could command a higher price in Numidia than in Rome,—at the head of his legions than in

probably the case, for the murder of Roman citizens would have caused at Rome an excitement sufficient to render the intervention of Memmius needless. On this point the susceptibility of Rome was as keen as that of England has been in corresponding cases.

¹ This law, of which many fragments remain to us, applies to the *ager publicus* in Italy, in Africa, and in Greece (*ager Corinthiacus*). (See *C. I. L.* i. 77.) It determined the various kinds of properties and possessions and their legal character: *ager publicus*, or lands belonging to the domain of the Roman people, and farmed out by them; *ager privatus ex jure Quiritium*, lands assigned to Roman colonists, and held by them in Quiritarian ownership, although, like all parts of provincial territory, subject to the *tributum* (see p. 239, n. 6); *ager privatus ex jure peregrino*, domain of the allied cities, subject, as we have seen (p. 243), to diverse conditions. By degrees time effaced these differences, especially after the edict of Caracalla; under Diocletian there was no distinction between *possessio* and *proprietas* (*Fragm. Vatic.* 283); but the distinction between the Italian and the provincial soil was not legally abolished until the time of Justinian. In regard to the law of 111, it has been explained in its legal details by Th. Mommsen in the *C. I. L.*; and M. Ernest Desjardins (*Géogr. de la Gaule rom.* ii. 292), in applying it to the colony of Narbo Martius, has shown that its provisions were susceptible of general application. It seems to have been intended to make a general settlement of all the questions that had been agitating the public mind for the last twenty-two years, by consolidating, with full ownership, the possession of public lands in Italy, Africa, and Greece in the hands of the existing occupants. It is possible that the anxieties caused at this time by Jugurtha, as well as a desire to put an end to the agrarian agitation, were influential in bringing forward this measure.

² . . . *Tunc primum superbiae nobilitatis obviam itum est.* (Sall., *Jug.* 5.)

the Senate, where he would have to share the spoils with many. In Africa he received the King in his camp, and negotiated with him, requiring for the Republic thirty elephants, horses, a few cattle, and some money; for himself and for his lieutenant, Scaurus, enormous sums.

At news of this bargain Memmius burst forth with eloquence like that of Caius Gracchus.¹ "You have left your defenders shamefully to perish," he says. "No matter; like them, I will attack that haughty faction which for fifteen years has oppressed you! You were silently indignant when you saw the public treasury given up to pillage, and the tributes of kings and nations confiscated by a few men. But even this did not content them; it must needs be that they give up to your enemies your laws, your dignity, religion, and the state. See them, far from blushing, pass before you, insolently displaying their pontifical honors, their consulships, their triumphs,—no longer rewards of virtue, but of pillage. Good faith, honor, religion, justice, injustice,—they traffic in everything! Slaves bought with money will not tolerate injustice; and you, Romans, born to command, endure servitude! And who are these men? They have slain your tribunes, shed the people's blood, and are become your masters, filling your timid souls with the terror that ought to pervade their own guilty consciences. Do you ask me what I want? I insist on the trial of those who have surrendered to the enemy the honor of the Republic, that they be prosecuted, upon Jugurtha's own testimony." The people, moved by these appeals, decreed that the most upright magistrate of the time, Cassius Longinus, should be sent into Africa to induce Jugurtha, the public honor being pledged for his safety, to appear in Rome, and testify concerning the underhand proceedings of M. Aemilius Scaurus and his accomplices. Relying upon the support of the nobles, Jugurtha obeyed the summons; but when Memmius bade him speak, another tribune, suborned by the Numidian for the purpose, ordered him to be silent.

¹ Sallust says that he selects this discourse out of many others by the same author "to transcribe," *perscribere*; and asserts that the words are nearly unchanged: *hujusce modi verbis disseruit*. (*Jug.*, 30.) [The style, however, is so thoroughly Sallustian that we cannot regard it as even approximately accurate. — *Ed.*]

Another Numidian prince, Massiva, also a grandson of Masinissa, was at this time in Rome. The consul, Sp. Postumius Albinus, eager for the opportunity of conducting a war, advised him to profit by the popular anger, and demand for himself the crown of Numidia. Jugurtha caused the youth to be assassinated by one of his followers, Bomilcar, who succeeded in making his escape after committing the murder (110). This was too much; and the Senate ordered the King to leave Rome instantly. Outside the gates, — so runs the story, — Jugurtha turned back, and casting a look of contempt and hatred at the city, exclaimed: "Venal city, all you want for your ruin is a purchaser!"

Albinus followed him into Africa, and appeared to wish to prosecute the war with resolution. But Jugurtha, now fighting, now negotiating, secured delay; and the consul, recalled to Rome to hold the comitia, left the army in charge of his brother, Aulus Postumius. In the hope of securing the royal treasures, Aulus led the troops by forced marches to Suthul, a place whose site is now unknown. In this sad story of the Republic's downfall we find treason at every step. The soldiers also were eager for the profits of venality; and a Ligurian cohort, two Thracian squadrons, a centurion, and even some legionaries went over to the enemy or surrendered their posts. The defeated army, surrounded by the Numidians, passed under the yoke; and a treaty of peace was signed, one of its conditions being that the entire Roman army should be withdrawn from Numidia within ten days. This was Jugurtha's answer to the Senate's decree which had ordered himself and his envoy out of Italy within the same period (109). Faithful to old traditions, the Senate annulled the shameful agreement, — which, moreover, the *propraetor* had no right to make, — and Albinus returned in all haste; but he could do nothing with this army demoralized by disorder and defeat.

Again a tribune called for the punishment of this disgraceful conduct. Mamilius obtained a decree that all those who had accepted money from the Numidian King should be brought to justice. Scaurus, now directly threatened, had the skill to have himself put on the commission of inquiry. Four ex-consuls, however, were condemned, among them Opimius, the murderer of Caius Gracchus, who died in exile at Dyrrachium, obscure and disgraced.



VIEW OF Cirta (Constantine). — THE ROCKS.



This war, which had been regarded at first as a trifle, became a cause of anxiety, when another and formidable one, that with the Cimbri, was perceived to be approaching. A grave and honorable man, Q. Caecilius Metellus, was made consul (109), and Africa fell to him by lot as his province. The first measures were to purify the army from brigandage, cowardice, and insubordination; and Metellus addressed himself to this work, aided by his lieutenant, Marius, and the stoic Rutilius Rufus, both of whom had learned under Aemilianus, in the siege of Numantia, that discipline is the sure pledge of victory. When the consul had restored to his soldiers their self-respect, he advanced into Numidia, not suffering himself to be delayed by the humble embassies of Jugurtha, and obtaining pledges from the King's own deputies that they would deliver up Jugurtha, alive or dead;¹ speaking of peace, but still advancing, and always in good order, as far as Vaga,² where a great number of Italian traders had established themselves, and where he now placed a garrison. Being thus master of this important place, which kept open his communications with the Roman province and secured his supplies, Metellus went in search of Jugurtha; and in an action which lasted the entire day, defeated him on the banks of the Muthul³ (the Oued-Seybouse), which falls into the sea at Hippo Regius (Bona) (108). This victory was followed by the defection of many cities: Sicca (Keff) surrendered to the Romans, and became their depot for eastern Numidia; Cirta, it is probable, opened her gates to them at this time; and Jugurtha, by degrees abandoned by all his troops except his irregular cavalry,⁴ was reduced to begin a form of guerilla warfare, in the hope of regaining what he had lost.

Numidia, bristling with mountains which are cleft by the beds of rapid streams, is only a succession of valleys and steep heights, rendering the advance of an army extremely difficult, and furnishing constant opportunities for surprises. A country like this,

¹ Frontinus (i. 8) says that Metellus followed this plan with the twofold design to terminate the war if possible by the treachery of the Numidians, or in any case to give Jugurtha cause to be suspicious of all those who surrounded him.

² Bejah, upon the River Bejah, a branch of the Medjerdah, and about twelve miles distant from the main river.

³ Muthul is probably the African name of the river that the Romans called *Ubus*.

⁴ *Praeter regios equites.* (Sall., *Jug.* 54.)

inhabited by a half-nomad race of men devoted to their king, whom they regarded as the national hero, could not be gained by a single victory, but required a thousand petty engagements. Each valley must be carried as if it were a city; each mountain, as if it were a fortress. Metellus resigned himself to the necessity; all the fertile plains were ravaged, the cities burned, the



AN ELEPHANT AND
HIS DRIVER.¹

fighting men slain. Jugurtha tracked him among the mountains, hovering about the heavy Roman infantry, not daring, however, to fling his swift cavalry upon them to be broken by the shock, but stopping provision-trains, carrying off foraging parties, cutting off supplies of water, and himself laying the country waste. When the consul, for the purpose of approaching the Roman province, besieged Zama,² twice during an assault the King nearly succeeded in capturing the Roman camp. This siege was the close of the campaign; Metellus garrisoned the places he had conquered, and then went into quarters in the province.

The larger part of eastern Numidia had submitted to the Romans; Sicca, Vaga, Cirta the capital, and all the cities of the coast were garrisoned by the invaders. The King was afraid to see the war recommence; and upon the advice of Bomilear, — who, knowing himself under sentence at Rome for the murder of Massiva, had in a secret interview made terms with Metellus,³ — he sued for peace, giving up 200,000 pounds of silver, all his elephants, numbers of horses, weapons, and all the refugees who had not had time to escape into Mauritania. But when he received orders to appear in person before the consul, he could not make up his mind to do it; and Metellus, continued in his command by the Senate, resumed hostilities, still keeping what Jugurtha had surrendered to him.

Up to this time Marius had loyally seconded his chief. Before Zama he had saved the camp, and had nearly been successful in taking the city. Being sent to Sicca to escort a

¹ Reverse of a tetradrachma of Jugurtha. (De Brosses, *Hist. de la rép. rom.* i. pl. iii. No. 7.)

² The position of this place has not been determined; it is perhaps Yana, near Keff, five days' journey to the southwest of Carthage.

³ The agreement was discovered, and Jugurtha put the traitor to death.

provision-train, he had, although falling into an ambush, defeated the Numidian cavalry, and retained the city on the side of Rome. In action no man was more intrepid; in the camp and on the march, none so indefatigable. Metellus was stern and haughty; in his lieutenant the severe tone of command was tempered at times by more popular manners, and he commanded nothing which he was not himself ready to undertake. It was to him, therefore, that the soldiers ascribed all the successes of the campaign; and already the soothsayers predicted for him a lofty fortune, which the African traders, the publicans, and even the army aided to bring about, by writing to Rome that the war would never be brought to a close unless Marius was appointed consul.²

ROMAN SOLDIER.¹

He was at this time forty-eight years of age. He had held the offices of tribune and praetor, and had been the governor of a province. He coveted the consular fasces; but the nobles had for many years resolutely closed the supreme office against new men, and "passed the consulship from hand to hand."³ In fourteen years the office had been held six times in the family of the Metelli alone; and when Marius asked his general's permission to go to Rome to present himself as a candidate for the consulship, Metellus, amazed at his strange audacity, bade him dismiss

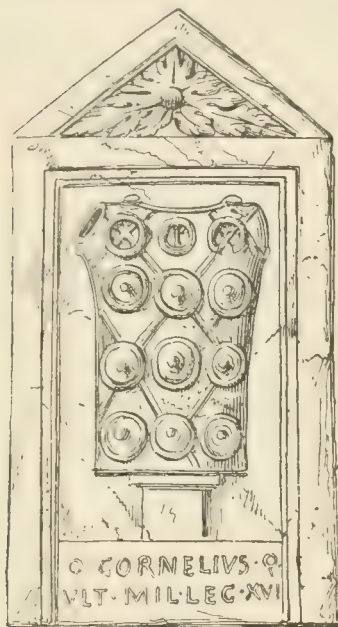
¹ Celebrated statue in the Gallery of Florence. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 850, No. 2,155.)

² Plut., *Mar.* 7.

³ . . . *Consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat.* (Sall., *Jug.* 63.)

such delusions from his mind, and make his desires conform to his condition: adding that it would be time enough for Marius to think of it when the consul's son, then about twenty years of age, should be ready to present himself as a consular candidate.

Wounded in his ambition and in his pride, Marius no longer restrained his hatred of Metellus. In the presence of the soldiers he blamed the proconsul's harshness; at Utica¹ he promised the Italian traders, to whom this war was ruinous, that in a few days he would take Jugurtha dead or alive, if but half of the troops



CUIRASS, ORNAMENTED WITH PHALERÆ (MILITARY REWARDS) UPON A TOMB.²



COLLAR AND DECORATIONS WORN BY A CENTURION.

in Africa were given him. A cruel vengeance has even been attributed to him. In an insurrection of the inhabitants of Vaga, all the Roman garrison had been massacred, with the exception of Turpillius, the officer in command, a friend and host of Metellus. A council of war condemned Turpillius; and as he had only the *jus Latii*, he was beaten with rods,³ and then beheaded; and it is

¹ Now Ben-Chali, upon the Medjerdah, six miles from its mouth.

² From Otto Jahn.

³ This instance proves that the law of Drusus (see p. 434), which provided that a Latin should not suffer this punishment, had been abolished during the reaction, or was no longer observed.

said that Marius boasted of having, by this condemnation, brought an avenging fury on the proconsul. The sentence was, however, just; for if Turpillius had not actually been a sharer in the plot, he had at least by his negligence caused the death of all the Roman force.¹ The remark attributed to Marius must therefore be regarded as one of the very long list of apocryphal sayings. Metellus at last gave way; but only twelve days before the meeting of the consular comitia. Marius, however, made such haste that he arrived in Rome on the seventh day.²

Since the success of Memmius and the Mamilian law,³ the tribunes had recovered their courage. Both by his reputation and by his hatred to the nobles, Marius deserved their support. They proposed his name; the citizens of the rustic tribes came in crowds to vote for

PLAY-ACTOR.⁴

¹ Sallust says of Turpillius (*Jug.* 67): *improbis, intestabilisque videtur*; and he adds (69) that his defence did not justify him. Metellus caused the whole Senate of Vaga to be massacred. The Thracian and Ligurian deserters had their hands cut off; they were then buried to the waist in the earth, and the army, drawn up around them in a ring, despatched them with arrows.

² [This shows how good both sailing-ships and roads were, and how completely the Romans had perfected their means of travelling. — *Ed.*]

³ See p. 464.

⁴ Statue in the Vatican, found at Praeneste upon the site of the forum. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 874, No. 2,224.)

the peasant's son from Arpinum, and he was elected. The people, who know no middle course either in favor or in hate, annulled a decree of the Senate maintaining Metellus in his province, and gave to Marius the command in Numidia. From that time the arrogance of Marius was unbounded; he reiterated publicly that his consulship and his province were *spolia opima* won from the nobles. Sallust has composed for him insulting speeches, which are probably far more polished than were the rude soldier's harangues. But no doubt he did castigate, in his rough language, the cupidity, the pride, and the folly of the nobles, — the three vices, he said, which had hitherto been the defence of Jugurtha.

Even more serious than these offensive words, was his action in admitting the proletarii into the legions.¹ This measure was nothing less than a complete revolution. Up to this time there had been enrolled only men who, possessing some property, left to the Republic a pledge of their fidelity; under the standard these soldiers were still citizens. When Marius had armed the populace, military service was no longer a civic duty, but a trade; and the penniless man who sold his vote in the city, sold his courage in the camp. During the next eighty years the legions were no longer the armies of the Republic, but the followers of leaders who bought them at the price of lax discipline, plunder, and military fame.

IV. THE COMMAND OF MARIUS IN NUMIDIA (107 — 105).

THE Senate was not disposed to irritate by an idle resistance the popular opposition which was re-forming around Marius. Preparations, therefore, were hurried forward; whatever Marius required, — arms, provisions, equipments, money, — he obtained without difficulty; and his departure was hastened by news of the further successes of Metellus.

This general, at the opening of his third campaign, had once

¹ *Ipsē milites scribere, non more majorum, neque ex classibus, sed uti cujusque lubido erat, capite censos plerosque* (Sall., Jug. 86); and he adds this very truthful expression: *homini potentiam quaerenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus*.

more dispersed the Numidian army, and driven Jugurtha back into the desert. With a small troop of cavalry and some deserters, the King gained the stronghold of Thala, where were his children and his treasures. Between Thala and the nearest river, for a distance of fifty miles, stretched the desert; Metellus did not shrink from risking his army in these arid wastes.¹

The consul left all his baggage behind him; he collected a great number of beasts of burden, which he loaded with ten days' provisions and a supply of water; then he organized provision-trains to be brought to him by the people of the country at fixed dates. He was in this way able to persist forty days in the siege of Thala, without incurring serious danger; but when the city at last fell, Jugurtha had already made his escape, carrying off his treasures. Threatened by treason, and pursued unremittingly by a determined foe, this prince knew not where to take shelter. For a long time he wandered in the deserts of the Gaetuli, where his reputation and his treasures attracted to him these wild nomads. He armed and disciplined them; and then, returning into Numidia at the head of a large force, he negotiated with his father-in-law, Bocchus, king of Mauritania. This prince, irritated at the beginning of the war by the Senate's refusal to accept his alliance, saw with terror the repeated disasters of Jugurtha. His son-in-law had little difficulty in obtaining his assistance; and the two kings, uniting their forces, marched toward Cirta, under whose walls Metellus had encamped. Here the consul was established when he received news that he had been superseded in the command, and that his hated rival was approaching. Not willing to meet Marius, he gave Rutilius the duty of delivering up the army to its new general, and himself hastened to Rome, where a triumph and the surname Numidicus were obtained for him by his friends. A tribune, however, accused him of

¹ The author is indebted to M. Ernest Desjardins for the following note: "Thala still retains its early name, and is situated in the upper valley of Oued-Serral, an affluent on the right of the Oued-Mellègue, which itself falls into the Medjerdah, likewise from the right. Grenville Temple has discovered immense ruins here, — *oppidum magnum et opulentum*, — which M. Guérin has visited and described. (*Voy. en Tun.*, vol. i. pp. 338-341.) Thala is situated eight miles due south, as the bird flies, from Cape Roux and La Calle. Sallust places Thala fifty miles from the nearest river. It is certain, however, that a watercourse, the Oued-Haidrah, is not very distant from it; the text of Sallust is here without doubt corrupt. No city can be found in this region which is fifty miles distant from the nearest river."

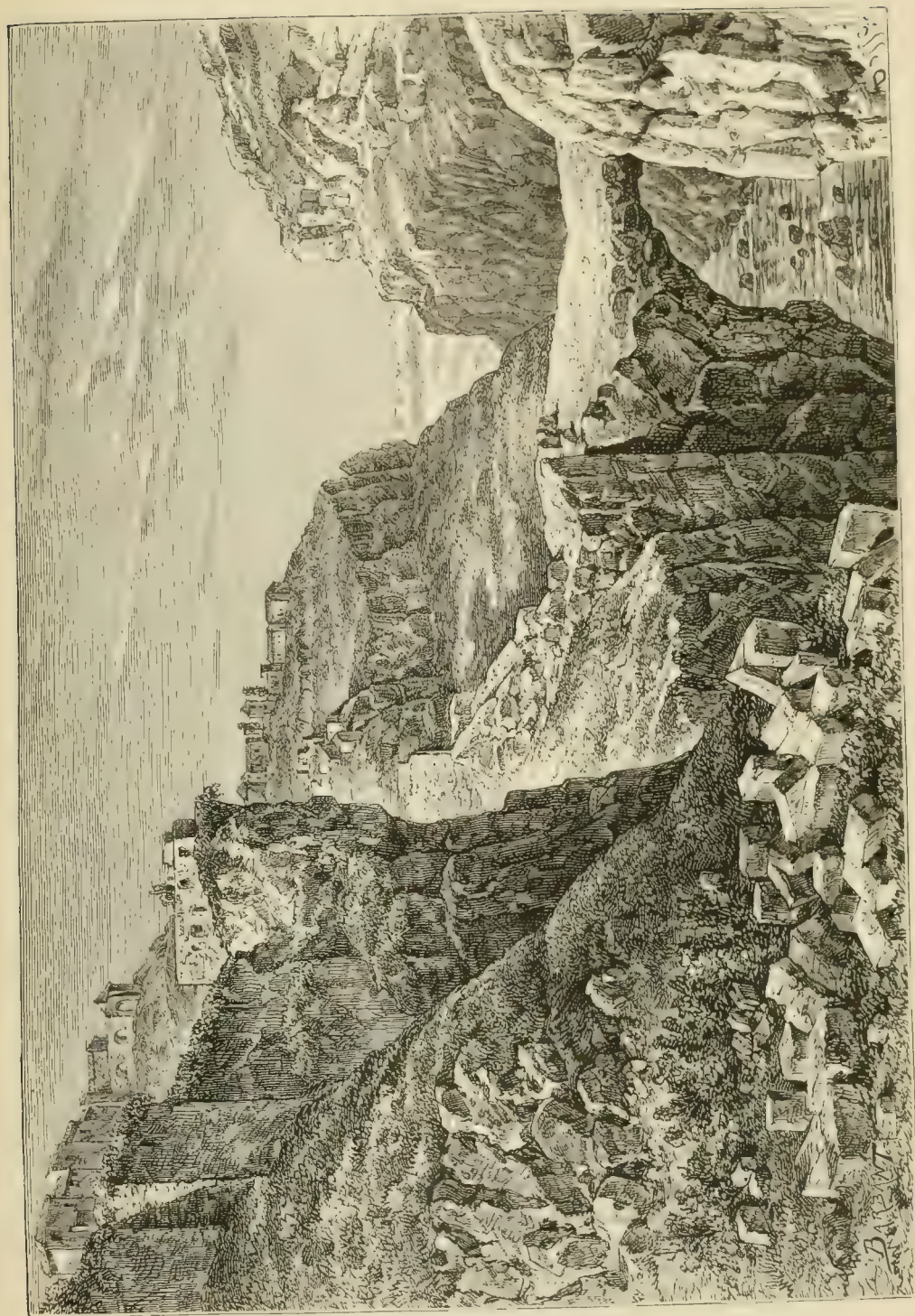
extortion; but when Metellus presented his statement to the judges, they would not even examine it, and pronounced him innocent.

Meanwhile the war was not yet ended. Jugurtha and Bocchus, keeping at a safe distance and in inaccessible places, followed from afar the movements of the new army of Marius, hoping to find opportunity to fall upon the untried legions. But the consul, skillfully served by spies, knew from day to day what the enemy was doing, and outwitted him in all his attempts. In many skirmishes he defeated the Gaetuli, and once in an encounter near Cirta nearly killed Jugurtha with his own hand. Thus, having hardened his troops and trained them to African warfare, he returned to the tactics of Metellus. Of all this general's exploits the most vaunted had been the taking of Thala. Marius advanced still farther into the desert; and, in the midst of a plain infested with serpents, attacked the city of Capsa,¹ taking it in a day without the loss of a single soldier,—which did not, however, prevent him from burning the city, killing all the young men, and selling the rest of the inhabitants. Many other cities were taken, or abandoned without resistance by their inhabitants, and burned.

Until this time the war had been concentrated in that part of Numidia which bordered on the Roman province; Marius now carried it into the opposite quarter, upon the frontiers of Mauritania.

Not far from the Mulucha, or Malva, a river making the boundary between Numidia and Mauritania, rises in the midst of a plain a rocky elevation at that time crowned by a strong fortress, to which but a single narrow footpath gave access, leading along the edge of steep precipices. Here Jugurtha had placed a part of his treasures, a store of provisions, and a good garrison, who were secured against thirst by an abundant supply of water. A place like this could not be attacked by the ordinary methods, and at the same time Marius was extremely anxious to take it. A Ligurian in the auxiliary cohorts, having one day gone out after water, had passed round the base of the hill, and chanced to see, on the farther side, snails crawling upon the face of the rock. Desiring to add them to his bill of

¹ Capsa, 175 miles south of La Calle, and 75 west of the Gulf of Gabes, in 34° 15' north latitude, and 8° 54' east longitude.



CIRTA. — THE NATURAL BRIDGE (DELAMARE, EXPLOR. SCIENT. DE L'ALGÉRIE, PL. 158).

fare, he clambered up some distance; and in the ardor of his pursuit went so high that he came to an oak whose top reached the level of the plateau. From the branches of the tree he could leap down upon it; and he beheld at his feet the fortress, and the garrison upon the ramparts, mocking the vain efforts of the Romans. Upon this soldier's report, Marius gave orders to four active trumpeters and four of his bravest centurions to repeat the Ligurian's feat. They followed him, each man bearing upon his back his sword and a shield, made of leather, that it should be light, and that there should be no clash of metal against metal to betray their approach. The Ligurian led them like a true Alpine guide; and they soon reached the top. All the garrison were upon the walls, occupied in repulsing a violent attack of the Romans. But when the trumpets were heard in the rear and above them, and they saw armed soldiers advancing, they believed that the whole Roman army was within the fortress, and took to flight, leaving Marius to enter, without encountering any resistance.²

SYLLA.¹

It was during this siege that Sylla, the quaestor of Marius, joined him with a corps of Latin cavalry. It would have been difficult to bring together two men more opposite in character. Sylla, a member of the illustrious Cornelian family, but of a branch which had hitherto been obscure, was a man of the new school, loving luxury and elegance as cordially as Marius detested them. Lavish of his money as of his friendship, eager for glory, brave, eloquent, with an enthusiasm and energy which nothing could check, he soon became a favorite both with soldiers and officers; and even Marius loved this young noble who did not rely upon his ancestors (106).

Jugurtha had lost his cities and his forts. To induce Bocchus to risk a general engagement, the Numidian's last hope, he promised his ally the third of his kingdom. The Roman army, surprised by the two kings upon a march, was, so to speak,

¹ From a coin. (Clarac, *Icon. rom.*, pl. 1,049, No. 3,205.)

² Sall., *Jug.* 92-94 [who gives a detailed description. — *Ed.*]

besieged during the night upon a hill; but at daylight the legions recovered the advantage, and made a massacre among the Mauritanians and Gaetuli. A second attempt to surprise the legions near Cirta had a momentary success. In the confusion of the attack Jugurtha cried out to the Romans, holding up his bloody sword, that he had slain their general, and the legionaries began to give way; when Sylla and Marius himself rushed in among them. The fortune of the day at once turned, and the two kings only escaped by a hasty flight.



COIN OF
SYLLA.¹

The fidelity of Bocchus gave way before this double disaster. Five days after the battle he made proposals to treat with the Romans. Marius despatched the King's messengers to the Senate, who made reply that the Roman people never forgot either injuries or benefits; that they pardoned Bocchus in consideration of his repentance; but that the alliance and the friendship of Rome could only be obtained by him when he should have succeeded in deserving them,—an ominous reserve, whose significance the barbarian king readily understood. Upon new solicitation on the part of Bocchus, Marius intrusted to his quaestor the dangerous mission of traversing all Numidia and a part of Mauritania, for the purpose of conferring with the King. The rhetoricians seize upon this situation to draw a dramatic picture of the vacillations of Bocchus, one day proposing to deliver Jugurtha to the Romans, and on the next to give up Sylla to the Numidian King.² The former of these acts would end the war and secure to Bocchus a province; the latter would draw upon himself all the vengeance of Rome, without adding one chance for his success, or taking one from the consul's; he could not even have thought of it. Jugurtha, summoned to a conference, was loaded with chains and delivered to Sylla, who made him traverse his whole kingdom in this condition (106).

¹ From a coin of the Cornelian gens.

² Appian shows that the project of giving up Jugurtha had been long determined on. (*Numid.*, fragm., 4.) Sallust believes in the hesitations of Bocchus; but his own narrative proves them fictitious. Jugurtha was still at the head of a numerous and devoted band; he had spies among the Mauritanians; and at the least suspicion would have fallen back into the desert. To induce him to leave his own people and present himself at a conference where he might be seized, much duplicity was needful. Bocchus, who had for a long time been negotiating with Marius, used all that the case required, and the treachery was consummated.

It was the custom that a victorious general should not leave the country he had conquered until he had organized it for the best advantage of Rome. Marius remained for nearly two years more in Numidia. It would be interesting to know what he was doing there; but the battles, exploits, and dramatic situations were over; the achievements of peace, the labors of prudence, give no scope for eloquence. Sallust says not a word about them, and ends his history with the capture of Jugurtha.

Before leaving Africa, Marius determined the destiny of the conquered kingdom; and by skilfully distributed favors he made clients there whose descendants were found by Caesar faithful to the hereditary friendship.¹ Bocchus received Western Numidia (the provinces of Algiers and Oran); and the Roman province of Africa was aggrandized by a portion of Eastern Numidia; what remained was ceded to Gauda, the last surviving prince of the old royal house. The

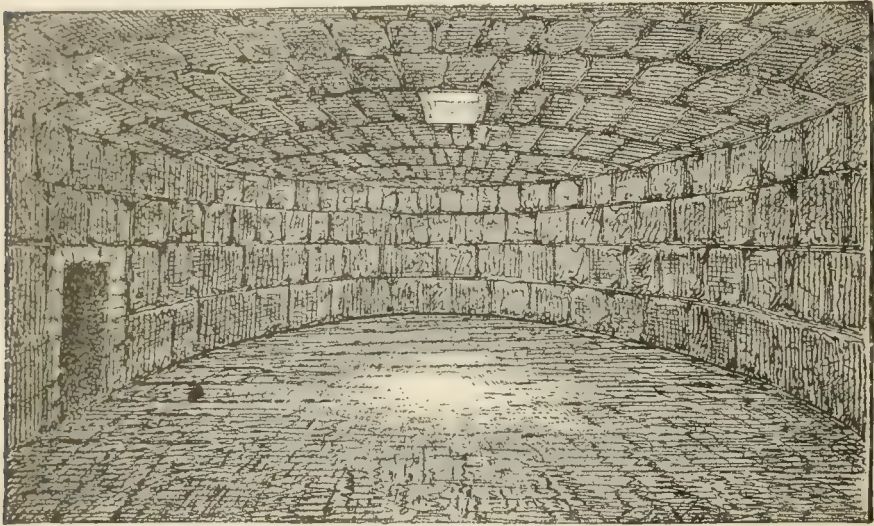
CAPTIVE PROVINCE.²

Senate had at this moment too serious matters in hand to embarrass themselves with forming a new province in a country which was still ungovernable, because there was no force which

¹ Cf. Caesar, *Bell. Afr.* 35.

² Statue in the Pamfili collection. (Clarac, *Mus.*, pl. 768 A, No. 1,906 B.)

Rome could use to hold it. Far better was the policy to abandon this enfeebled kingdom to princes whom the Senate could easily keep dependent upon Rome, until it should be found best to replace them by proconsuls.¹ Patient, because she believed herself eternal, Rome always made allowance in her policy for the effect of time, which gave her immense strength. Meanwhile, until the moment for annexing Numidia should arrive, the original province of Africa would be a centre whence Roman civilization would radiate through the barbarian kingdom.

THE TULLIANUM.²

Marius returned to Rome on the first day of January, 104, bringing Jugurtha with him. Far from feeling envy toward his quaestor, who was at that time but a very unimportant person, he

¹ The Numidians were divided into many tribes, frequently at war with one another. In the province of Africa, where centralization had been strongest, Pliny was still able to enumerate twenty-six different tribes. (*Hist. Nat.* v. 4.) Appian (*Lybica*, 10) says the same thing.

² The Tullianum was so named, it is said, from Servius Tullius, who is believed to have had it excavated in the *tufa* of the Capitoline Hill, perhaps to use it as a cistern; a spring, also named from the King, still rises in it, and the water was drawn up through the aperture seen in the arched top. The condemned person was let down by a rope, and after death the body was drawn up by a hook. Possibly the small door, which opens into a low subterranean passage-way, may be of later date, and may have served for the bodies to be dragged to the river, when it was not desired to expose them upon the *gemoniae*, that is, the *Stair of Sighs*, which led to the prison. Prisoners of state not condemned to death were given in charge to the inhabitants of the most important municipia in Italy. Cf. Sall., *Cat.* 51 and 52.

associated Sylla in his triumph, allowing him to distribute to the soldiers medals representing the consul in a quadriga, on the reverse being these words: *L. Corn. Sylla prog.* After the triumph the Numidian King was thrown into the Tullianum. "By the gods," he cried, laughing, "how cold your baths are!" Here after six days he perished by starvation (104). He had the rashness to contend single-handed against Rome, defending himself with a skill that made use of all weapons, whether of steel or gold, but also with an indomitable courage. His vices are those of his time and his African blood; his courage, his perseverance, and his soldierly virtues do honor to his name and to the race whose political existence ended with his life.

Nine years later, the Senate pursued the same course in another part of Africa as this which they had adopted in Numidia.

Between the eighth and the eighteenth degree of east longitude the African coast retreats before the Mediterranean in a great semicircle, called the region of the Syrtes, — an inhospitable sea, into which even now vessels rarely venture, having a sterile coast¹ of shifting sand, where nomads pitilessly pillage the shipwrecked sailor. But at the two extremities of this semicircle there are mountainous regions well watered and of proverbial fertility. One of these the Phoenicians occupied, and the Greeks the other. To the former the Romans had already succeeded; and the will of Ptolemy Apion, king of the Cyrenaica, now substituted them for the latter (95). The Senate, however, contented themselves with declaring the five principal cities of this little kingdom free, under the protection of Rome: Cyrene and Apollonia, its seaport, Barca, Arsinoe, and Berenice. They were left even in the possession of the royal domain on payment of a tribute, and the country was not reduced to a province until about the year 75, when it became necessary to suppress its domestic quarrels. This was a precious acquisition to Rome as a political position, not to speak of the commercial importance of the country, which furnished for exportation the products of a soil called the garden of Africa, and a commodity, the *silphium*, which was sold at

¹ Except upon the borders of the Cinyps (Wadi Quasam), and about the three cities of Tripoli — Leptis Magna, Oea (Tripoli), and Sabrata.

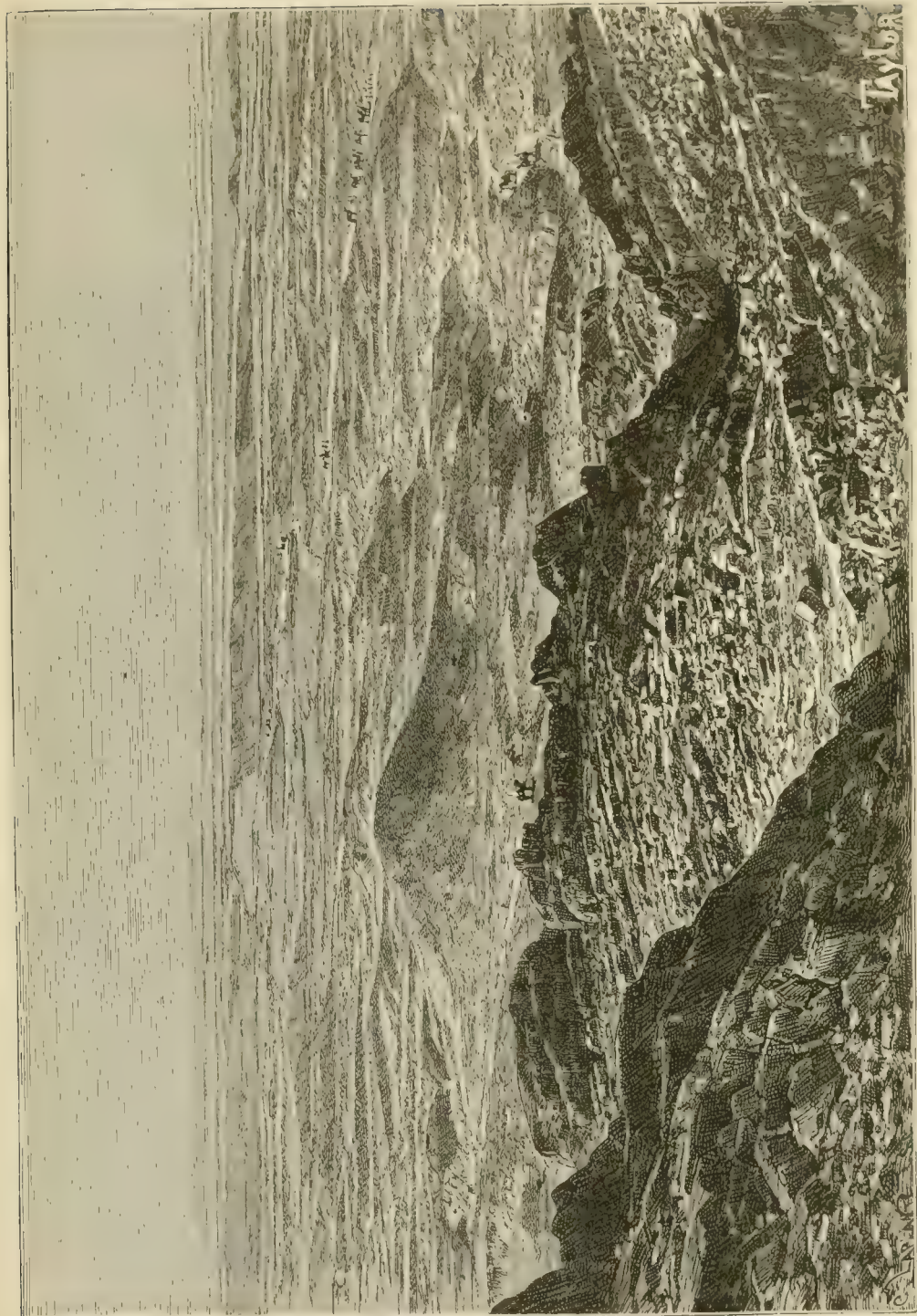
Rome for its weight in silver. From the Cyrenaica Rome kept watch upon Egypt, as from the province of Africa upon Numidia.

Leptis, in the midst of the Syrtes, but at the outlet of fertile valleys, had solicited the friendship of Rome during the Numidian war, and had obtained from Metellus a garrison of four Ligurian cohorts. This place, nearly equidistant from Cyrene and Carthage, united these two Roman possessions, and completed the investment of the African coast.

¹ From a coin of the Cyrenaica.



PTOLEMY APION.²



VII
VIEW OF THE NUMIDIAN DESERT (ENVIRONS OF BISKRA).

CHAPTER XL.

THE CIMBRI AND TEUTONES (113-101).

I. CREATION OF A ROMAN PROVINCE IN GAUL.

THE act of treachery which ended the Numidian war had not yet been committed, when a formidable invasion of Northern barbarians threw Rome into extreme alarm; and all, people and nobles alike, united to confer the consular office for a second time upon the absent Marius.

Up to this period the Romans had never penetrated far inland from the Mediterranean coasts. The countries lying along this sea had alone attracted their attention and their efforts. They had not even looked into that unknown world which stretched beyond the Alps, as if they had been vaguely conscious that, in the darkness of those impenetrable forests, some formidable danger for them lay concealed.

It was indeed another world. The Alps, which we may regard as connected with the Pyrenees by the Cevennes, and with Mount Haemus by the Illyrian and Macedonian ranges, bisect the continent of Europe. On the south of this line of 800 leagues are three mountainous peninsulas, in which, before the time of the Roman power, every valley was an independent state; on the north stretch limitless plains, the cradle of the great nations of the future. On the shores of the Mediterranean were Iberian, Italiot, and Greek races, cities brilliant with all the splendors of art and commerce, governments of republican mould, — in a word, all that we call ancient civilization; beyond the Alps there were Celtic, Germanic, and Slavonic tribes, barbaric manners, encampments here and there, a more or less nomadic life, the authority of chiefs, and, in the germ, many of the customs which the mediæval period inherited. Rome had not sought to cross the Alpine barrier; her legions had

not even as yet claimed possession of it. Even after the victory of Appius Claudius (143), who had made an attempt to lay hands upon the gold mines and washings of the valley of the Doria Baltea, the Salassi had remained independent, like all the mountaineers of the Alps, and continued to ravage, in predatory expeditions, the valleys on the north of the Po.¹ To bring this to an end, the Romans later (100) founded a military post at Eporedia (Ivrea), at the entrance to the Val d' Aosta, and at the entrance of two important Alpine roads, the Great and the Little St. Bernard. The Salassi, however, were not finally tranquillized till the time of Augustus.

By degrees, however, the Senate was tempted to abandon its reserve, and to pierce this line. It became necessary to open a safe thoroughfare from Italy eastward and westward, into Greece and into Spain, and to protect against the aggressions of the mountain tribes the allies of Rome living along these two highways. This was the design of the expeditions of Marcius Rex into the Maritime Alps against the Stoeni, of whom not one suffered himself to be taken alive (118), and of Aemilius Scaurus against the Carni of Venetia (115); of many consuls against tribes hostile to the Massiliots; lastly, of Porcius Cato against the Scordisci of



MASSILIOT COIN.²

the Illyrian Alps (Bosnia and Servia),—a savage race who made no prisoners, who drank from the skulls of their enemies, and mutilated the dead slain in battle. Cato perished with all his army, and the barbarians extended their ravages over the whole

of Illyria (114); then, moving eastward, they overran all the countries lying north of Greece. But in Macedon and Thrace they encountered legions better handled, and were by degrees driven back upon the Danube.³ These successes and the subjugation of the Carni by Scaurus secured for the Romans the barrier of

¹ Strabo, iv. 205; Vell. Patereulus, i. 15.

² Head of Diana; on the reverse, a lion and the first letters of the city's name, ΜΑΣΣΑ. Massiliot drachma.

³ Livy, *Ep.* lxiii.; Eutr., iv. 24. A Metellus (113), Livius Drusus (112), and Minucius (109), drove them out of Thrace. (Clinton, *Fasti Hell.*) On the subject of a Gallic invasion of Macedon in 117, see *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1875, p. 78. To the north of Aquileia are rich gold mines which attracted the Italians hither. (Strabo, iv. 208.)

the Eastern Alps, while the destruction of the tribe of the Stoeni opened to them the Maritime Alps (118); and their earliest ventures beyond these mountains had been made seven years before.



MONUMENT AT ENTREMONT.¹

Thanks to the wisdom of a government which in some aspects resembled the Roman, Marseilles had been for four centuries fortunate and prosperous. The destruction of Etruria, of Magna Graecia, and of Carthage had given her opportunity to

¹ This design is given and explained by M. E. Desjardins, *Géographie de la Gaule romaine*, vol. ii. pp. 111-114.

become the greatest commercial city of the West. Moreover, she cultivated early the friendship of the people who had destroyed her rivals and left her the sea. But, like Venice, Marseilles was not content with ruling the seas, she desired to have provinces; and, like Venice, she lost her wealth, and then her liberty, in the attempt. All the sea-coast from the Pyrenees to the Alps, from Ampurias to Monaco, was covered with her trading-posts.¹ But these centres of peaceful traffic were surrounded by warlike tribes who were wont to have sanguinary contests with one another, and with the Gauls their neighbors. Of this exists a curious souvenir; namely, three square stones, discovered at Entremont, near Aix, each of which has a bas-relief on three of its sides. It is the most ancient relic of Gallic sculpture, and, with its grimacing, detruncated heads, tells of a very barbaric art and of very savage manners. Massilia had often to complain of these neighbors; and her colonists by their continual encroachments provoked from the Ligurians more than one troublesome attack. To put an end to these conflicts, Massilia had recourse to the Senate; and a Roman envoy, despatched as arbiter, seeking to land near Antibes, was repulsed by the inhabitants and wounded. Upon this, an army was sent against the offending tribes, the Oxybii and the Deciates. These poor mountaineers could make no stand against the

COIN OF ANTIBES.²

legions; they were obliged to give hostages and submit to being disarmed, and were placed in subjection to the Greek city.

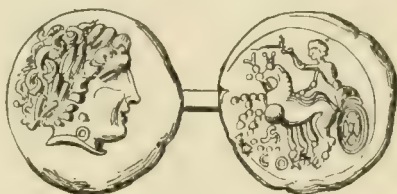
Fresh complaints again brought the Roman legions, this time against the Salyes (125). Fulvius Flaccus, the friend of the Gracchi, and after him, Sextius, defeated them. The latter forbade these tribes to approach nearer than 1,500 paces from the landing-places, and 1,000 from the rest of the coast; and the entire shore was given up to the Massiliots, who were to guard it in the interests of Rome. The Vocontii, against whom Marseilles had made no complaint, shared the fate of the Ligurians. But this time Rome kept what she had conquered; she established herself permanently between the Rhone

¹ See Desjardins, *Géographie de la Gaule romaine*, vol. ii. pp. 140-186.

² Head of Venus. On the reverse, Victory erecting a trophy, and the name ANTIII. The remainder of the legend is of doubtful reading and signification. Copper coin of Antipolis (Antibes).

and the Alps, by founding, in a beautiful situation abounding in warm springs, a *castellum*, called by the name of the proconsul, *Aquae Sextiae*—Aix (122). Instead of barbarous tribes, who were in reality not very dangerous, Massilia saw herself now surrounded by the possessions of her ally. She ought to have foreseen that this circle would one day close in upon her.

The city of the Sextian Springs was hardly established, before Roman activity began to stir up all the nations in the valley of the Rhone. Three great tribes bore sway there, powerful themselves, and having important auxiliaries: on the right bank of the river, the Arverni, whose territory stretched westward beyond the mountainous region which yet bears their name (Auvergne); on the left bank, as far as the Isara, the Allobroges; and between the Saône and the Loire, the Aedui. This latter tribe, hostile towards both the others, consented to an alliance with Rome; and the consul, Domitius Ahenobarbus, taking into account that the Aedui could, in case of need, make an important diversion, sent haughtily to claim a Salyan chief who had taken refuge with the Allobroges. For sole reply the latter armed, and came down as far as Vindalium, at the confluence of the Rhone and the Sorgue, where the Romans awaited them; and 20,000 barbarians perished by the sword of the legions (121). The following year the Romans, led by Fabius, the brother of Scipio Aemilianus, crossed the Isara; but the King of the Arverni, Bituitus, recalled them in haste by throwing upon their rear 200,000 Gauls, who had crossed the Rhone on two bridges of boats and rafts. When the barbaric King, seated in his silver chariot and surrounded by his pack of war-dogs, saw how small was the Roman force, he exclaimed: "There are not enough of them for a meal for



COIN OF THE ARVERNI.¹



COIN OF THE TECTOSAGES.²

¹ Laurelled head. On the reverse, a charioteer driving a biga. Gold stater of the Arverni.

² Male head; the reverse, an open flower, copied from the Rhodian rose. Silver coin, ascribed to the Tectosages. M. de Saulcy regards this piece as a drachma of a people in Central Gaul, but does not venture to give it a more definite location.

my dogs!" Discipline and military skill, and especially the use of elephants, overcame this multitude, of whom 120,000, it is said, perished on the battle-field or were drowned by the destruction of the bridges.¹ Bituitus, allured by Domitius to a conference some time later, was seized and carried in chains to Rome. The Senate were unwilling to let the legions advance into the mountains of Auvergne; but Fabius received orders to unite to the Roman province all the country bounded by the Rhone from Lake Lemane to the sea. The Allobroges were treated with severity; the Cavari, on the contrary, obtained great privileges, and the Vocontii the title of *Civitas foederata*. In Gaul, as in Italy, Rome distributed her favors

INSCRIPTION OF DOMITIUS.²

and her wrath unequally, that a common oppression might not unite the vanquished in a common hatred.

The consuls of the following years crossed the Rhone, and gave the new province as a western frontier the chains of the Cevennes and of the Corbières; the Tectosages, who were masters

¹ [Of course all these numbers are given purely at random by the ancient historians. — *Ed.*]

² HERCVLI SACRVM, CN. DOMITIVS AHENOBARBVVS, PROCOS. DEVICTIS ET SVPERATIS BELLO ICONIIS TRICORIIIS. Strabo (iv. pp. 185 and 203) places between the Rhone and the Alps the Vocontii, then the Tricorii, Iconii, and, higher up the mountains, the Medulli. Our inscription is not complete. A fragment of it had long been known, whose authenticity, however, Mommsen disputed; the second fragment was discovered by M. Edmond Blanc, in the department of the Alps-Maritimes, upon a highway, probably the *Via Domitia*.

of Tolosa, even accepted the title of allies of Rome. The colony of Narbo Martius (*Narbonne*), placed, as its name indicates and as its remote situation required, under the special protection of the god of war, was to watch over the new subjects (118). Situated near the mouth of the Aude, at the extremity of that great depression through which the *Canal du Midi* now passes, it became the rival of Marseilles when the Romans made of Bordeaux the other great commercial centre of this portion of Gaul. A military road, commenced by the conqueror of the Allobroges, *Via Domitia*, and leading from the Alps to the Pyrenees, secured Rome's communication with her Spanish provinces.¹

Since the battle of Zama, we have seen victorious consuls taking for themselves surnames in memory of their successes; and Fabius now took that of *Allobrogicus*. In Greece, international law did not permit animosities to be perpetuated by rearing upon the territory of the vanquished a durable monument of their defeat; and this custom had passed into Roman usage. But barbarians were not thought to merit so generous treatment. Upon the battle-field of Vindalium Fabius built one temple to Mars and a second to Hercules; and between the two he placed upon a stone tower a trophy of Gallic arms.² The temple and the trophy have disappeared; but there exists a less imposing souvenir of Domitius' victory, an inscription, the first that the Romans ever cut in Gaul, which "the iron-faced man," as Licinius Crassus called him, caused to be engraved on the side of one of the high Provençal hills, recently, by a fortunate accident, brought to light.

The transalpine province, guarded by its two military positions, Aix and Narbonne,³ and protected by the Tectosages and the Aedui, recent allies of Rome, was like an outpost whence the Senate watched and held in check the Gallic nations; and thither Marius went to save Italy.

¹ These wars are contemporary with the expeditions of the two Metelli against the Dalmatians (117), (*Livy. Epit. lxii.*) and against the Balears, from which wars they received the two surnames they bear in history. Metellus Balearicus destroyed nearly all the male population in Majorca, and re-peopled the island with a colony.

² Strabo, iv. 185; Flor., iii. 2.

³ Aix, however, did not become a colony until the time of Augustus.

II. THE CIMBRI IN GAUL; BATTLE OF AIX (102).

THE Cisalpina had not yet recovered from the alarm caused in 118 by the appearance of the Scordisci on the opposite coast of the Adriatic, when news came, first, that 300,000 Cimbri and Teutones, driven from their homes by an overflow of the Baltic, had crossed the Danube; then, that they were ravaging Noricum; lastly, that they were in the valley of the Drave, but two days' march from the Carnic Alps. A consul, Papirius Carbo, hastened to the mountains with a strong force to defend the pass which traverses them. The barbarians were at the moment occupied in besieging Noreia, a town rendered important by its iron mines. Papirius, aided by treachery, hoped to surprise them, but suffered a sanguinary defeat (113). Whether the name of Rome struck terror into these barbarians, or whether the *débris* of the consular army, saved by a storm from a complete destruction, guarded the defiles, the invaders stopped short at the foot of the Carnic Alps; and for three years Noricum, Pannonia, and Illyria, from the Danube to the mountains of Macedon, were horribly ravaged. When there remained nothing more to seize, the horde traversed Rhaetia, and entered the lands of the Helvetii, at this time established between the Maine and Lake Lemman (Switzerland and Suabia). Some of the Helvetii, with the Tugeni, Tigurini, and Ambrones, German or Celtic tribes, whose exact abode is not known, consented to follow them; and together they came down the Rhine valley to make their way into Gaul.

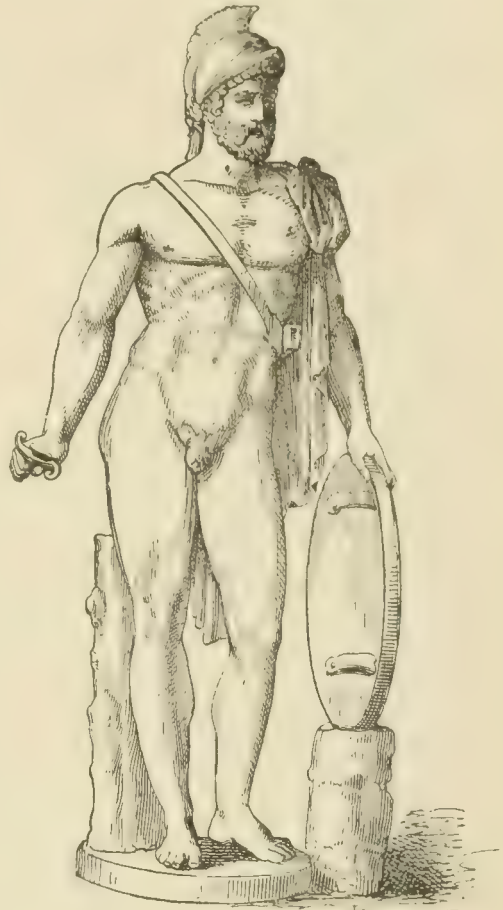
Up to this time the Celts had been supreme on the north of the Italic and Illyrian Alps; while another branch of the great Aryan family, the Germans, had accumulated in innumerable tribes behind them in the regions farther to the north. These in turn poured into the valley of the Danube their overflow of population. This was not a warlike band in quest of adventure, but a whole people, with its women, and children, and flocks, and leather-covered wains, containing all their possessions, who came southward, seeking a less inclement sky, the plunder of rich nations, and the fertile lands whose conquered inhabitants should henceforth sow and reap

for them. At sight of these tall, fair-haired men, whose light-blue eyes gleamed so savagely, the slender, dark-hued dwellers in the Italian provinces soon understood that they were encountering a race for ever hostile. The word *Cimber* means robber; and for five centuries the Germans gave Rome a right to call them Cimbri.¹

The manners and customs of the Cimbri placed them at the very foot of the social scale. Frequently they ate raw flesh. Like the American savage, they were wont to insult their adversaries before the conflict with coarse gestures of contempt, and they advanced to battle with war-cries. When the enemy was formidable they advanced in a close phalanx, the men in the foremost ranks being bound together by ropes passed through their belts. They fought bravely; and to fall in battle seemed to them the most honorable form of death. After victory followed endless orgies and brutal ferocity; and if they had vowed the spoils to their gods, everything

was destroyed, men and booty alike. Thus wherever their caprice had led them, it was as if a whirlwind had swept over the land.³

Such was the first appearance of the Germanic race on the edges of the civilized world; but the Gauls had been no less

MARS.²

¹ Plut., *Mar.* 11; the same in Festus and Suidas.

² Mars of the old Crawford Collection. (Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 634 A, No. 1,436 R.) This naked warrior, with the chlamys on the left shoulder, may represent a military hero as well as the god of war.

³ Mommsen, *History of Rome*.

terrible in Greece. The barbaric condition is the same, whatever the race; fortunate the people who have no trace of it left!

In the Belgae of Gaul the Cimbri imagined a kindred race; they formed an alliance with them, and left under their care, with a guard of 6,000 men, all the booty which would have embarrassed their march; then they proceeded southward, and for over a year Gaul suffered all the evils of the most terrible invasion (110). Upon the banks of the Rhone the Cimbri again found themselves confronted by those Romans whom they had already met in their expeditions eastward, in Illyria, in Macedon, and in Thrace. The immensity of this empire, whose frontiers they found everywhere, struck them with astonishment; and for the first time shrinking from a battle, they asked the consul Silanus to give them lands, offering in return to fight for Rome whenever she desired it. "Rome," rejoined Silanus, "has no lands to give, and desires no services." Thereupon he crossed the Rhone, and was defeated (109); the confederated barbarians were not, however, able to force the passage of the river.

In the spring of the year 107 they divided; the Tigurini made their way toward the fords of the Rhone, near Geneva; the Cimbri and Teutones were to attack lower down. The Romans also divided their forces, Cassius Longinus, the consul, engaging the Tigurini, while Aurelius Scaurus marched against the Cimbri. Both armies were defeated: the former passed under the yoke after having seen their consul slain; the latter made their way back into the province in disorder, leaving their general a prisoner in the enemy's hands.

The province was left defenceless; the Alps were no longer guarded: and the prestige of the Roman name began to wane in the minds of these barbarians who had now so often defeated the legions. A council was held by them to determine what route to follow, Scaurus being present, loaded with chains. Being questioned, he intimidated his captors by his bold replies: "I counsel you," he said, "to cross the Alps; set foot in Italy, and you will learn what the Roman power is!" These brave words exasperated a young chief, as the American Indian is said to be irritated by the sarcasms of his prisoner at the stake; he fell upon Scaurus and ran him through the body.

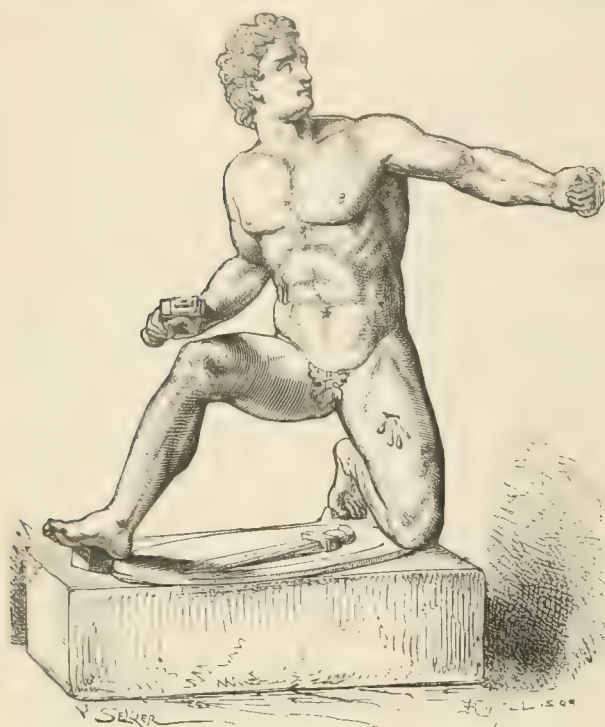
The Cimbri, however, hesitated. In their carelessness, they lingered a whole year enjoying their victories. Why indeed should they hasten, even had they determined upon their next step? The earth was fruitful, the sky mild, their booty already immense; were they not in possession of all that they had come to seek? They even suffered the consul Caepio to sack the capital of the Volcae Tectosages, with whom they were in alliance. These Volcae had, it was said, brought back from their predatory expeditions into Greece an enormous amount of treasure, which they had consecrated to their god Belis by throwing the melted gold and silver into the lake adjacent to his temple. The god could not defend his treasures, however, from the avidity of the legionaries and their chief, when divers sought for them beneath the water. Caepio obtained 110,000 pounds weight of gold, and a million and a half pounds of silver from the sack of Tolosa; this treasure he sent forward to Marseilles, posting men upon the road, however, who killed the guard and carried off the precious booty (106).

The following year the Senate sent out another army and a newly-appointed consul, Mallius, to divide the command with Caepio. This ill-judged measure, the misunderstandings which arose between the two generals, and finally the separation of their forces into two camps, resting upon the Rhone, opposite Orange, brought on a frightful disaster; the two camps, attacked successively, were carried by the enemy; 80,000 Roman soldiers, with 40,000 camp followers or slaves, fell under the sword, and the rest were made prisoners. It is said that but ten men escaped; of this number were Caepio and a young Roman knight, Q. Sertorius, of whom we shall hear later; the latter, though wounded, swam the Rhone without throwing aside his cuirass or buckler. This was the sixth Roman army which the barbarians had destroyed (Oct. 6, 105).

Before the battle, the Cimbri, to avenge an outrage upon their deputies, had vowed to sacrifice to their gods all that should fall into their hands; and they fulfilled the oath religiously. The men were slain, the horses thrown into the river, cuirasses, arms, and chariots were broken and burned; even the gold and silver was cast into the Rhone: and from the Alps to the Pyrenees there was one vast scene of devastation.

The defeat at Orange surpassed in horror that of Cannae; but

there was no Hannibal at the head of the Cimbri. Arriving at the gates of Spain, and finding the way open, these barbarians forgot Italy. They were curious to see this new country; and crossing



WOUNDED COMBATANT (FROM THE LOUVRE).

the Pyrenees, they proceeded to try their swords upon that race of Celtiberians so tough and obstinate in their mountains. This delay was Rome's salvation. It gave her time to call home Marius from Africa and send him to guard the Alps, giving him, in spite of the law, a second consulship within three years. The alarm, however, was extreme; but Rome had still in reserve the energy needful against danger. As had been done after the battle of

Cannae, a decree of the Senate abridged the time of mourning for the slain, and gave orders that no Italian of military age should leave Italy, forbidding captains of vessels to receive any such on board. Satisfaction was also offered to public indignation. A hundred years earlier, the Senate and the people had gone out to meet the fugitive general from Cannae,—so much respect did the consular authority command even in hands considered incapable; but now law no longer had this supremacy, and a popular vote deprived the defeated general of his imperium.¹

Marius proceeded to take up a position behind the Rhone to the north of Arles, upon the western slope of the mountains (104). He entrenched himself securely; and to be certain of his supplies arriving at all times, he employed his soldiers in digging a canal

¹ See the following chapter.

by which vessels from Marseilles and from Italy might avoid the shallows at the mouth of the Rhone. This canal came out upon the shore at a point where the village of Foz now recalls the name of the *Fossae Marianae*.¹ The legionaries who were employed in this work were called in derision Marius' *mules*; but by these severe labors he broke up those habits of indolence and luxury which had prevailed for half a century in the Roman camps, and had cost the state six armies. Inexorable toward all faults, his severity yielded before no considerations. A young soldier, insulted by a nephew of the consul, had slain the offender; instead of punishing the soldier, Marius rewarded him for the act.

To this period belong the modifications in the soldiers' armor introduced by Marius, giving them a light round shield and a javelin, which, once thrown, could not be used a second time; for he caused the head of the weapon to be attached to the shaft by a wooden and an iron pin, the former of which breaking, spoilt the weapon for use, while the iron pin held the shaft, thus embarrassing the movements of the soldier in whose shield it had fixed. Marius also directed the soldiers to learn the art of fencing.—an exercise of great importance in a time when battles were decided in a series of hand-to-hand contests. Before his time the Roman army was arranged in order of battle in three ranks; for this he substituted two. But in the ten cohorts, which had taken the place of the thirty maniples, he combined the different arms, light and heavy infantry, so that each cohort of 600 men was, like modern battalions, a copy of the entire legion, whose unity he marked, by giving to each its standard, a silver eagle.²

Scipio Aemilianus had, some time earlier, during the siege of Numantia, created the general's bodyguard, the soldiers of the *praetorium*, the *praetoriani*, selected from the bravest in the army, excused from all duties but guarding the general's person, and receiving higher pay than the other soldiers. The new Roman army, therefore, was quite different from that of the earlier time. Rank and position were no longer based on property, but on years of service; and the army was now open to those who were on the lists

¹ Upon this subject see the *Géographie de la Gaule romaine* of M. E. Desjardins (vol. ii. p. 199). Marius gave this canal to the Massiliotes, and it became a source of wealth to them from the tolls they levied on vessels going up or down. (Strabo, iv. 183.)

² See in Vol. I. p. 509, the early military organization.

of the census only as *capite censi* (persons without property), and also to foreign contingents, Numidian or Thracian cavalry, Balearic



ROMAN EAGLE.¹

slingers, light troops from all countries. For the war against the Cimbri, even such remote contingents as those of Bithynia and Phrygia were called in. Thus it came about that since the nobles disdained military service, and the class of petty proprietors no longer existed to furnish recruits, as the government became more aristocratic, the army became less so. The two great institutions of Rome, the Senate and the army, which once formed a harmonious whole, gradually

assumed a character of opposition to one another, which was destined to end in actual strife; and thus the way was prepared for the advent of an *imperator*. It cannot be said that Marius was the author of all these changes; but he contributed largely to the more important of them by opening the military career to the proletariat and to the provincials.

Meantime the Cimbri still delayed their coming; and Marius, to familiarize his soldiers with the reforms in their armament and in the order of battle, employed them in short military expeditions which presented no serious dangers, sending them throughout the province, where their presence proved a restraint to the tribes which might otherwise have become disorderly. In this way Sylla, who had formerly been quaestor with Marius, and now held the position of his lieutenant, defeated in many skirmishes the great tribe of the Volcae Tectosages, and took prisoner their King, Copill.

The respite the barbarians allowed Marius had then been well employed, since in restoring discipline he had restored to his legions the certainty of success. A Greek writer goes so far as to say that he made a sanguinary offering to their superstitious temper. Warned by a dream, it is said that he sacrificed his daughter Calpurnia for the purpose of securing the favor of the gods.² Plutarch also mentions a prophetess, Martha, who followed him clad in a purple garment, and carrying in her hand a javelin adorned with fillets and garlands.

¹ La Chausse, *Recueil d'antiquités Romaines*, v. 5.

² Dorotheos, *ap. Script. Alex. M.*, p. 156, ed. Didot.

For three years affrighted Rome disregarded her laws, that she might retain in the consulship and in the military command the man who promised to save her. At the end of this time the barbarians returned from Spain with the intention of entering Italy at last. The Cimbri went to the left, turning the Alps in order to come down through the Tyrol into the valley of the Adige, while the Teutones advanced to meet Marius. The Roman general allowed them the passage of the Rhone. Relying upon his troops and upon the strong position which he held near the sea, near Massilia and the Roman fleet, he hoped to entrap the barbarians in the mountainous region through which they were about to march, to come upon them in some moment of carelessness, and destroy them with a single blow. Moreover, he was anxious to give his soldiers time

PHRYGIAN ARCHER.¹

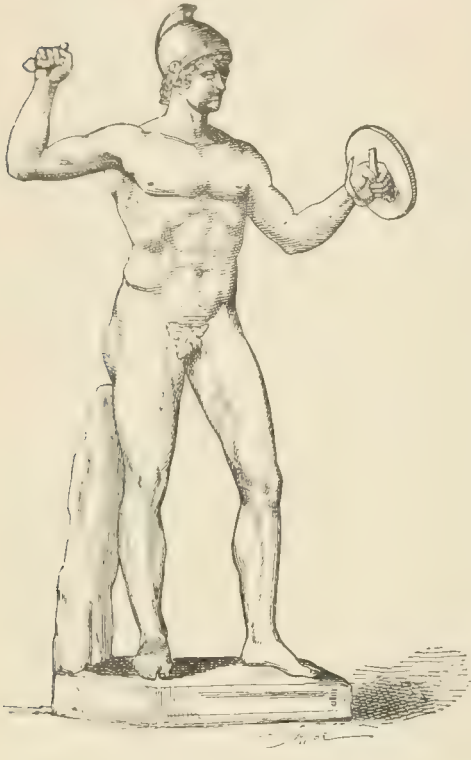
to become familiar with the fierce aspect of these disorderly bands, and habituate them to regard the vast and noisy horde with composure. Vainly the Teutones multiplied insults to draw him out of his lines. One of their chiefs came even to the gates of the Roman camp and challenged Marius to single combat. But the general sent word that if the Teuton were weary of life he might hang himself; and on the barbarian's insisting further, he sent out a gladiator to him.² The Roman army were frenzied with impatience. "The important matter is," he said, "not to gain a victory, but to keep this black cloud from bursting upon Italy." The general took pains to be carefully informed of the enemy's designs; and Sertorius, who understood the Gallic language, penetrated their camp every day in disguise, in the quarter of the Ambrones. The Teutones strove to force the Roman camp; but after three ineffectual attempts decided to go on farther. Later, the story was told that for six whole days they defiled past the

¹ From a Greek marble.² Frontin., *Strateg.* iv. 7.

Roman camp in full sight of the soldiers, and were heard to taunt them, crying out: "We are going to see your wives; have you any message to send them?" Marius followed them by short marches, waiting for the favorable moment.¹

Near Aquæ Sextiæ the barbarians stopped; and Marius, regarding the place as suitable for a battle, came up with them, and took

a position opposite upon a hill overlooking the valley of the Arc. There was no supply of water on the high ground; and when his soldiers complained, the Roman general pointed out to them the river on whose banks the Teutones were encamped. "We shall go in search of water there," he said; "but we must pay for it with our blood. We will begin with fortifying our camp." From their position the Romans could see the Ambrones dispersed over the plain, some seated and eating, others bathing in the Arc or in the warm springs; here a man combing his long hair, there one polishing his weapons; and farther back, behind the shelter of the



THE SO-CALLED DRESDEN GLADIATOR.²

wagons, priestesses in white garments with an iron belt around the waist, who perhaps at the moment were occupied with their gloomy rites, cutting a captive's throat over the edge of a brass caldron, that they might read in the victim's blood the fate of the approaching battle.

Meantime the servants of the Roman army, having no water for themselves and their animals, were emboldened at the sight

¹ It is not easy to see why he did not, however, by some sudden attack, seek to cut in two this immense and necessarily disordered line. Marius evidently had not the highest military talent, any more than he had the highest qualities of the statesman.

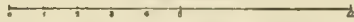
² Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 865, No. 2,206.

of the disorder of the Ambrones, and came down in a crowd toward the river. The barbarians, believing themselves attacked, seized their arms and advanced, striking their bucklers with a rhythmic cadence, and keeping time to this fierce music as they marched. But in crossing the river they broke ranks; and had not had time to form again, when the Romans fell upon them from the heights above with such fury that they were compelled, after severe loss, to seek shelter behind the circle of wagons. There,



From Ordnance Map

Scale = 1 320 000
Roman Miles

BATTLE-FIELD OF AQUAE SEXTIAE.¹

however, they encountered a new enemy, their women, who, frenzied with rage and grief, rushed out upon them, striking down fugitives and pursuers alike, or rushing in among the combatants, and, unarmed as they were, seeking to snatch from the legionaries their swords and shields. Day began to wane; the Teutones who had not fought were approaching; and the Romans did not pursue their success further.

During the engagement the same battle-cry, *Ambra! Ambra!*

¹ M. Ernest Desjardins is of opinion that the great massacre took place in the valley below the hills of Pourrières, and near the valley of that name, *Campi putridi*; that Marius encamped upon the hills on the north of the city; and that the ambush of Marcellus was in the forest of Pourcieux, near Mount Olympus or Regainas. (*Géog. de la Gaule rom.*, vol. ii. p. 327.)

was heard on both sides; it was the Ambrones shouting their own name, and the Italian Ligurians, auxiliaries of Rome, who replied with their ancient war-cry. The two tribes, probably of kindred origin, thus met after a separation of a thousand years.¹

At the close of the day the Romans returned to their position; but great as had been the success, no songs of triumph resounded through the night in the camp, for the ramparts and the trenches were not yet completed, and a mighty host of barbarians who had not taken part in the day's action were in the immediate vicinity. All night long their threats and lamentations, like the howling of wild beasts, filled the air; and the sinister sounds, echoing among the hills, filled the Romans with terror. Marius dreaded a night attack from the infuriated horde; but happily they remained within their camp through that night and the following day, being occupied in making ready for the combat.

In the second battle, two days later, the barbarians repeated their imprudent attack upon the hill where Marius was posted, and to which he allured them by a pretence of flight on the part of the cavalry. Repulsed in this attempt, and followed in their retreat by the legions, then attacked from the rear by 3,000 picked men whom Marius had placed in ambush in the woods above their camp, they were unable to resist. The massacre was terrible, as in all these ancient battles, where men fought hand to hand, and where the defeated army might be completely destroyed by the victorious one. Plutarch relates that the fields were so enriched by the bodies of the slain that they became marvellously fruitful, and that the bones of the dead were in such abundance that the Massiliots employed them as building material for their vineyard-walls. The village of Pourrières, between Aix and Saint-Maximin, recalls yet in its name the *Campus putridus*, the Putrid Field, where this great slaughter took place.

Three thousand men were all who escaped, among them King Teutobokh and some other chiefs, who endeavored to make their way back to Germany. The Gauls, however, had suffered too much from this invasion not to revenge it, and they pursued the fugitives.

¹ According to Plutarch, the Ligurians called themselves Ambrones, which perhaps indicates kinship with the Umbrians. In Vol. I. p. 56, note 1, we have already referred to the uncertainty which exists in respect to the origin of the latter people.

Teutobokh was taken by the Sequani and delivered over to Marius; he was a warrior of colossal height, of whom it was said that he could leap across six horses placed abreast. Marius reserved him for his triumph, together with the best arms and



TROPHIES OF MARIUS (SO CALLED).¹

richest spoils, and made a heap of the rest of the booty to burn in honor of the gods. The army were assembled around the pile; Marius, clad in purple, his toga girt about him as for a

¹ See in the *Revue de numismatique* the paper by C. Lenormant, *Les trophées de Marius*, 1842. The author regards them as having made part of the Nymphaeum of Alexander Severus. It is evident, in any case, that, notwithstanding their name, they have nothing to do with Marius.

solemn sacrifice, was in the act of raising, with both hands, a lighted torch, when some of his friends were seen riding up at full speed; they brought him news that he had been elected consul for the fifth time. The army testified their joy by shouts and the clashing of their weapons, and the officers placed a laurel-wreath on the consul's head. After this brief delay he set fire to the pile; and amid the rejoicings of the soldiers the flames shot up toward the sky (102).

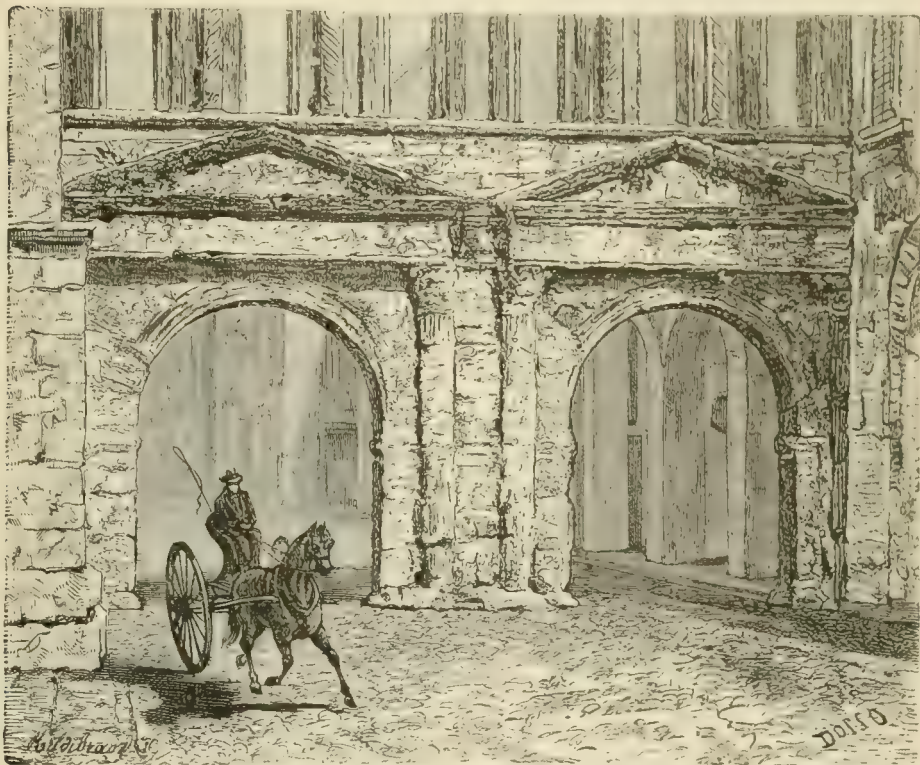
A pyramid, which was in existence until the fifteenth century, was erected at one end of the battle-field in memory of this victory. One of its bas-reliefs represented Marius raised upon a shield at the moment after the soldiers had proclaimed him *imperator*.¹

III. THE CIMBRI IN ITALY; BATTLE OF VERCELLAE (101).

THE war was not yet ended; for only the Teutones and Ambrones had been destroyed, while the Cimbri yet remained. Catulus, who had been despatched to guard the road leading over the Eastern Alps, had no need to go so far. News from the mountains announced that the enemy were on their way toward the Brenner pass, whence the valleys of the Eisack and the Adige lead down into Italy; and Catulus established himself upon the latter river, in the old Etruscan city of Tridentium (Trent), and, to bar the road, covered himself on both banks of the stream by strong entrenchments united by a bridge. At Trent the Adige is still a mountain torrent, and is not a serious obstacle to the passage of an army. The true point of defence is lower down, at Verona; but this was not known at that time. When the Cimbri arrived they found the Romans indisposed to issue from their camp; upon this, to insult the latter's cowardice and parade their own strength, the barbarians delighted to expose themselves naked to the winter's cold, and scaling the steep cliffs opposite the city, to slide down seated on their bucklers. They did not undertake

¹ Up to the time of the French Revolution the village of Pourrières preserved a representation of this monument in its armorial bearings. (Fauris de Saint-Vincent, in the *Magasin encyclopédique* of Millin, vol. iv. p. 314.)

to force the entrenchments of Catulus, but sought to destroy the bridge by casting whole trees into the river, whose shock might break the piles; and also they threw in huge rocks, as if to fill up the stream. After a few days the terrified legions compelled their general to quit the position. He abandoned in a little fort on the eastern bank of the Adige a few soldiers, who defended themselves with such courage that the Cimbri, after having compelled their surrender, permitted them to go out on



PORTA DE' BORSARI AT VERONA. (MAFFEI, VERONA ILLUSTRATA.)

honorable conditions, the barbarians swearing to the terms upon their brazen bull. This bull, taken after the battle, was carried to the house of Catulus as the first fruits of his victory.

The legions did not make a stand on the plateau of Rivoli, where they might have barred the outlet of the mountains, nor yet at Verona, where they would have commanded the passage of the Adige, now become an important river; but they kept on retreating until they had placed the River Po as a barrier between

themselves and the enemy. The country to the north of this river remained defenceless, and was horribly ravaged by the barbarians; and finding in these fertile lands provisions in abundance, they



BRAZEN BULL.¹

remained there awaiting the arrival of the Teutones, and giving themselves up to the enjoyment of their easy victory. Why should they hasten? Up to this moment they had been everywhere successful; and they had confidence that the sword would open to them the road to Rome as it had opened the road to so many other countries. Instead of pursuing Catulus, they passed

the winter and the summer of the year 102 in the Transpadana.

These events had caused the recall of Marius from Gaul. He came to Rome, refused the triumph offered him by the Senate, "to reassure the multitude by seeming to leave his fame as a deposit in the hands of the Fortune of Rome," and by a haughty address made in the Forum inspired courage in the minds of all. He then went north again to rejoin his army, which had now crossed the Alps, and to arrange with his colleague the plan of the approaching campaign. It was at this moment that Sylla, wounded by his arrogance, left him and accepted service with Catulus, by whom he was cordially welcomed. With the force of cavalry placed under his command Sylla was able to collect provisions and to keep the camp of Catulus well supplied until the end of the war, while that of Marius frequently suffered from want.

The Cimbri were still waiting for the Teutones to arrive, and would not believe the rumors that reached them of the defeat of their allies. They even sent deputies to Marius to ask for themselves and their brethren lands and houses in which they might establish themselves. "Do not be anxious about your brethren," the consul rejoined; "they have the land that we have given them, and will keep it for ever." At these words the barbarians broke out in threats and abusive language; the consul should be punished,

¹ Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. vi., 1st series, pl. 93.

they said, for his jesting language, first by the Cimbri, and later by the Teutones when they should arrive. "The Teutones have arrived," Marius said; "and it is not fitting that you should go away until you have saluted your brethren." And he caused Teutobokh and the other captives to be brought in, loaded with chains.

Upon report of this the Cimbri hesitated no longer. Boiorix, their king, approached the Roman camp accompanied by a few horsemen, and asked to have a day and hour fixed for the combat which should decide the possession of Italy. The consul replied that the Romans were not accustomed to consult with their enemies on these matters, but that he would deign to gratify the Cimbri on this point; and it was thereupon agreed that the battle should take place three days later in the plain of Vercellæ. On the appointed day the Cimbri took up a position in the plain, forming a square whose sides measured 6,000 yards. Their cavalry, 15,000 in number, were splendidly adorned, their helmets surmounted by heads of wild beasts with gaping mouths, and above them great crests, like wings, adding to the height of the horsemen. They were protected by iron cuirasses and white shields, and had each two javelins to throw from a distance; while for the hand-to-hand fight they had long heavy swords.

When this great army of barbarians set itself in motion, it seemed, says Plutarch, like a furious ocean in high tide. But Marius, like Hannibal at Cannæ, took advantage of the sun and of the wind. Beneath the trampling of the masses of cavalry and infantry that filled the plain such a cloud of dust arose that presently the Cimbri could not see before them; the wind blew it into their faces, the sun blazed full in their eyes; dripping with sweat and choked with dust, they covered their heads with their bucklers, and in so doing exposed their bodies to the enemy's weapons.

The bravest among the Cimbri, to make sure that their first ranks should not be broken, had bound themselves together by long iron chains attached to their belts. This device caused their destruction, the dead hampering the living. The Romans, attacking from a distance with the formidable *pilum*, made breaches in this line which they entered, and then slew at will. The first

ranks being exterminated, the others gave way; and the conquerors pursued the fugitives into their entrenchments. There horrible scenes took place, of which the Romans were mere spectators. The women, clad in black and standing upon the wagons, themselves slew the fugitives; they slaughtered their children, throwing them under the wheels or under the horses' feet, and finally killed themselves.¹ The men, for lack of trees to hang themselves, put slip-nooses around their necks, fastening the rope to the horns of oxen, and pricking the animals to make them run, perished, either being strangled or trodden under foot. Notwithstanding the great number of those who thus perished by their own hand, more than 60,000 were made prisoners, it is said, — twice that

BACCHUS IN INDIA.²

number being set down as slain (101). They were perhaps a million of human beings when, thirteen years before, they had left the Baltic shores; of this multitude there now were left but a few thousand captives, destined for the slave-markets of Italy.

The honors paid to Marius after this victory testified to the anxiety and alarm which had been felt at Rome. He was called the third Romulus, the new founder of Rome, Camillus having

¹ Florus (iii. 3) and Orosius (v. 16) assert that these women sent to beg the consuls that they should be received among the vestals: and on their refusal (*cum non impetrassent*), took their own lives. It is needless to say that this is simply legendary.

² Bas-relief of a sarcophagus from Zoega. (*Basiril. ant.*) The expedition of Bacchus into India is famous among the ancients. He was there three years according to some accounts, and fifty-two according to others (Diod., iii. 63, vi. 3), and had to fight against mighty chiefs. But the Pans, Satyrs, and Bacchantes who accompanied him, and his own divine power, made him triumph over all adversaries. He civilized the country he had conquered, introduced into it the culture of the vine, founded cities, and gave laws to them. (Strab., xi. 505; Arrian, *Indica*, 5; Philostr., *Vita Apoll.* ii. 9.) These legends explain our bas-relief and the presence of the unwarlike troop that follows the god.

already received that appellation after his victory over the Gauls. Every citizen, on news of the triumph, poured libations in the conqueror's name. He himself fancied he had equalled the exploits of Bacchus in India, and would henceforward drink only from a cup similar to that given to Dionysos; he also caused to be carved on his shield the grimacing head of a barbarian; and Rome believed that she had stifled barbarism in his mighty arms.

¹ Bust engraved on vitreous paste, found at Palestrina, bearing the legend, C. MARIUS VII. COS. (Visconti, *Icon. rom.*, vol. ii.)



MARIUS.¹

CHAPTER XLI.

SECOND REVOLT OF THE SLAVES, AND NEW DISTURBANCES IN ROME (103-91).

I. — INSURRECTION OF THE SLAVES IN ITALY AND SICILY (103-99).

THE Numidian and Cimbrian wars had been a sanguinary interlude in the drama of domestic strifes. The results of the two wars were momentous; Roman rule in Africa was consolidated by the former, and by the latter Italy was closed for three centuries against the barbarians. But there was much disgrace mingled with a little glory, and the glory belonged almost entirely to one man. The love of the soldiers and the people, the enforced respect of the nobles, a great reputation, and divine honors, were what Marius, five times consul, brought back to Rome. The Eternal City was saved from the Cimbri and Teutones; who would save the Republic from the factions that were beginning to revive? Had the great soldier, like his master, Scipio Africanus, the ideas and sentiments of a great citizen, or only the paltry ambition and envious hate of the upstart? Of this we shall soon be able to judge.



VENUS FOUND AT NUCERIA
(NOCERA DE' PAGANI).¹

What Rome had been before the time of the Gracchi, that she was twenty years after their time; only there was more misery, with less hope. The corruption which pervaded Roman society extended

¹ This charming statue is in the Museum at Naples. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 632 G, No. 1,323 A.)

to the great political parties; instead of a legitimate and salutary struggle between two great divisions of the Roman people, we shall see henceforth only the bloody quarrels of a few powerful men who, like the Gallic Brenn, mete out justice at the point of the sword. What party—that is to say, what demands, and what views—will Marius represent until his death, and Sylla until his consulship? The history of the man who at this epoch endeavored to re-awaken the memory of the sons of Cornelia, Saturninus the tribune, for a moment a king in Rome, will serve to show this decadence in the internal life of the city. The grand scenes of the double tragedy of the Gracchi will be replaced by the brawls of a low party leader.

The tribuneship of Saturninus, like that of Tiberius Gracchus, was preceded by a revolt of the slaves. This time the signal went up from Central Italy; it was a presage of Spartacus. Conspiracies discovered at Nuceria and at Capua were baffled. A more dangerous outbreak was incited by Vettius, a Roman knight, who, overwhelmed with debts, armed his slaves and murdered his creditors. He assumed the diadem and the purple, surrounded himself with lictors, and called to him all the slaves of Campania. The praetor Lucullus arrived in all haste with ten thousand men. The rebel had already collected thirty-five hundred; but being betrayed by one of his own men, he killed himself, not to fall alive into the hands of the authorities (103).

The disturbance was quelled in Campania; but it had already spread through Sicily, where the masters had quickly forgotten the enactments of Rupilius. Shortly before this time, upon the complaint of some Asiatic princes whose subjects had been kidnapped,



THE FETTERED RACE.¹

¹ Slave working in chains, from a gem. The galley-slaves of modern Italy still wear chains as represented here. The cut is believed to represent the enchained Saturn after he is dispossessed of his kingdom by his brother Titan. Slaves, on obtaining their liberty, consecrated to him their chains.

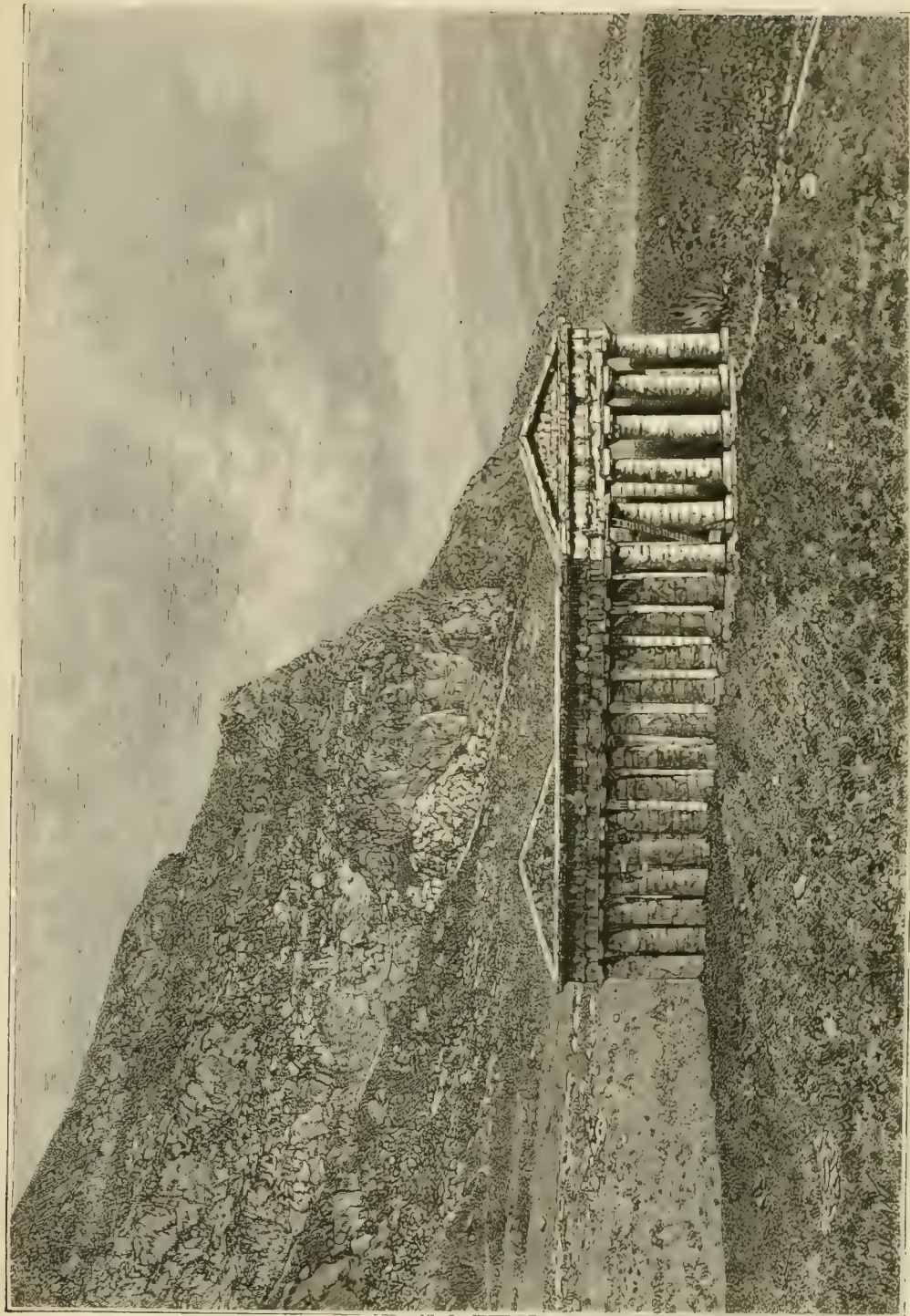
the Senate had ordered the praetor of Sicily to set at liberty all free-men who had been reduced to slavery by violence. In a few days more than eight hundred were freed; but the representations, or perhaps the bribes, of the masters put an end to the inquiry; the "tribunal of liberty" opened at Syracuse was closed, and "the fettered race," having no longer the hope of receiving justice, rose in revolt. A successful attempt, which delivered over to the slaves the arms of a part of the garrison of Enna, enabled them to organize as a military force. The most numerous band took as chief one Salvius, who had mustered twenty thousand foot-soldiers and two thousand horsemen, and very nearly took the fortress of Morgantia.



SLAVE TAKING REFUGE UPON AN ALTAR.¹ (STAGE SCENE.)

The slaves from the neighborhood of Segesta and Lilybaeum ranged themselves under the command of the Cilician Athenion, who gave out that he was an astrologer, as Salvius had claimed to be an aruspex. Athenion was a former chief of brigands whom the Romans had captured and sold. He was himself bold and skilful, and accepted only those men who were strong and well disciplined, obliging the others to work for him, and forbidding pillage in all cases; Messina, the most important city in the island to the Romans, was very near falling into his hands. It had been hoped that misunderstandings would arise between the two commanders; but Athenion recognized the authority of Salvius, "King Tryphon," who built himself a palace in the city of Triocala. The suspicions and ill-treatment of the new king did not shake the fidelity of

¹ Bas-relief in terra-cotta from the Campana Collection. The slave seems anxious to escape the pursuit of a man armed with a stick. Cf. Saglio, *Dict. des antiq. grecq. et rom.*, fig. 589.



TEMPLE OF SEGESTA (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH).



his lieutenant; and when Lucullus arrived from Italy with an army which, in spite of the Cimbrian war, the Senate had been able to collect, Athenion advised awaiting him in the plain and risking a battle. Sustained by their leader's courage, the slaves held firm; but on seeing him fall they fled, and took shelter at Triocala (102). After a few days' siege Lucullus retired; and upon learning that he had been superseded by Servilius, he freely granted to the soldiers discharges, and burned his stores. Accused at Rome of having sold himself to the slaves, he was punished by a fine, and went into exile.¹

Servilius was still less fortunate; shortly after the battle Salvius had died, and Athenion, who took his place, displayed an energy and ability with which the Roman leader was unable to cope. Rome avenged herself by condemning Servilius to exile, and submitted to the disgrace of sending the consular forces against these rebels. Manius Aquillius, worthy colleague of Marius, slew Athenion in single combat, dispersed his troops, and sent to Rome, to fight with wild beasts in the arena, all the prisoners that he had been able to secure. The slaves, however, deprived the people of their gratification by killing each other, the last survivor destroying himself. An enormous number of slaves had perished in these two wars.³ The most cruel regulations repressed them for the future; the possession of arms was forbidden under pain of death, even the spear with which the herdsmen were wont to defend themselves against wild beasts (102—99).



COIN OF MANIUS
AQUILLIUS.²

¹ Εἴτε διὰ ῥαστώνην, εἴτε διὰ δωροδοκίαν. (Diod., xxxvi. 8; Plut., *Lucull.* 1.)

² MAN. AQVIL. MAN. F. MAN. N. SICIL. (*Manius Aquillius, Manii filius, Manii nepos, Sicilia*). Soldier raising a kneeling woman. Reverse of a silver coin of the Aquillian family.

³ Athenaeus says a million in the first war alone; but Diodorus estimates the whole number at this time in revolt at only two hundred thousand.

II. — THE TRIUMVIRATE OF MARIUS, GLAUCIA, AND SATURNINUS (100).

THE Servile war had, like the Cimbric and Numidian, fully exposed the incapacity and venality of the nobles; and this disgrace of the aristocracy had restored both voice and courage to the tribunes. Memmius and Mamilius had openly accused the guilty, and sought to re-organize the popular party, who, believing they had found a leader in Marius, raised him to the consulship. His successes, and the confidence reposed in him by the soldiers, who would have no other general, enabled him to retain this office for four years, in defiance of all law. In the interest of public safety the nobles had permitted this; now, however, under cover of his reputation and his services, the tribunes commenced anew the struggle against the Senate, supported by the knights, who were incensed at the loss of half of the *judicia*.

The defeat at Orange and Caepio's extortions served as a pretext. As soon as the news of his defeat reached Rome it was proposed in the popular assembly to deprive him of the *imperium*, to declare him incapable of again holding office, and to confiscate his property. The Senate defended the man who had restored to it a share of the judicial authority; but the tribune Norbanus drove the nobles from the comitium, and with them the two tribunes who had opposed the measure. This tumult became so great that the prince of the Senate, Aemilius Scaurus, was wounded in the head by a stone. Caepio was deprived of his office and thrown into prison, and a friendly tribune who had liberated him was, it is said, sent with him into exile. According to other accounts the consul was strangled in his cell, and his body exposed on the Gemonian steps. He left two daughters, who disgraced themselves by their conduct; and this ruin and dishonor of a family once illustrious appeared like a vengeance of the Gallic gods, whose treasures Caepio had plundered. Hence the proverb arose, "He has Tolosan gold," — applied to one whom a long series of misfortunes has seemed to brand as hated by the gods.¹

¹ Cic., *de Off.* ii. 21; Cic., *pro Balbo*, 11; *Brut.* 44; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* iii. 9; Livy, *Epit.* lxvii.

This deposition of a magistrate in face of the veto of two tribunes was an open violation of law; but no one noticed it, for the old constitution of Rome was going to pieces.

In the year 104 a measure, brought forward by the tribune Domitius, transferred to the people the election of the pontiffs, — a right hitherto exercised by the college itself. Thus again a privilege was taken from the aristocracy and conferred upon a venal assembly, — venal, as we shall see, when Julius Caesar, by buying from the comitia the office of pontifex maximus, opened his way to the higher offices. In 103 Marcius Philippus proposed an agrarian law; and in his speech advocating the measure occur the terrible words we have already quoted: "In the entire Republic there are not two thousand landowners."¹ The proposal was defeated; but the colleague of Philippus, Servilius Glaucia, to buy the support of the equestrian order, now deprived the senators of the *judicia* which had been given them by Caepio. Glaucia, seeking also to gain the allies, made two concessions to them: the first giving citizenship to any Italian who should succeed in convicting a magistrate of extortion; the second² increasing the severity of the Calpurnian law *de pecuniis repetundis* by making the restitution twofold. Thus the tribuneship once more became aggressive, the blood of the Gracchi having restored to it, as it were, its early democratic energy.

Such was the situation in Rome when Marius returned from Cisalpine Gaul. Until now he had been consul in camps only; and he aspired to fill that office in Rome for another year, under the eyes of the aristocratic party who had so long scorned him.

¹ Cic., *de Off.* ii. 21.

² Cic., *pro Balbo*, 24. The date of this Servilian law is uncertain, but must fall between 106 and 101. Walter (*Gesch. des röm. Rechts*, ii. 439) says: "About the year 650," that is, 104 B. C. Cicero speaks of the Latins only and of the free cities: "*Latinis, id est, foederatis.*" Klenze, the able editor of the Servilian law, thinks that its privileges were granted to all the provincials: "It was at the same time a splendid indemnity for the perils and fatigues of making an accusation, and a sure protection against the vengeance of the next appointed incumbent of the same office, who would doubtless wish to avenge the harm done to his predecessor, and prevent by terror even the most legitimate complaints in the future." (Laboulaye, *Essai sur les lois criminelles des Romains*, p. 241.) Madvig and Huschke do not admit the provincials to the benefits of the Servilian law; and I should be of their opinion were it not that, in section xxiv., the text speaks in general terms of those who *cives Romani non erunt*. It was the provincials, and not the Latins, who suffered most from extortion; they it was who chiefly had motives for bringing accusations, and means for proving their charges.

But the nobles were of opinion that this peasant of Arpinum had had honors enough; and when he sought for a sixth consulate they opposed to him his personal enemy Metellus; and, to succeed, Marius was forced to resort in his canvass to the use of gold.¹ This he never forgave; and thenceforward he plunged into a career of base and tortuous intrigue. Calm in battle, and facing death with composure, Marius lost confidence in the presence of the popular assembly; there the meanest demagogue was bolder than this great captain. But to succeed in the city a man must be able to control the masses; Marius, therefore, sought out some one to speak for him.

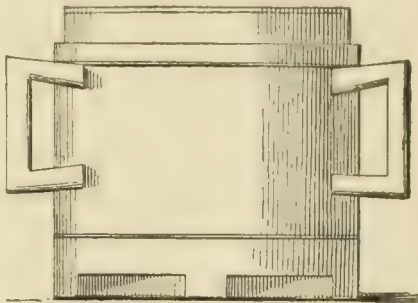
There was living at this time in Rome a person soon to be counted among the worst of her citizens, L. Apuleius Saturninus, an accomplished orator, whom a public disgrace had thrown, without any true sympathy, but with much ambition and spite, into the popular party. As quaestor over the department of Ostia, that is to say, intrusted with the duty of providing for the prompt transportation of corn to Rome, he had been so negligent during a famine that the Senate had replaced him by M. Scaurus (104). In the year 102 his tirades against the nobles had given him the tribuneship. At that time Metellus Numidicus held the office of censor; and, for the purpose of avenging the aristocratic party, he made an attempt to expel from the Senate Saturninus, and with him Glaucia, that tribune who, when Marius was filling his legions with Italians, had proposed to bestow upon them the right of citizenship. The two, however, stirred up the populace and pursued the censor as far as the Capitol, where they would have murdered him, had not some of the knights interposed and rescued him from their hands. Again blood had been shed in Rome, and the occurrence was, unhappily, no longer a novelty.

A common enmity toward Metellus had naturally brought Glaucia and his accomplice into relations with Marius, to whom Saturninus had already been useful in the year 102, when Marius was a candidate for his fourth consulship. Saturninus, therefore, was the person whom Marius fixed upon; and he began by inciting the former to ask for a second tribuneship, promising him the votes

¹ Plut., *Mar.* 28, and Livy, *Epit.* lxi. : *per tribus sparsa pecunia.*

of his veterans. The scheme was unsuccessful. At the election, Nonius, a partisan of the nobles, was about to obtain the office, when Saturninus, aided by Glaucia with a band of determined men, fell upon Nonius and assassinated him. On the following day, early in the morning, the murderers collected and proclaimed Saturninus.¹ Marius also obtained his sixth consulship, and Glaucia was made praetor. The three accomplices thus placed themselves at the head of the government; and their administration may be called the first of the Roman triumvirates.

Saturninus immediately began hostilities, availing himself of that official power which lent itself so readily to abuse. He revived the law of Caius Gracchus for distributions of corn to the people, still further reducing its price, which he

MODIUS.²

fixed at $\frac{5}{6}$ of an *as* per modium. The Senate opposed, as one man, this dangerous measure, as its direct result would be to increase the proletariat, that scourge of Rome. But the tribune, instead of yielding, was only the more aggressive. He proposed, first, a distribution among the poor citizens belonging to the rustic tribes of all the lands in Cisalpine Gaul formerly occupied by the Cimbri, — an unjust measure, which would have involved the dispossession of the original holders; secondly, the gift of one hundred acres apiece in Africa to the veterans of Marius; thirdly, the purchase of lands in Sicily, Achaea, and Macedon for the founding of Roman colonies; and, lastly, to authorize Marius to confer citizenship on three individuals in each colony.³ It may have been at this time that Glaucia obtained the passage of the law which we have just mentioned in favor of allies or subjects who might have procured the conviction of a magistrate guilty of extortion. Whether this

¹ Diod., xxxvi. 12; Cic., *pro Sext.* 17; Livy, *Epit.* lxi.; App. *Bell. civ.* i. 28; Plut., *Mar.* 29.

² From a terra-cotta lamp. The modius, the largest dry measure of the Romans, was a third of an amphora and a sixth of the Greek medimnus; it held nearly two gallons.

³ Cic., *pro Balbo*, 21. In this passage the word *ternos* seems to be an error in the manuscript. The right of conferring citizenship on three persons in each colony would have been alike valueless to Marius and to the allies.

be its date or not, it is clear that the idea of making reparation to those who were not protected by the title of Roman citizen constantly recurs,—a certain proof of the necessity for justice in the matter of these well-founded complaints.

An additional clause was added by Saturninus, making it incumbent on the senators, if the law should pass, to swear within five days that they would maintain it, under a fine of twenty talents for refusal. This unusual provision, afterward employed by Julius Caesar, was specially aimed against Metellus. On the day of voting a serious riot broke out in the Forum. As in the time of Tiberius Gracchus, many among the populace were not desirous of a law solely for the benefit of the rustic tribes and those of the allies who had been enrolled by Marius. A tribune was prevailed upon to oppose the measure; but Saturninus disregarded the opposition. The gods were made to remonstrate. "It has thundered!" the senators sent word. "Let them beware!" rejoined Saturninus; "after the thunder there may be hail!" The quaestor Caepio, who probably was the son of the proconsul recently disgraced, finally had recourse to the method now become habitual; with the aid of an armed band he broke the urns and scattered the votes. But the veterans of Marius gathered, drove the nobles out of the Forum, and the law was passed. Upon this Marius immediately assembled the Senate, sharply censured the law, and pledged himself to refuse the oath. When, however, five days later, the senators were called upon to present themselves in the temple of Saturn and have their oaths registered by the quaestor, the consul was the first to obey, under the pretext that the act was necessary in order to prevent an outbreak among the rustic tribes, but asserting that this concession, obtained by violence and impiety, might at any time be declared invalid. The other senators followed his example, Metellus alone remaining faithful to the previous agreement, that the oath should be refused. This conduct of Metellus had been anticipated, and Saturninus immediately demanded the fine. Metellus either could not or would not pay it; and when a crowd of his friends prepared to take arms in his defence, he objected, saying that not one drop of blood should be shed on his account; and he withdrew from the city. Whereupon a decree of the people condemned him to exile.

Marius had obtained the gratification of his ambition and of his hate; his enemy, Numidicus, fled before him; the populace still applauded him; his veterans gave him a blind devotion; the inefficiency of his colleague gave him the entire consular authority; Saturninus gave him that of the tribuneship, and Glaucia of the praetorship. His power, therefore, was absolute; and what did he do with it? Here his political incapacity was revealed.¹



TEMPLE OF SATURN.²

He had no projects, he set on foot no reforms, he took no initiative; but he left Saturninus and Glaucia so free to act that they soon took the lead, and he remained himself in doubt whether he was for the Senate and the nobles, whom he did not love, or for the people, whom he despised. In character an aristocrat, he

¹ *C. Marius homo varii et mutabilis ingenii consiliique semper secundum fortunam.* (Livy, *Epit.* lxii.)

² Restoration by M. Dutert, of the *École des Beaux-Arts*.

was by habit and position a democrat; and he remained inactive between the two factions, seeking to deceive both, and in this double game losing his own honor and the respect of his fellow-citizens. This selfish policy bore its fruits; the day came when the conqueror of Jugurtha and of the Cimbri found himself alone, abandoned by all, in the same city which had once resounded with the noise of his triumphs.

Saturninus had been at first only an instrument; the weakness of Marius soon emboldened him to work for his own interests. His designs have never been clearly understood; perhaps he had none. His policy, it is certain, was shaped from day to day, like that of his former patron. He was constantly surrounded by foreigners and Italians; and on one occasion they were heard to salute him by the title of king.¹ In his public harangues he constantly inveighed against the venality of the nobles; and to accredit his denunciations he publicly insulted the envoys of Mithridates, at the risk of bringing on a formidable war, accusing them of buying the senators with gifts of money. He also evoked the memory of the Gracchi, presenting to the people a pretended son of Tiberius, who had been, he said, brought up in concealment since his father's murder. The widow of Scipio Aemilianus appeared publicly in the Forum and denied the claims of this stranger who was asserted to be her nephew. The populace, however, refused to accept this decisive testimony, and the adventurer, who was, in truth, a runaway slave, was elected tribune.²



COIN OF LUCIUS
APULEIUS SAT-
URNINUS.³

Saturninus desired to obtain a re-election himself, and to have Glaucia, who was always involved in his plans, raised to the consular office. He succeeded for himself; but the great orator, Marcus Antonius, obtained one consulship, and Memmius, also a distinguished man, the tribune of the year 111, would have obtained the other, had not the band of Saturninus rushed upon him in the Forum and beaten him to death.

This outrage roused the whole city; and the wealthy class,

¹ Flor., iii. 16.

² *Ille ex compedibus atque ergastulo Gracchus.* (Cic., *pro Rabirio*, 7.)

³ L. SATVRN. (Lucius Saturninus). an M, a monetary symbol, and Saturn in a quadriga, holding a sickle. Reverse of a denarius of the Apuleian family, attributed to Lucius Apuleius Saturninus.

terrified at the acts of violence which the demagogue had incited, gathered around the Senate, urging Marius to act with severity against the guilty persons. It is said that while the senatorial chiefs were assembled at his house, Saturninus came thither also; and that the consul, going from one room to the other under divers pretexts, listened to the complaints of both parties at once, temporizing with both.¹ This story is very probably fictitious; but the consul's double-dealing cannot be denied.

An act of baseness on his part soon after may be regarded as an attempt to regain public confidence. During the night of the 10th of December, the day on which the tribunes entered upon the duties of their office, Glaucia, Saturninus, the false Gracchus, and Saufeius, the quaestor, seized the Capitol. Upon this the Senate uttered its formula, *Caveant consules*. The nobles armed themselves, and even the aged ex-consul Scaevola was seen, "a virile soul in a decayed body," supporting his feeble steps with a javelin, and marching to defend the laws. Marius, borne along by the general excitement, joined in besieging his late accomplices; and to get the better of them without fighting, he cut off the water-supply of the Capitol. The conspirators, relying upon his protection, surrendered, and were by his orders confined in the senate-house. It is possible he may have hoped to save their lives; but if it were so, his intention was defeated. Some of the crowd climbed upon the roof of the building, and tearing off the tiles, pelted to death the two tribunes, the quaestor, and Glaucia, all still wearing their insignia of office. As usual, this first shedding of blood was quickly followed by more, and many persons were slain. Whether aristocratic or popular, a party that has once tasted blood craves for it. A Roman senator, Rabirius (100), took the place of public executioner, cutting off the head of Saturninus, and bearing it through the city upon the point of a pike. The exploit brought him much honor at the time; but, thirty-seven years later, it caused him to be summoned before a tribunal by a partisan of Julius Caesar, Labienus, whose uncle had perished on this day.

With a party consisting only of the proletariat,—those ignorant and miserable masses, in whose souls are forever fermenting

¹ Plut., *Marius*, 32.

implacable hates and burning lusts and blind frenzies,—a leader can destroy, but he can never build up. This Saturninus experienced, finding the same end as Sulpicius, Cinna, Clodius, and so many other demagogues in all ages and all lands. By this catastrophe Marius himself lost, and justly, whatever popularity remained to him.

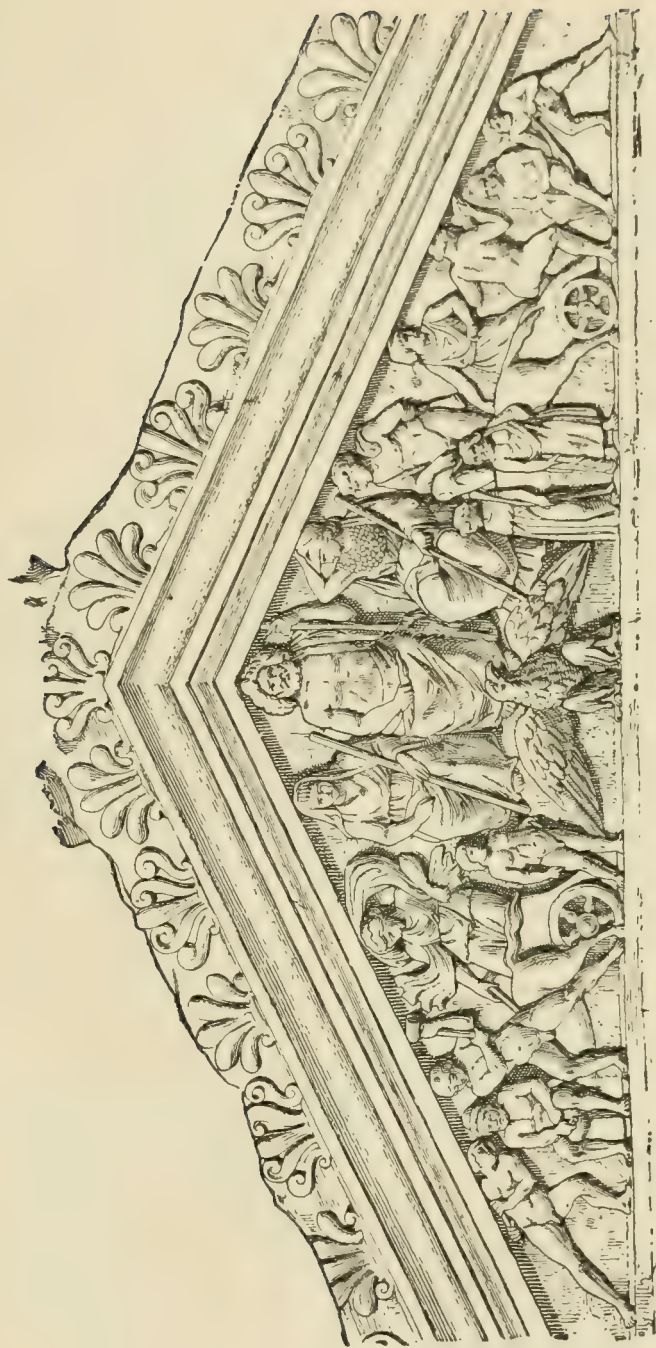
He strove in vain to arrest the reactionary movement. Instigated by him, Furius, the son of a freedman who had, notwith-



AQUEDUCT NEAR SMYRNA.¹

standing his ignoble birth, attained the tribuneship, opposed his veto to the return of Metellus, which had been proposed. Upon the expiration of his office he was arraigned and torn in pieces by a hired mob, who would not even allow him to make his defence. “Thus,” says Appian, “each time the comitia met, the assembly was stained with blood.” A man who talked of an agrarian law, and who kept in his house a portrait of Saturninus,

¹ De Laborde, *Voyage en Asie mineure*, pl. 66A.



PEDIMENT OF THE CAPITOL.¹

¹ A bas-relief from the Palace of the Conservators (at Rome), representing a sacrifice offered by Marcus Aurelius, shows on its background a pediment, which, according to Brunn, is that of the fourth temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. (*Annales de l'Institut archéologique*, 1851, p. 289.) [We give the design of the pediment.]



was banished; the same penalty was decreed in the case of Decianus, who had deplored the murder of the accomplice of Marius.¹ The knights, in the exercise of their judicial functions, avenged themselves for the terror which the poorer class had caused, not merely to the Senate, but to all men of property. At last, conquered by the tears and prayers of the younger Metellus, who that day gained the surname of *Pius*, the people pronounced sentence of recall in the case of Numidicus. He was at Smyrna, and in the theatre, when the messengers arrived; and he waited calmly till the performance was over before he opened the letters which had been brought him. An immense crowd welcomed his return to Rome, giving him almost a triumphal entry into the city (99). Marius was unwilling to witness the return of his rival; and making pretext of sacrifices vowed to Cybele, set off for Asia. He also cherished the hope of bringing about the rupture between Mithridates and the Republic which Saturninus had provoked by his insults to the

MARS AND VENUS.²

¹ Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 33; Cic., *de Orat.* ii. 11, *de Leg.* ii. 12, *pro Rabirio*, 9.

² Museum of the Capitol. (Clarac, *Mus.* pl. 634, No. 1,428.) This group, in Pentelic marble, was found in 1750 near Ostia, in the *Isola sacra*. Venus wears the Latin diadem, the tunic, and the pallium.

envoys. Marius had need of a war to recover his importance (98). He said of himself, "They regard me as a sword, which rusts in time of peace."¹

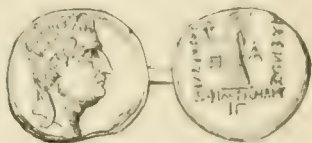
There was now for some time a semblance of repose. The death of Saturninus, and Marius' voluntary exile, served as a warning to those whom ambition tempted to the career of demagogues. For six years the tribunes had been supreme; never had so many popular laws been passed in so short a time; and still the people did not awake from their apathetic indifference. It was plain that the popular party had ceased to exist, and that the tribunate of Saturninus was the last serious attempt that would ever be made to reconstruct it. His laws were now repealed, his colonies reduced to one feeble settlement in Corsica; and of these famous tribuneships there was left only a stain of blood on the floor of the Curia Hostilia, the ruin of a great reputation, and the well-established certainty that nothing could be done with the Roman rabble. From this time forward, instead of plebeians there were soldiers, instead of tribunes there were generals, and civil wars instead of riots in the Forum. Mars, in the depths of his sanctuary, might well shake his spear.²

For the moment the aristocratic party seemed again victorious. At home, all the efforts of the popular faction had failed. In order to prevent the tribunes from obtaining advantages from enactments whose import was not thoroughly understood, a consular law in 98, the *Caccilia-Didia*, revived the provision that laws must be announced three *nundinae* before they were voted upon; at the same time it was forbidden (by the *lex Saturnia*) that any law should be proposed of which the clauses referred to matters essentially different, as had been done by Saturninus, and earlier by Licinius Stolo in 367. It is probable that the reaction went even farther than existing documents prove. The closing of the schools

¹ Plut., *Mar.* 33.

² Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.* iv. 6) has preserved the following senatus-consultum of the year 99: "Julius, son of Lucius, the pontifex maximus, having made known that the spears of Mars in the sanctuary of the *regia* had been shaken without human agency, it was decreed by the Senate that the consul M. Antonius should appease Jupiter and Mars by the offering of great sacrifices; that he should also sacrifice to whatever other divinities he might deem it needful to conciliate; that whatever he should do should be approved; and that if it should be deemed indispensable to multiply the number of victims, offerings should be made to the god Robigus." This divinity was the protector of harvests.

by the censor Crassus, a great orator, who made it his boast that he was in no way indebted to Greek influence, indicates that the old Roman party was more resolute than ever in opposing all innovations. Men were beginning to understand that those who have charge of the education of the young hold the future in their hands; and Crassus refused to allow the future to be intrusted to those Greek rhetoricians who had destroyed the Latin schools, and were giving to the Roman youth ideas that their fathers had not known.¹

ARIOBARZANES.²

In foreign affairs the resolute and efficient policy of the Senate inspired respect and compelled general obedience. In the year 92 Sylla re-established Ariobarzanes on the throne of Cappadocia, and received an embassy from the King of the Parthians with the same haughtiness that Marius had shown at the court of Mithridates. "Prince," he said, "either endeavor to become more powerful than the Romans, or else obey them without murmuring."

III. — TRIBUNESHIP OF LIVIUS DRUSUS (91).

THUS at home and abroad the horizon seemed clearer. Livius Drusus, a man of noble rank, judged it a favorable time to bring forward again, together with other ideas, the project of the Gracchi to reform the constitution. He was a son of that Drusus whose efforts against Caius Gracchus had been rewarded by the title of *princeps Senatus*, while his popular laws had given him the name of the people's friend. By birth and position Livius Drusus was a

¹ Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.* xv. 11): "It has been reported to us that certain men are establishing a new kind of instruction, and that our youth frequent their schools. We are informed that these men assume the title of Latin rhetoricians, and that the youth, going daily to their houses, remain there in idleness the entire day. Our ancestors decided in respect to the schools their sons should attend and the lessons they should learn. These innovations, contrary to the customs and usages of our ancestors, displease us, and seem to us not good. We have therefore felt it our duty to make known our opinion on this matter to teachers and pupils. It displeases us." The censors, not having the imperium, uttered no commands; but the words *nobis non placere* had the weight of an authoritative censure and a condemnation to which the praetor or the aediles would give effect.

² Diademed head of Ariobarzanes. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΡΩΜΑΙΟΥ ΙΓ' (13), and two monograms. Pallas standing, holding a Victory. Silver coin of Ariobarzanes, struck in the thirteenth year of his reign.

conservative, but one of those conservatives who believe that the best way to protect established institutions is not to raise too high the dikes which great inundations are sure in the end to sweep away, but rather, by reducing them on occasion, to avoid violent catastrophes. It was, therefore, by no means from hatred to the aristocratic party that he proposed his reforms; his enlight-

ened mind looked beyond the interests of any one class. He endeavored to solve the twofold problem which had for forty years agitated the contending parties in Rome, namely, to reconcile the Senate and the people, and to transform the municipal institutions of the city into the constitution of an empire, now that the masters of a city and its suburbs had become masters of the world. For the colossal destiny of the republic, a broad and deep foundation was needed; and since this change was imper-



TERRACOTTA FIGURINE FROM THE CYRENAICA.¹

atively called for by circumstances, the man who endeavored to bring it about must be regarded as a clear-sighted patriot.

The Gracchi had been reproached with giving two heads to the state, by conferring upon the equestrian order the entire judicial authority.—an authority which they had lately disgraced by their condemnation of the upright Rutilius. Drusus, being elected

¹ Aphrodite and Eros. (Heuzey, *Les figurines de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre*, pl. xli. fig. 1.)

tribune in 91, abandoned this arrangement.¹ For the purpose of strengthening the aristocracy, — the conservative element, that is to say, — Drusus proposed to restore the judicial authority to the senators; and he set on foot an investigation in respect to venality.² At the same time he proposed the admission into the Senate of three hundred persons of the equestrian order. For the purpose of raising the democracy, the element of strength, and in the hope of relieving the destitution of the lower classes, he proposed distributions of corn, and also promised them lands in Italy and Sicily; while to the allies he wished to give citizenship. "Let us bestow everything," he said to his friends among the aristocracy, "that there may be nothing left which can be divided save air and earth, *coenum et coelum*."³ Then there will be no more chance for demagogues to stir up the people with promises." Wherein, however, Drusus deceived himself; for demagogues are always ready with promises, and the multitude have always faith enough to believe them.

Following the example of Licinius Stolo, the tribune incorporated all these provisions, except the citizenship of the allies, into a single bill. This was contrary to the law passed a few years before, forbidding heterogeneous proposals (*per saturam*); it was, however, a secure method to obtain the success of the measure, since it pleased the majority of voters, who cared nothing for politics, and were only eager to secure the increased distribution of corn. Each of his laws, indeed, offended a section of the nation: the Senate, who were unwilling to receive the three hundred knights into their number; the knights, whom nothing could compensate for the loss of the *judicia*; and the poor, who cared neither

¹ These incessant changes in the Roman judiciary prove that justice had become a sovereign injustice in the republic, since it was only necessary for a class to gain possession of the judicial functions in order to become supreme in the state.

² App., *Bell. civ.* i. 35. According to Livy (*Epit.* lxx.), it was his plan to compose the tribunals of both senators and knights in equal numbers, which was fundamentally the same thing.

³ Flor., iii. 17, and *De Vir.* ill. 66. But so much extravagance exhausted the treasury, and Drusus was driven to the expedient of debasing the currency. Accepting the common theory of his time, that the state was able to give by its stamp what value it pleased, Drusus established the rule of coinage that out of every eight denarii minted, one should be of silvered bronze. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 18.) Nor should we blame him too severely for this; the theory that money need not have a real value corresponding to that which is given it as a circulating medium lasted long in Europe, and as late as the fourteenth century France made bitter experience of its fallacy.

for changes in the constitution, nor for the establishment of colonies, which meant the obligation to work for their living. And it was clear to all that Drusus aimed still further at the elevation of the subjects to equality with their masters; while among the allies themselves much anxiety was felt about the colonies promised to the Roman poor, which could be founded only at their expense. The great Etruscan and Umbrian landowners, especially,¹ cared far less for the citizenship offered them than for the territory of which they might be deprived. The other Italians,



JUPITER CAPITOLINUS.²

however, attached themselves to Drusus as their last hope, and crowded about him. Secret meetings were held, and a plan of action determined upon. In short, it was really a conspiracy, not very consistent with that house of glass in which Drusus had once expressed himself as willing to live under the eyes of his fellow-citizens. His care for his own interests appears in the oath which each conspirator was required to take: ³ "By Jupiter Capitolinus, by the Roman penates, by Hercules, by the sun and the earth, . . . by the demigods who founded the Roman state, by the heroes who built it up, I swear that I will have the same friends and foes with Drusus, that I will spare neither substance nor parent nor child, nor life of any so it be not for the good of Drusus and of those who have taken this oath; that if by the laws of Drusus I become a citizen, I will hold Rome as my country and Drusus as my greatest benefactor." During an illness of the tribune the devotion of the allies was unmistakable, all the Italian cities offering solemn prayers for his recovery, as if on him alone depended their welfare.

We can hardly believe that the formula of the oath given above was a forgery prepared by the adversaries of Drusus to ruin him in his lifetime or to dishonor him after his death; but, on the other hand, we are not obliged to conclude from it that the tribune was meditating a revolution. He had undertaken a great work, to which the aristocratic and wealthy classes were bitterly opposed; to succeed, he had need of fellow-workers, and he naturally sought them among the persons interested, and formed

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* i. 36.

² CAPITOLINUS. A silver coin of the Petillian family.

³ Diocl., xxxvii. 11. Livy (*Epit.* lxxi.) speaks also of *coitus, conjurationesque et orationes in concilio populi*.

them into an organized force. From their tombs the Gracchi warned him that he must protect himself, and this he did. His method was doubtless a dangerous one, for he incurred the risk of being impelled against his will to desperate extremities.

About this time the Marsian, Pompeidius Silo, a friend of Drusus, gathered a band, whose numbers fear or hate have exaggerated to ten thousand; these men, it was said, carried concealed weapons, and, led by Silo, advanced through by-ways upon Rome, with the intention of surrounding the senate-house and compelling the senators to grant citizenship to the allies, or, failing that, of ravaging the city with fire and sword.¹ On the way Silo was met by the ex-consul, Domitius, who inquired why this crowd followed him. "I am going to Rome, whither the tribune bids us come," was the answer of Pompeidius. Upon the positive assurances of Domitius that the Senate were voluntarily about to do justice to the allies, he was persuaded to dismiss his followers. If a word was enough to dispel their anger and break up their design, it is plain that neither was in any respect formidable.

Men's minds, however, were greatly excited at Rome, as is shown by subsequent events, and also by an anecdote related of Cato (of Utica), at that time a child four years old. Brought up in the house of his uncle, Livius Drusus, and accustomed to hear angry discussions about the rights of the allies, the boy had already taken sides with the aristocratic faction. Pompeidius Silo, being at his uncle's house one day, said to him, "Will you not beg your uncle to help us in obtaining the citizenship?" and the child refusing, Pompeidius seized him and held him out of a window, saying, "Promise me you will, or I shall let you fall." But the boy continued silent, and Pompeidius was obliged to release him. The story is generally cited to show the resolute character of Cato; but if it be true, the chief point to be noticed is the reflection in this fierce young soul of the passions of an oligarchy who could not brook that Italian nobles should become their rivals for the consulship, or the Italian poor swell the tumults of the Forum.

The city was now divided into two hostile factions of very unequal strength, the partisans of the Italians on the one hand,

¹ Διενοεῖτο δὲ περιστῆσαι τῇ συγκλήτῳ τὰ ὅπλα . . . ἢ μὴ, πυρὶ καὶ σιδηρῷ, κ.τ.λ. (Diod., xxxvii. 13.)

and on the other a part of the nobles and nearly all the rich citizens of Rome. The equestrian order were the class most actively opposed to the Livian law, for by it they would have lost the judicial positions which rendered them masters of the aristocracy; they would have been deprived also of their monopoly of the world's commerce, since the Italians, on becoming citizens, would have been in a position to dispute this advantage with them; and, finally, the investigations threatened by the tribune were a perpetual danger to the unjust judges so numerous in their ranks, and even a possible peril to every person who had presided



PHILIPPUS.¹

over a tribunal. The Senate, meanwhile, remained in the background, as it had been wont to do in every crisis since the time of the Gracchi. In general, however, the senators were favorable to Drusus, who would restore to them the *judicia*; and if we may believe a doubtful anecdote, they showed him a deference which justified the tribune's inordinate pride. Being on one

occasion in the Forum, Drusus received a message from the Senate requesting his attendance at their place of meeting. "They may come to me," he said, "in the Curia Hostilia, near the rostra;" and the Senate obeyed. He gave them great offence by doubling their number; but it was advisable for them to show good-will toward the man who, in restoring to them the judicial offices, "plucked them from those ferocious beasts who thirsted for their blood."²

The equestrian order had summoned to Rome numerous bands of Etruscans and Umbrians, which the landowners willingly furnished; and they could count upon the aid of the consul, Marcius Philippus. This person, "variable and inconsistent," but especially violent, had, in 104, when tribune, proposed an agrarian law, and had uttered those famous words that are the justification of the Gracchi.³ Later he had shown himself one of the bitterest persecutors of Saturninus; and now, a personal enemy of Drusus, he reproached the Senate with their inactivity, declaring that it was

¹ L. PHILIPPVS. Equestrian statue; below, the sign of the denarius. Reverse of a coin of the Marcian family.

² The words are those of Cassius, in support of the law of Servilius Caepio, who, in 106, restored the judgeships to the Senate. (Cic., *de Orat.*, i. 52; *Brut.*, 43.)

³ See p. 549.

impossible to carry on the government with such a body of men, and that there was need of a new Senate. This unbecoming outbreak on the part of the first magistrate of a republic against its chief assembly produced an indignant burst of eloquence from Crassus; and amid the acclamations of the nobles the following declaration was passed as a resolution: "The wisdom of the Senate has never been found wanting to the republic." "It was a swan's song," says Cicero. While speaking, Crassus was attacked with a pain in the side; fever supervened, and a week later he was dead.

This "swan's song" of the dying Roman was a noble but useless utterance; on both sides violent acts continued. On the day when the Livian law was under discussion, Philippus would have put a stop to the voting; but an officer in attendance on Drusus seized him by the throat with such violence that the blood spurted from his mouth and eyes. "It is only the gravy of thrushes," sneered the tribune, making reference to the sumptuous banquets in which Philippus delighted. The law was passed, and now it might have been supposed that the struggle was over; on the contrary, it recommenced with more bitterness than ever. As soon as the Senate were established in the judgeships they allowed the other clauses of the bill to be attacked. "I might well oppose your decrees," the tribune said; "but I shall not

do so, for I am sure that those who commit wrong will soon be punished for it. Consider, however, that in abolishing my law you abolish also the provision concerning the judiciary which insures the safety of honest men and the punishment of the guilty. Be careful, then, lest through hatred of me you disarm yourselves."¹ The Senate hesitated, and the knights had recourse to the method usual in revolutions. One evening, when Drusus was on his way



LICTOR (BAS-RELIEF OF THE VATICAN).

¹ Diodorus (xxxii. 10) cannot fix exactly the date of the tribuneship of Drusus.

home, surrounded by a crowd of his clients, he was suddenly struck down. The assassin made his escape, leaving his dagger in the wound, which proved to be mortal. "Oh, my friends!" cried the dying tribune, "when will the republic again find a citizen like myself?"¹ Some time before this, at the Latin festival, the Italian conspirators were intending to kill the consul; but in consequence of a warning from Drusus, Philippus escaped (91).

Again a reformer had been slain; and this time the financial oligarchy were responsible for the murder. A few months later a tribune of the aristocratic faction extolled this deed of violence. Political morals had indeed fallen very low when, not content with their victim's life, the conservative party openly justified the assassination. It is needless to say that no search was made for the murderer. The knights [or rather, the consul Philippus] took advantage of the consternation caused by this event to compel the Senate to use that singular privilege which the Conscript Fathers had always claimed,—the right of dispensing with the observance of any given law; and the following decree was promulgated: "It seems good to the Senate that the people should not be held to obey the laws of Drusus," as being contrary to the provision of the Caecilian-Didian law. At the same time an agent of the Senate, the tribune Varius Hybrida, a native of Sucro, son of a Roman father and Spanish mother, proposed a law making it treason for any citizen to favor the claims of the allies, and for any Italian to attempt to take part in Roman affairs. The tribunes opposed this, employing their veto; but the knights, drawing swords hidden under their mantles, compelled the acceptance of the Varian law.² The Senate may have then remembered the prophetic words of Drusus. The most illustrious of the senators were soon after accused. Bestia, C. Cotta, Mummius, Pompeius Rufus, and Memmius were banished or went voluntarily into exile. Scaurus himself was accused by Varius. His sole reply was as follows: "The Spaniard, Q. Varius, accuses Scaurus, prince of the Senate, of having excited the allies to revolt; Aemilius Scaurus,

¹ See p. 560.

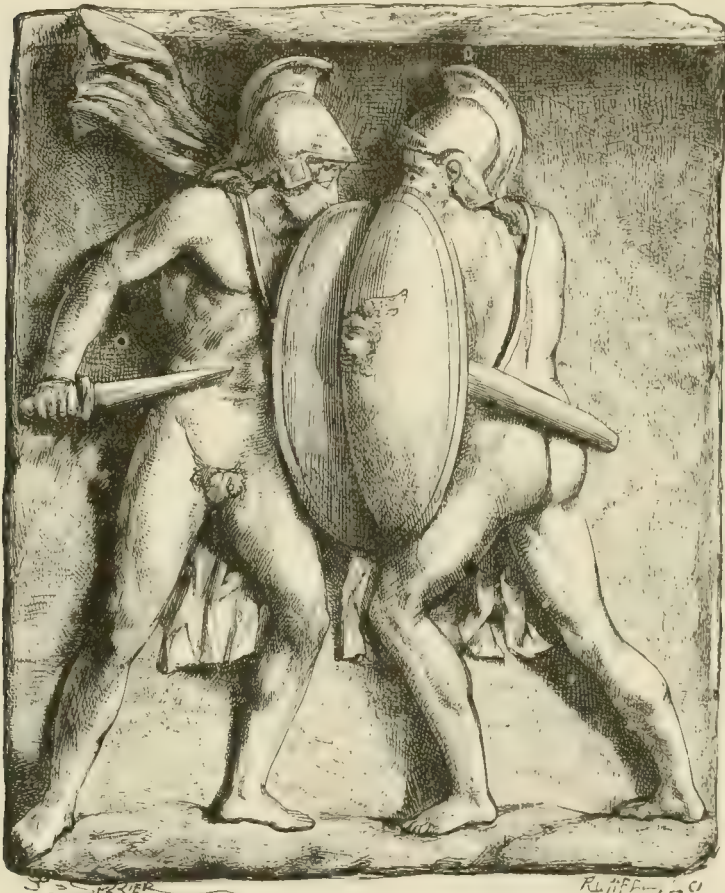
² The law of *perduellio*, which condemned the traitor to death, had become obsolete. (Cic., *pro Rab.* 3.) The *lex majestatis* of Varius imposed only the penalty of exile. Cicero (*de Invent.* ii. 7) thus defines the crime of *majestas*: *Majestatem minuere est, de dignitate aut amplitudine, aut potestate populi, aut eorum quibus potestatem dedit aliquid derogare.* Saturninus had passed a law concerning treason, but we know nothing of it.

prince of the Senate, denies the charge. Which of the two will you believe?"

The breaking out of the Social war brought to a close these acts of vengeance on the part of the equestrian order, for it was a tempest that threatened to sweep away everything, — people, nobles, and even the state itself.¹

¹ [The Varian tribunal continued sitting and condemning after all other courts were closed by the war; and it was the panic caused by this great crisis, not any abnormal power or fierceness in the knights, which caused the exile of so many important senators. They were, no doubt, the moderate liberals who had, at least for some time, favored Drusus. (Cf. the clear narrative in Neumann, *Verfall der röm. Republik*, p. 475, *seq.*). — *Ed.*]

² Bas-relief in the Museum of the Louvre. (Clarac, *Musée*, p. 194, No. 217.)



COMBATANTS.²

CHAPTER XLII.

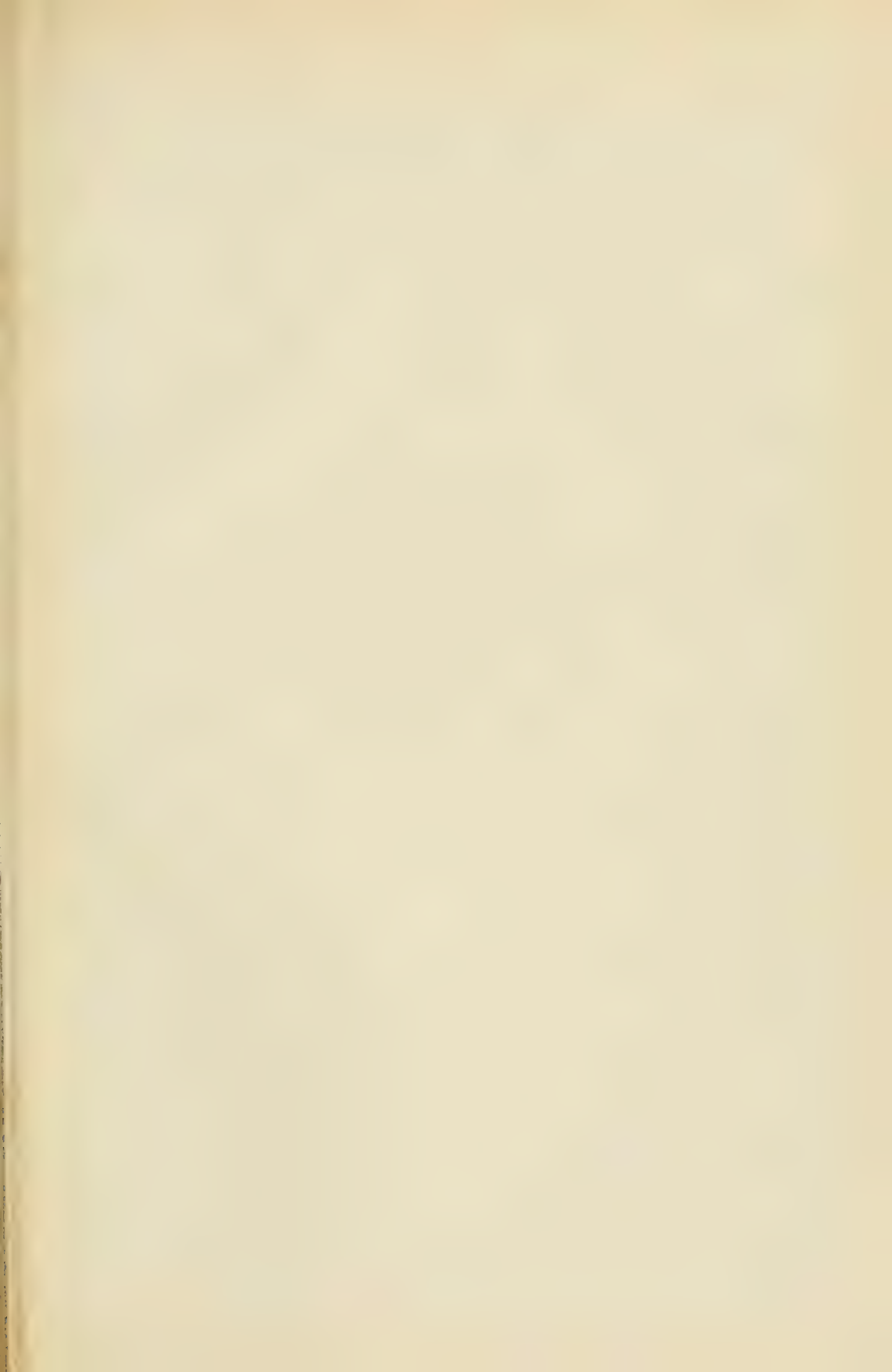
THE SOCIAL WAR.

I. — CONDITION OF THE ITALIANS.

IN the conquest of the Italian states, Rome had profited by those municipal hatreds which always prevent cities from making concerted resistance; to secure their obedience after the conquest, she had still further increased, by the inequality of the conditions imposed upon them, the old jealousies springing from diversities of origin, language, and religion. The plan succeeded; and, as we have seen, the fidelity of the Italians had resisted the severest tests. But the allies shared the fate of the Roman plebeians: so long as they were deemed needful, they were treated with consideration; but as soon as they became useless they were despised.

The Roman aristocracy, who had allied themselves with the *noblesse* of all the Italian cities, had drawn many of the latter to Rome by the agreement that whoever had held a municipal office at home, or had left behind him a son to take his place in his own city, should acquire the *jus civitatis*, on coming to reside at Rome.¹ When all the nobles of the municipia had thus left their native towns, the obscure crowd remaining were of no account. The treaties regulating their privileges and the distinctions established among their cities were forgotten. They who at Rome no longer had any respect for the "sovereign people," could not be expected to respect the rights of the vanquished. All differences among the Italians were practically effaced by one common oppression; and although the words colony, municipium, prefecture,

¹ *Hi qui vel magistratum (the duumvirate) vel honorem (the aedileship or the quaestorship) gerunt, ad civitatem Romanam perveniunt.* (Gaius, i. 96, and Pliny, *Pan.* 39.) A third means of obtaining citizenship, accorded later to the Latins, was to convict a Roman magistrate of extortion; but it was not the nobility who had created this privilege.





ITALY FOR THE SOCIAL WAR AND THE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN MARIUS AND SYLLA

and the like, continued to exist, and corresponded to what had been real distinctions, the whole Italian world, from a political point of view, was simply divided into two great classes, — those who were, and those who were not, Roman citizens.¹

Within the Roman frontier there was law (*legitima judicia*); outside of it all was arbitrary and despotic (*dominium*). Praeneste was free, and treaties had guaranteed her entire independence. But a private individual, Postumius, who went thither to sacrifice in the temple of Fortune,² felt himself aggrieved because he had not been received with public honors; and, becoming consul some time after, avenged himself for the fancied slight by laying upon the citizens an onerous and humiliating tax.³ Locris was an allied city, and the conduct of Pleminius there was notorious. Cales, Teanum, and Ferentinum were early colonies, with the rank of municipia. But listen

THE GODDESS FORTUNE.⁴

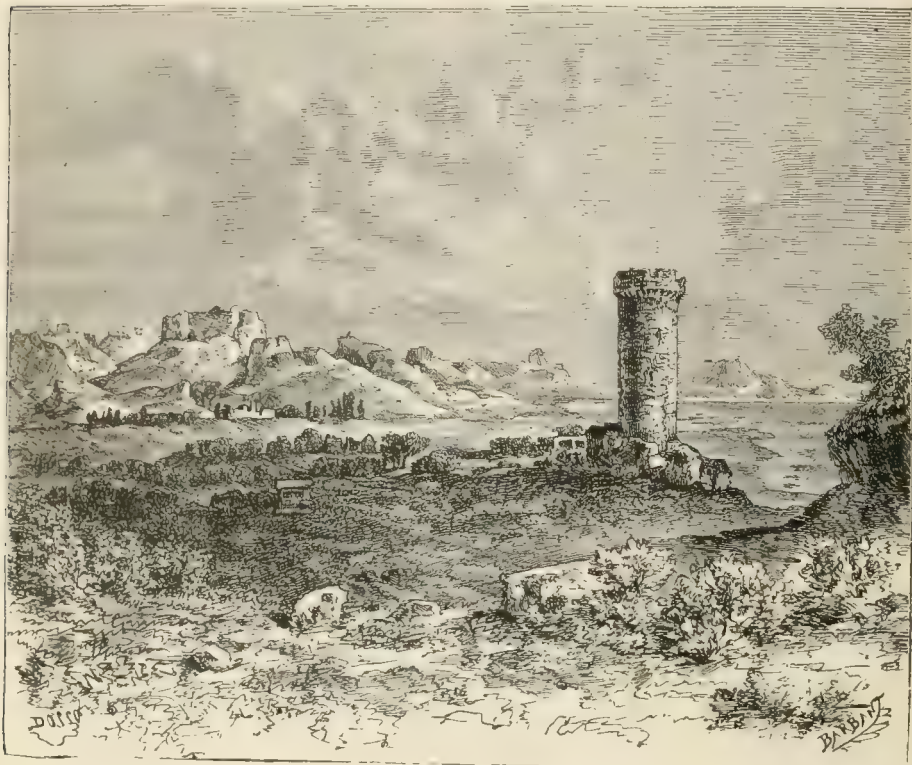
¹ Sallust (*Catil.* 12) says: *Ignavissimi homines, per summam scelus omnia ea sociis adimere quae fortissimi viri victores hostibus reliquerant*; and Cicero (*de Off.* ii. 21): *Tanta sublati legibus et judiciis, expilatio dirptionque sociorum, ut imbecillitate aliorum, non nostra virtute valeamus.*

² See this temple. Vol. I. p. 376.

³ Livy, xlii. 1; cf. *ib.*, xlii. 3; Val. Max., I. i. 20. Cicero contended against this abuse (*de Leg.* iii. 8; Livy, xxxiv. 44).

⁴ *Museo Pio Clementino*, ii. pl. 12. Statue of Luna marble found at Rome near Trajan's

to what Caius Gracchus relates from the rostra: "Recently our consul was at Teanum with his wife, and the latter expressed a desire to go to the men's baths in that city. The quaestor ordered M. Marius to have the baths cleared at once for the gratification of her wish. A slight delay, however, ensued, the matron became angry, and the consul ordered his lictors



RUINS OF LOCRI.¹

to seize Marius, to tear off his garments, to bind him to a post in the open market-place, and to beat him with rods—Marius, the first citizen of the town! At the news of this the inhabitants of Cales forbade by edict the use of the public baths so long as a Roman magistrate should be in the town. At

Forum. The cornucopia carried by this figure, and the rudder resting between a wheel and a ball at her feet, have caused her to be regarded as the Goddess Fortune, the divinity who bestows wealth, but who rules capriciously. She wears on her head a Phrygian *pileus* surmounted by a tower, and from this circumstance is thought to represent the Phrygian Fortune.

¹ *Ann. de l'Inst. archéol.* vol. ii. pp. 3-12.

Ferentinum, for a similar cause, our praetor ordered the arrest of the quaestors, one of whom threw himself off the walls of the city, and the other, being taken, was beaten with rods."

The custom of so-called *liberae legationes* caused the allies great expense. Any senator wishing to travel for his own business or pleasure, might obtain a "mission," that is, the right of having all his travelling expenses paid by the allies through whose towns



FERENTINUM.¹

he might pass. And they were esteemed fortunate if they did not suffer in other ways from his caprice or pride. Again we have an incident related by Caius Gracchus: an inhabitant of Venusia, meeting a young man borne in a litter, said, laughing, to the bearers: "Is that a corpse you are carrying there?" And the jest cost him his life. The words were of evil omen to a Roman ear, and the traveller, to obviate the presage, made the

¹ Dodwell, *Pelasgic Remains*, pl. 99. The base of the wall is Pelasgic, and the upper part, with the arch, Roman.

speaker expiate the offence with his life. In an allied city, which Cato does not specify, an ex-consul, Q. Thermus, on pretext that negligence had been shown in supplying him with provisions, caused all the magistrates, who were men of good family and distinguished merit, to be publicly beaten with rods. "And what," says the wise censor, "do you imagine was the resentment that they felt, they and their fellow-citizens, witnesses of this outrage?" "But," says Cicero, "we seek to inspire fear rather than affection." In 183 the inhabitants of Naples disputed with those of Nola in respect to a certain territory. Q. Fabius Labeo, the consul, being selected as arbiter, assigned the lands in dispute to the Roman people. Legally this may have been justifiable; but politically it was the height of injustice.¹

Acts like these did not occur constantly, or in all places. In many cases, on the contrary, the relations between the citizens and the allies were most friendly, and treaties of an oppressive character were not executed to the letter; first, because no authority was expressly charged to see to their execution, and secondly, since the public necessity which originally imposed them seemed no longer to exist, private interests had free scope, and transactions were possible which had been at first prohibited. On one occasion, for instance, the Italian troops and those of Rome fraternized for a moment, like kindred meeting again after long separation.² But the few excesses committed here and there were enough to prove that they might be committed everywhere; and the more thoughtful Italians said to themselves that however favorably situated any of them might seem to be, no city had any guaranty against the tyranny of a Roman magistrate or the insolence of a citizen. The Roman government itself showed clearly that it was influenced by no respect for the rights of the allies. The Senate's decree concerning the Bacchanalia violated their religious liberty, as the Didian and Sempronian laws regulating the expenses of festivals and fixing limits in regard to usury, interfered with the civil rights.³ It was manifest to all

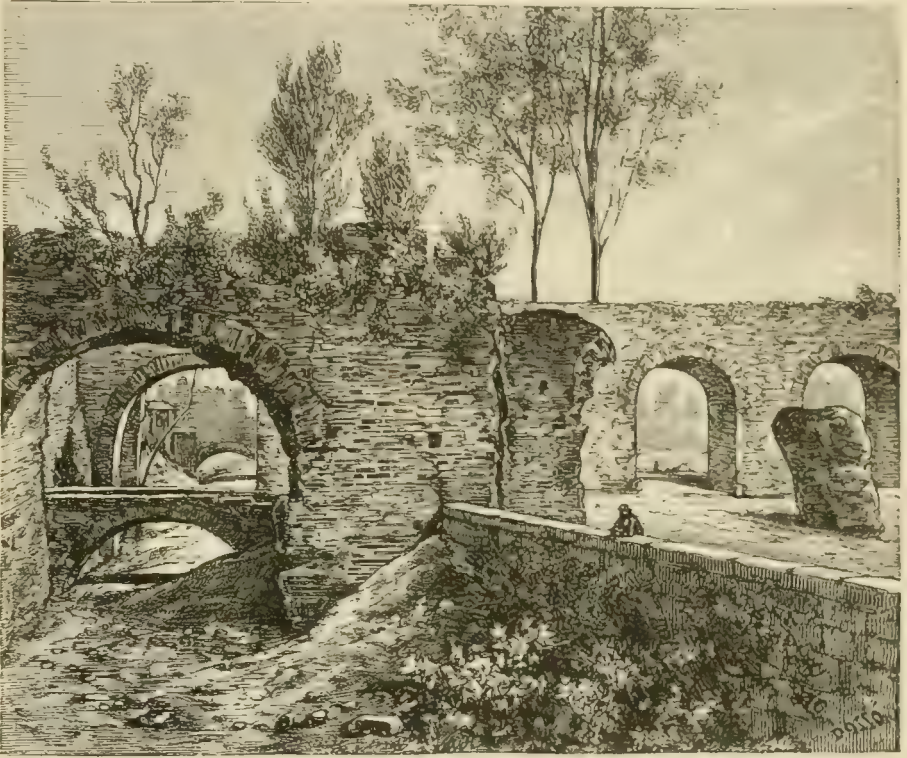
¹ Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* x. 3; *de Off.* ii. 8; *de Off.* i. 10; Val. Max., vii. 3, 4.

² Οἱ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις στρατιῶται . . . , συχνοὺς οἰκείους καὶ συγγενεῖς κατενόουν, οὓς ὁ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας νόμος ἐπεποιήκει κοινωνῆσαι τῆς τοιαύτης φιλίας. (Diod., xxxviii. 15.) See p. 594.

³ Didius extended the sumptuary law of Fannius to all Italy, and Sempronius did the same

that, notwithstanding the diversity in titles, there existed in Italy the two great classes, — the sovereign people, and the subject people; and that the former consulted their own interests solely, in all their dealings with the latter.

Moreover, another serious hardship fell upon the Italians. Since the middle class at Rome had ceased to exist, the burden of all the wars undertaken by the Republic fell upon the allies: while



NAPLES; ARCADE OF THE AQUEDUCT CALLED PONTI ROSSI.

their soldiers, twice as numerous as the Roman force, were scornfully excluded from the legions, and were sometimes not allowed to share in the pillage after a victory, or in the distributions that followed a triumph;¹ and at best they received less than was given to the legionaries. In self-sacrifices, devotion, and death they had equal share; but in honors and rewards they were made to feel

in regulating usury. It often happened that the *socii* accepted the civil laws of Rome. (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 8.)

¹ At the triumph of C. Claudius Pulcher, in 177, the allied soldiers received but half as much as was bestowed upon the legionaries. (Livy, xli. 13.)

their inferiority. Their chiefs were Romans; and yet the greatest generals of the day, Marius and Scipio, preferred the Italian soldiers to the Roman legionaries. Their blood paid for the world's conquest; but of the world's plunder they were denied their share.

The legal rights of the allies were also very limited. Most of them were not at liberty to engage in traffic or acquire land outside the little territory belonging to each city. The praetor denied to their property the indelible character of quiritarian ownership;¹ denied to them, as heads of families, the Roman paternal authority, and to their title of citizen of their own city, the rights of appeal and of voluntary exile. He who could say *civis Romanus sum*, saw justice arrested in the province, and the law lose its severity in Rome. Though guilty of the greatest crimes, he was free of penalty by going into voluntary exile beyond the gates of the city.² The Italian, condemned for similar offences, perished under the rod.³ The Roman paid no tax, and lived by the sale of his vote and his testimony, and by public distributions; the Italian, instead of receiving anything, was obliged to spend for the pay and maintenance of the contingents required from the allies.⁴ Even the enjoyment of their natural advantages was denied them. They were forbidden to work the mines⁵ which had enriched Etruria, and were required to pay a duty on the stone and marble which they extracted from their quarries. The greed of the publicans weighed most severely upon the provinces; but in Italy there was one tax, the *portorium*, which was farmed out. And, to conclude the list of their grievances, the very agrarian laws designed to alleviate the condition of the Roman proletariat, did so by despoiling the Italians.

Thus we see that the allies, who were [mostly] identical with the Romans in language and in manners, received no profits from

¹ The *manus* which gave the owner right, when he had lost possession of an object, to demand by the *act* *restitutio*, its gratuitous restitution at the hands of any person into whose power it had in any way come, and to take it from him in case of refusal. The *manus* secured the strongest guarantees to the buyer.

² In this case his property would be confiscated; but with a little forethought he was able to protect it by putting it in trust.

³ Thus Turpilius . . . *periculosus capere poenas soliti, nam is civis ex Latia erat.* (Sall. Jug. 69.)

⁴ Cf. Livy, xliii. 5; xlviii. 3. *Italia stipendiaria*, says Tacitus. (Ann. xi. 22.)

⁵ Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxiii. 4. Near Volaterra there were rich copper-mines, and gold-mines near Norcia.

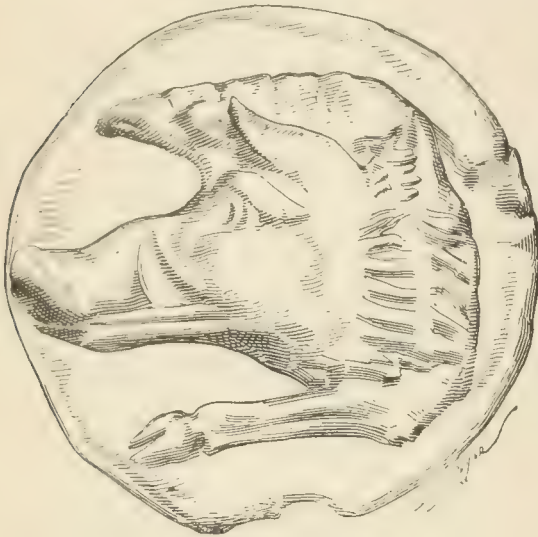
conquest, no honors from their military services, and enjoyed neither the political privileges nor the civil rights of Roman citizens. The son of a freedman in Rome was of more consequence than this or that brave Italian soldier who had assisted a consul in gaining a victory. It was, therefore, natural that the Italians should aspire to the title of Roman citizen, which relieved from taxes, opened the career of official rank, and raised them to be among the masters of the world. All the prerogatives of the Roman citizen were not equally objects to be desired; to the poor, or even the mid-

COIN OF VENUSIA.¹

dle-class dweller in Venusia or Ariminum, what mattered the right to vote in the Campus Martius and to help in electing a consul? Could the poor Italians leave their work and make the journey to Rome on all the *nundinae*? Political rights were of little value to them; but it was not so in respect to the civil rights included in the *jus civitatis*. Among themselves the allies had their own laws, equitably regulating their mutual relations. But Roman citizens now formed a considerable part of the inhabitants of the peninsula. They had business relations constantly with their Italian neighbors, wherein the inferior condition of the Italian was perpetually made apparent, and he was obliged to suffer, not merely in his pride, but in his interests. The ravages of the Second Punic War, the destruction of agriculture, the decrease in the class of petty proprietors, had left a great deal of land uncultivated and unclaimed. Now a man having lawful possession of anything (*civilis possessio*) could, if he were a Roman citizen, convert this into quiritarian ownership by the fulfilment of certain definite conditions, or by an uninterrupted possession, for one year if it were

¹ Wolf's head. Extremely rare coin of Venusia. *Cabinet de France*.

personal property, and for two years if real. But if he were not a citizen this was impossible; his *possessio* could never be changed



AS OF VENUSIA.¹

into *dominium*, and he might at any time be deprived of his property; *adversus hostem* [mark the odious formula] *aeterna auctoritas*. By the *rei vindicatio* the quiritarian owner could recover his possession; by the *negatoria actio* he could defend it against any one putting obstacles in the way of his complete ownership under pretext of some right (*servitus*) acquired over it.² But only

one having the *dominium* was placed under the protection of these legal proceedings, and the *dominium* could belong only to the citizen. In the legal relations of debtor and creditor the *jus civile* allowed the creditor to bring a suit to obtain payment of the stipulated sum. But natural obligations founded upon the *jus gentium*—existing, that is to say, outside the protection of the Roman civil law—did not allow an action to be brought against the debtor. Between Romans and Italians marriages were frequent: but no legal consequences resulted from these unions except to such of the allies as held the *jus connubii* and the *jus commercii*; and the Italian could neither buy nor inherit from a citizen,—or at least these acts were not shielded by the strong protection which the Roman law afforded when they passed between citizens. Lastly, their liberty had not the guaranty of an appeal to the people, nor had their lives that of the Porcian and Sempronian laws.³

¹ Coin from the *Cabinet de France*.

² The formula of this legal proceeding was: *Jus illi non esse ire, agere, etc.*; hence its name, *actio negativa* or *negatoria*. (Gaius, *Inst.* iv. 3; *Dig.* viii. § 2.)

³ Cf. Heineccius, *Elém. du droit rom.*; Hugo, *Hist. du droit rom.*; Laboulaye, *Hist. du droit de propriété foncière en occident*; Marezoli, *Droit privé des Romains*; Rudorff, *Röm. Rechtsq.*; Bethmann-Holweg, etc.

Notwithstanding all the inconveniences of their situation, there were for a long time only individual efforts on the part of the Italians to obtain the right of citizenship. In 187 it was found that twelve thousand Latins were living in Rome, and had given their names to the censors; they were at once expelled by order of the Senate. Others had recourse to fraud, and, under a feigned sale, gave up their sons to Roman citizens, who at once enfranchised them. In 177 a new inquiry brought to light a great number of aliens who had thus entered into citizenship by aid of the praetor's wand and the freedman's cap. These persons the Senate also expelled, and prohibited, though ineffectually, these fictitious sales.

Not infrequently the Latin cities complained of this desertion, as the exodus to Rome left heavier burdens in the matter of taxes and of military service on the rest, and the Senate made no allowance for a decrease of population.

This movement of the inhabitants of Latium toward Rome extended itself to the rest of Italy. In 177 the Samnites and the Pelignians made appeal to Rome to send back to them four thousand of their citizens who had established themselves at Fregellae, a city of Latium, where they enjoyed the privileges of the Latin name, and whence they might later make their way into Rome.¹

Thus the allies were gradually coming into the city, when an unexpected event had the effect of making this movement general. As a result of conquest, the greater part of Italy had now become public domain. Hence followed the occupation by noble Romans of an immense amount of very fertile lands, without fixed boundaries, lying in the neighborhood of Rome and of similar occupations by wealthy Italians of territory more remote from the city, or lying at a distance from the high roads. When the agrarian law, brought forward again by the Gracchi, alarmed all persons holding public lands, these Italians found themselves united by a common and urgent interest, with these two alternatives before them,—either to prevent the passage of the law by uniting their efforts to those of the Roman aristocracy; or else, by

¹ Livy, xxxix. 3; xli. 8, 9.

obtaining citizenship, to compel the Roman people to share with them. This motive, combined with the long-cherished desire to obtain full civil rights, and with the legitimate ambition of men like Papius and Pompaedius, conscious of their own ability and chafing at the obscurity of a Marsian or Samnite municipium, brought about the explosion so long repressed. The insurrection was formidable; for it was no longer the ill-concerted revolt of a few cities, yesterday enemies to one another, and ready to become so again on the morrow, but the waking up of a nation.

In leading her allies to the conquest of the world; in holding united beneath her standards for two centuries men of Etruria, Samnium, Magna Graecia, and Umbria; in giving, in many important respects, the precedence to the Italians over the provincials, — Rome had been unconsciously an agent in forming a great nationality. Eighty colonies, founded throughout the peninsula, had carried with them¹ the blood, the language, and the manners of the Latin race, although they had not crushed out the native languages or the local traditions. These native diversities had been gradually effaced, while oppression effaced the political diversities. By their common interests and misfortunes, all the Italians subjected by Rome were united and had come to feel their mutual kinship. By degrees the idea of a common country had sprung up among them, and the word spoken by Scipio Aemilianus had been heard with a thrill of emotion from the Po to the Straits of Messina.

We have already referred to what may have been Scipio's secret intention and the share meant for the Italians in its fulfilment: but his death arrested these designs, and after his time it was the popular leaders who supported the cause of the Italians. The promises of Fulvius brought about the insurrection at Frege llæ, which this consul was constrained to leave to its fate, being sent by the Senate to carry on the war in Transalpine Gaul. Caius Gracchus had not time, nor had he the ability, to carry out the vast plan he had conceived. Marius did not propose any political

¹ In the Sabellian region the Oscan language still existed; and instead of the word *Italia* of the Marsian medals we find *Vitellia* on those of the Samnites. The Sabellian league of the north (see Vol. I. p. 98) was more Roman than that of the south, and in a large part of Magna Graecia the Greek language was still the speech of the people.

measures; but he enrolled many of the Italians in his legions, and he encouraged the hopes of all of them by giving citizenship upon the field of battle to a thousand Umbrians and to certain men of Iguvium and Spoleto.¹ Marius was censured for this act as an encroachment upon the sovereignty of the Roman people. "Amid the clash of arms," he replied, "I could not hear the voice of the law."² The Italians who gathered about Saturninus had used the word "king;" but his death and the aristocratic reaction which followed the exile of Marius again brought disappointment to their hopes. Finally, the consuls of the year 95 raised to its height the exasperation of the allies by driving out of Rome all the Italians at that time residing in the city (under the law *Licinia-Mucia*).³

AS OF IGUVIUM.⁴

This was not the first of the decrees of expulsion; we have already mentioned those of 187 and of 177; at a later date residence in Rome had been forbidden to the allies, and in the year 125 the aged father of the consul Perperna was expelled from a city whither his son had sent a king as prisoner. Thus to interfere with settled habits and established business was to cause the ruin of many and to secure the hatred of all. The Italians went out of Rome bearing in their hearts a desire for vengeance after so many humiliations. Drusus attempted to pacify them; and it was his death which decided them at last to take arms. Two Latin historians recognize the justice of their claims.⁵ The Marsians took the lead, and Pompædus Silo, who belonged to this nation, was the soul of the war.

¹ The aqueduct of Spoleto (see accompanying full-paged cut), a work worthy of the Romans, and often attributed to them, appears to have been constructed in the seventh century by the Lombard dukes.

² He seems to have done the same in Africa after the capture of Jugurtha. (Caes., *Bell. Afr.* 35.)

³ Cic., *de Off.* iii. 11.

⁴ IKVPINI (*Iguvini*), and a cornucopia. Ancient coin of Iguvium.

⁵ Florus and Patereculus. *Cum jus civitatis*, says the former, *socii justissime postularent. Causa fuit justissima*, says the latter.

II. FIRST YEAR OF THE SOCIAL WAR.

THE struggle we have now to describe was a war of singular character, unlike any in ancient history. It was formidable, short as it was; it cost more blood than had ever before been shed in Italy; and yet, contrary to all ancient usage, neither of the two adversaries desired to ruin the other. The Italians, a few of their leaders excepted, did not seek to destroy Rome, neither did Rome wish to exterminate the Italian peoples; and before the war was ended the victors granted to the vanquished what the latter had asked for before the first battle had been fought.

With the aid of Drusus the allies had expected success; upon the failure of his projects, and the beginning at Rome of a sanguinary reaction, certain to spread throughout Italy, nothing was left to them but an appeal to the sword. A few years earlier, on the breaking out of the Cimbrian war, they had been reluctant to furnish the contingent required by Rome, and only the urgent persuasions of Sylla had brought them to recognize a danger common to all Italy.² And now eight nations—the Vestini, Marrucini, Frentani, and the inhabitants of Picenum, dwellers on the Adriatic coast and in the rich



OATH OF THE
EIGHT NATIONS.¹

valleys of the Aternus, the Sagrus, and the Tifernus; the Marsians, Pelignians, and Samnites, in the mountains; and the Apulians in the south of the peninsula—bound themselves by oaths, interchanged hostages, and concerted a general rising. For the first time entertaining the idea of union, they proposed to form a republic after the model of Rome, having a senate of five hundred members, two consuls, and twelve praetors, and taking for their capital city the fortified town of

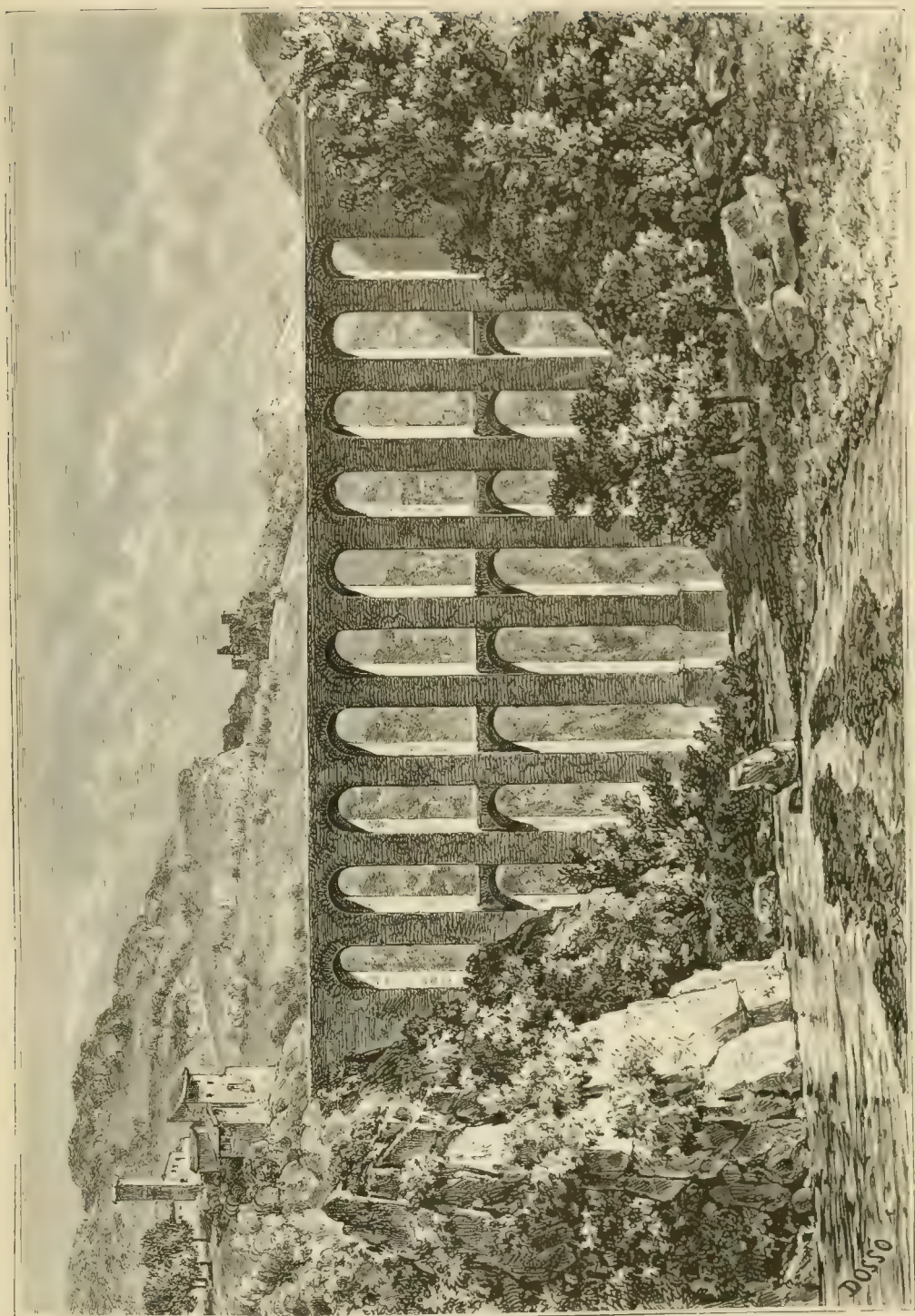


THE SABELLIAN
BULL GORING
THE ROMAN
WOLF.³

¹ Q. SILO. Eight Samnite chiefs swear upon a sow held up by a kneeling soldier. Reverse of a unique silver coin of the Social war.

² Plutarch, *Sylla*, 4.

³ C. PAAPI, in Oscan characters. The Samnite bull driving his horn into the head of the Roman she-wolf. Silver coin of Bovianum or Corfinium.



AQUEDUCT OF SPOLETO.

2050

Corfinium in the Apennines, in the heart of the revolted country. They gave their capital the significant name of Italica,¹ and later they struck a coin representing the Sabellian bull attacking the Roman she-wolf. The revolt was, in fact, a new Samnite war, the nations foreign to the Sabellian race taking no share in it.² The Bruttians as a nation had ceased to exist; Magna Graecia was deserted; Campania was entirely Roman, with the exception of a few localities — Herculaneum, for instance — which declared against the Senate. In the north of Italy the Etruscans and Umbrians, whom Rome had so often saved from the Gauls, and had now lately

THE MINERVA OF HERCULANEUM.³

¹ *Atque appellarant Italicam.* (Vell. Patere., ii. 16.) The medals bear the word *Italica*. (Cf. Diod., xxxvii. 1.) Their senate had authority only in respect to the conduct of the war; the brief duration of this federal republic gave no time, however, for any very definite organization. [Whether this confederation, indeed, copied the Roman model is more than doubtful. The appointment of two generals was necessitated by the twofold scene of operations, and, indeed, the geographical nature of the confederacy. But it is more important to consider whether the senate of the league was not *representative*, as the personal attendance of its citizens would be well-nigh impossible. If this idea was, indeed, adopted, its defeat was the gravest disaster which ever happened to Italy. — *Ed.*] The idea of imitating Rome was not a new one; the Italians of Scipio's army in their Spanish revolt gave their two leaders the title and insignia of consuls. (Livy, xxviii. 24; Flor., iii. 19.)

² In Etruria the descendants of the lucumons held all the land, and a popular insurrection would have been as formidable to them as to the Roman nobles.

³ Minerva, with helmet and aegis, is represented in an attitude of combat. This beautiful

protected against the Cimbri, together with the people of Latium, remained faithful.

The Senate, upon receiving information of all these movements, despatched emissaries in every direction. One of these spies reported to the proconsul Servilius that a certain hostage was to be delivered at Corfinium by the Asculani; the proconsul at once hastened to Asculum, where, upon his using violent and threatening language, the people of the town fell upon him and murdered both Servilius and his lieutenant,¹ and then turned their fury upon all the Romans resident in Asculum, not sparing even the women, many of whom they scalped. It was the signal of war.

Let us now endeavor to estimate the strength of the two sides. In the time of the Gallic invasion the Etruscans, Latins, and Um-



COIN OF HERACLEIA
PONTICA.²



COIN OF CARYSTUS.³



BOCCHUS.⁴

brians had agreed to furnish upward of one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, while the Sabellians and Apulians could muster two hundred thousand. The proportion is that of three to five, and is likely to have remained about the same. The Italians continuing faithful to Rome therefore were able to furnish at the outbreak of the Social war a contingent equal to three fifths of the entire force of the allies.⁵ In Rome there were, according to the last census, at least four hundred thousand citizens.⁶ Besides this,

statue, now in Naples, was one of the first brought to light by the excavations at Herculaneum, and when unearthed had still traces of gilding on the head and on the pallium. [The stiff drapery and pose mark it as one of those archaizing attempts so common in Roman Greek art. What we know as pre-Raphaelite taste existed as pre-Phidian among Roman amateurs. — *Ed.*]

¹ Cic., *pro Font.* 14; App., *Bell. civ.* i. 36; Dion., *fr.* 287.

² ΗΡΑΚ. Turreted female head, personification of the city. The reverse, a quiver, a club, and a bunch of grapes. Silver coin of Heracleia Pontica.

³ ΗΕΡΑΚΛ. Head of Hercules. On the reverse, ΚΑΡΥ. Silver coin of Carystus.

⁴ ΡΕΧ ΒΟΚΥ (Bocchus). Griffin and a symbol. Silver coin. (De Luynes, *Essai sur la numismatique des satrapies de la Phénicie*, p. 104.)

⁵ Much importance has been attached to the Marsians; but in 225, they, together with the Marrucini, the Frentani, and the Vestini, were not able to bring into the field more than twenty-four thousand troops. (Polyb., ii. 24.)

⁶ The census of the year 125 gave 390,736 citizens; that of 114, 394,336. (Livy, *Epit.*

an army was raised by Sertorius among the Cisalpine Gauls;¹ the kings of Numidia furnished cavalry; Bocchus sent Moorish infantry; and if, as we know, the cities of Heracleia upon the Euxine, Carystus, Miletus, and Clazomenae supplied ships, many other cities nearer Rome must have furnished assistance in some form, — Marseilles and Rhodes especially, so devoted to the prosperity of the Republic.² Lastly, Rome was yet mistress of nearly all the great cities in the very midst of the revolted territory, her former colonies, established usually in strong military positions; and, moreover, the public treasury contained nearly two million pounds weight of gold.

Thus at the Senate's command were forces and resources three or four times greater than those possessed by the allies; and to this we must add the habit of command and of undertaking great affairs, unity in the direction of the campaign, and the experience of generals and discipline of soldiers lately trained by two great wars.

Moreover, Rome found herself able to bear, in the midst of this struggle, a weight of domestic difficulties and seditions. In the city an upright praetor was assassinated by the usurers whom he had endeavored to bring within the bounds of law; in the army a consular lieutenant was killed by his own soldiers; and even a consul, Porcius Cato, perished, perhaps by the hands of his own people, after having escaped from one mutiny.⁴ The public confidence was in no way impaired by all this.



COIN OF MILETUS.³

lx. and lxiii.) All the manuscripts agree in giving these figures. If it be said that there had been heavy losses by the Cimbrian war, we may reply that the Italians lost in that war as well as the Romans. It is, moreover, well known that the population of Rome even increased during the Second Punic War. [No doubt by the many fugitives from Hannibal's devastations. — *Ed.*]

¹ Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* ii. 27, following Sallust and Plutarch (in *Sertorius*).

² A senatus-consultum of May 22, 78, decreed honors to three captains from Carystus, Clazomenae, and Miletus for their services in the Social war. (*C. I. L.* i. 203.)

³ Laurelled head of Apollo. On the reverse, ΜΙΛΕΣΙΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΣ. A lion looking at a star. Silver coin of Miletus.

⁴ Livy, *Epit.* lxxiv. and lxxv.; Val. Max., IX. viii. 3; Diod., *Frag.* cxiv.; it was the praetor Sempronius Asellio.

From the Capitol, where they were in session, the Senate could see rising behind the Sabine hills the smoke of conflagrations kindled by the enemy; but not a single soldier was called back from the provinces. And as on the day when, according to tradition, Hannibal from his camp, looking down into Rome, saw troops destined for Spain march out from the opposite gates of



MITHRIDATES VI.
(EUPATOR).²

the city, so now, in the most critical period of the present struggle, the Senate sent away an army to crush the revolted Salluvii in Transalpine Gaul. They did still more; defeating Mithridates, to whom the allies had appealed for aid, the Senate re-established upon their thrones two eastern kings, Nicomedes of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia.¹

At the same time the war was a very formidable one; for in the case of a state made up, as was Rome, of successive aggregations which were still but feebly united, there was danger that, as soon as any portion became detached,



NICOMEDES III.²

the whole mass might crumble. Could it be expected that the provincials would remain tranquil spectators of this strife? Would the slaves, to whom the allies opened their ranks, would Mithridates, for whose help they appealed, allow them to stop fighting, when at last, weary of the struggle, they might wish to return to their former friendly relations? Happily for Rome, the war was a short one.

The two Italian consuls, Pompaedius the Marsian, and Papius Motulus the Samnite, divided the army and the provinces: the former to operate in the north, to incite to revolt, if possible, the Umbrians and Etruscans, and to penetrate by way of the Sabine country into the valley of the Tiber; the latter to move southward toward Campania, and advance upon Rome through Latium.

* Protected by the two main armies, the lieutenants Judacilius, Lamponius Afranius, Vettius Scato, and Marius Egnatius were

¹ Livy's *Epitome* lxxiv., places the rehabilitation of the two kings in the year 90, and Clinton accepts that date. (See *Fasti Hellen.*, in the appendix to vol. iii., "Kings of Bithynia," p. 419.) [But the crisis of the Social war was then over.—*Ed.*]

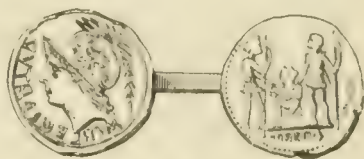
² From a tetradrachm.

expected to carry the places in the interior which made resistance, and drive the Roman garrisons out of Lucania and Apulia.

Before the first blood was shed, the leaders of the allies made one more effort, sending deputies to the Senate with a proposal to lay down arms if the citizenship should now be granted them; but the Senate refused to listen.¹

A hundred thousand men opened the campaign, it is stated, by the siege of Alba in the Marsian country, Aesernia in Samnium, and Pinna in the country of the Vestinii, three fortified towns which the Italians considered it dangerous to leave unsubdued behind them in coming down from the mountains.

The Senate, on their part, sent into the field one hundred thousand legionaries, and directed their first efforts toward confining the insurrection within the Apennines. The consuls at this time were Julius Caesar and P. Rutilius (90): the former occupied Campania, and endeavored to enter Samnium; the latter, for the purpose of covering the Sabine country, took up a position behind the Tolenus, an affluent of the Velinus,⁴ and closed the Tiburtine road, the only one entering the hilly Marsian country, and no doubt the route by which Pompaedius proposed to descend.⁶ Perperna, with ten thousand men thrown between the two consular armies, defended

COIN OF MOTULUS.²COIN OF AESERNIA.³COIN OF
ASCULUM.⁵

¹ Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 39; Livy, *Epit.* lxxii.

² MVTIL EMBRATVR [imperator] in Oscan. Head of Pallas. On the reverse, C. PAAP, in Oscan; two chiefs swearing alliance upon a sow held up by a kneeling soldier. Silver coin of the Social war.

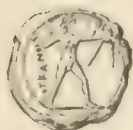
³ AISERN and a head of Pallas. On the reverse, an eagle destroying a serpent. Coin of Aesernia.

⁴ The Velinus falls into the Nar, which is itself a branch of the Tiber. All these valleys, it will be seen, come out upon that river, which forms the great highway between the central Apennines and Rome.

⁵ ΑΣΚΛΙΑ. Victory before a palm-tree. Reverse of a coin of Asculum, which Strabo and others call Ἀσκληον.

⁶ Appian is of opinion that the Liris was the base of operations for the army of Rutilius. Ovid (*Fast.* vi. 565) places the consul on the Tolenus, which is more probable, since Carseoli is upon this river, and since, moreover, its valley is the outlet from the

the approach to Latium by way of the mountains;¹ Marius and Cæpio, with two army corps, manœuvred upon the wings of Rutilius' legions to give aid to Perperna in the south, and in the north to the proconsul Cn. Pompeius Strabo (the father of Pompey the Great) who was endeavoring to enter Umbria by way of Picenum, while Sulpicius, another legate, was advancing into the country of the Pelignians. It was expected that these two generals, making a flank movement around the army of Pompaedius, would attack Corfinium—which had had the presumption to accept the rôle of a rival of Rome—and Asculum, the city whence had been given the signal for the war. In the southeast Crassus was to operate in Lucania, in the rear of the Samnite Motulus;³ and a large force was retained in Rome itself, where posts were set at the gates and upon the walls,⁴ and T. Piso was directed to see to the manufacture of arms.⁵



COIN OF
LUCANIA.²

The Romans had not, however, completed their arrangements when the Italians, attacking furiously at every point, surprised the legions and caused them to fall back. The consul, J. Caesar, imprudently attacking the Samnites, was defeated by Vettius Scato, and driven back upon Aesernia.⁶ This city, watered by an affluent of the Volturnus, and Venafrum, nearly opposite to it, on the other side of the same river, and situated on the Latin road, close the long valley of the Volturnus, leading up from Campania into the interior of Samnium. Though poorly provisioned, Aesernia made a heroic resistance; but Venafrum was given into the power



COIN OF
NUCERIA.⁷

Marsian into the Sabine country. The headwaters of the two rivers, separated by Mounts Grani and Carbonario, are, however, but five miles apart, and the Roman troops no doubt were intrenched behind them both, thus protecting the whole of Latium against the Marsi.

¹ The position of Perperna is not stated by Appian; it may possibly have been between Rutilius and Pompey.

² ΔΟΥΚΑΝΩΜ. Jupiter walking. Reverse of a Lucanian coin.

³ These positions are nowhere laid down, either in Appian or in Diodorus; hence the Social war is usually an inextricable chaos. They, however, became evident, as does the plan of the campaign, from an attentive study of the localities and events of the war.

⁴ 'Ὡς ἐπ' οἰκείῳ καὶ γειτονίᾳ μάλιστα ἐργῶ. (App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 40.)

⁵ Cicero, in *Pis.* 36.

⁶ Cf. Diod., xxxvii., *Frag.*, and Livy, *Epit.* lxxiii.

⁷ ΝΥΚΡΙΝΥΜ ΑΛΑΦΑΤΕΡΝΥΜ, in Oscan characters. A wolf. Reverse of a bronze coin of Nuceria.

of Egnatius by treason, and its garrison massacred. The defeat of Perperna completed the destruction of this line, with which the Senate had hoped to surround the headquarters of the insurrection. Through the breach which he had thus made Papius Motulus, the Italian consul, invaded Campania, leaving a blockading corps to besiege Aesernia.¹ Avoiding the strong cities of the northern part of Campania, Motulus hastened southward, where he had secret friends. Treason gave Nola into his hands; and its garrison of two thousand men were received into his army, with the exception only of the officers, whom he condemned to perish by starvation. From this time it became the established custom of the Italian generals to make this distinction among their Roman prisoners, putting to death the knights and nobles, and enrolling the slaves and common soldiers in their own army.

The cities on the shores of the Bay of Naples and the Gulf of Salerno, Minturnae, Salernum, Stabiae, Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Liternum were constrained to join the allies; a few other cities yielded, and the Italian general obtained in all ten thousand foot-soldiers and one thousand horse; he also armed all the slaves who came to him. But Naples, which even after the war refused citizenship, remained faithful as in the time of Hannibal; Nuceria, surrounded by places which had yielded to the enemy, stood firm; and Acerrae, a few miles south of Capua, braved with heroic resistance all the efforts of the allies; while Capua, filled with Roman citizens, served the troops as arsenal and place of refuge. The second year of the war, Magnus, a Capuan, levied a whole legion at his own expense in the country of the Hirpini.

The access to Latium from the south was closed; but at the very gates of Rome a little nation, the Tiburtini, for a moment wavered in their fidelity to the Republic. From their city the Capitol was visible, and they had command of the military road

COIN OF ACERRAE.²

¹ The city compelled its slaves to go out, and they were made welcome in the camp of the besiegers; also the two Roman leaders L. Scipio and L. Atilius made their escape. The people in the city were reduced to eating dogs *καὶ τᾶλλα ζῶα*. (Diod., *Exc. Vat.* ii. 119, and App., *Bell. civ.* i. 41.)

² Jupiter and a victory in a quadriga. AKERL, the city's name in Oscan, and four balls, indicating a *triens*. Reverse of a bronze coin of Acerrae.

which, following the course of the Anio, plunged into the mountains and gave access to the country of the Marsians. It was therefore of the first importance to prevent the defection of Tibur. The Senate used no violent measures; but a decree proposed by the praetor L. Cornelius assured the Tiburtini that the Senate relied



LUCIUS CORNELIUS.

upon their fidelity,—an excellent means of leading them to renounce their design, if they had formed one, by showing them that they had already become objects of suspicion.¹

Half Campania meanwhile had been lost, and the cities of Lucania and Apulia, feebly assisted, had fallen one by one into the power of the enemy; Grumentum, the strongest place in Lucania, being left exposed by the defeat of Crassus, was taken by Lamponius,² and Judacilius made himself master of Canusium and Venusia. Pinna, also in the country of the Vestini, yielded, but not until after the inhabitants had seen their children, who were in the enemy's hands, brought out in view of the walls and threatened with death, and had still refused to surrender.³

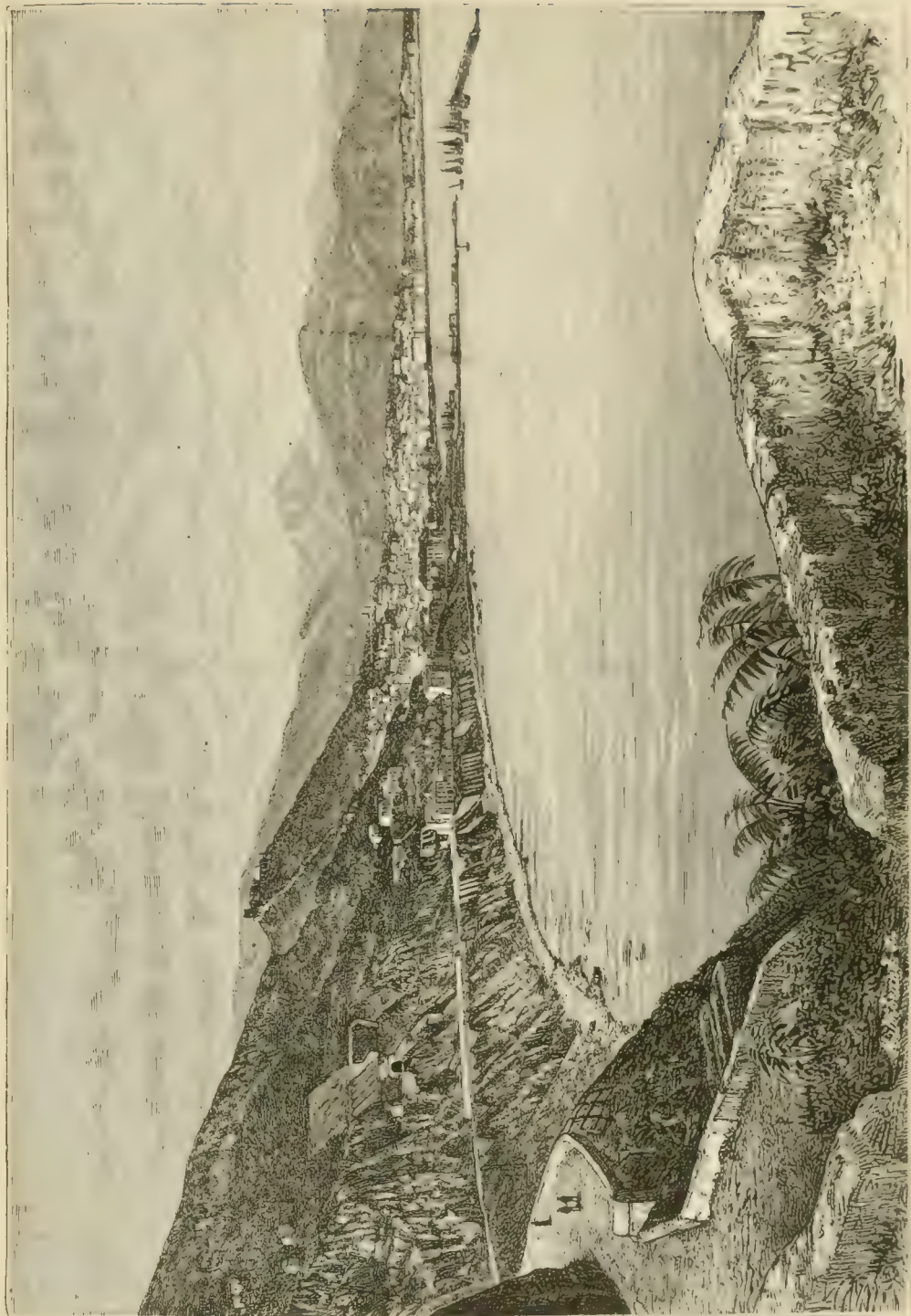
Other greater successes brought encouragement to the allies. Caesar, in the endeavor to relieve Acerrae, fell into an ambush laid by Egnatius in a narrow gorge, and could not rally the remnant of his army until they had fled as far as Teanum,⁴ the position which, after the battle of Cannae, the Romans had made the base of their resistance. In the mean time the other consul, Rutilius, being drawn by Vettius Scato into an ambuscade on the

¹ . . . *De iis rebus peccatum non esse*. This senatus-consultum is still extant (Orelli, No. 3.114); it has no date, but many reasons lead to the conclusion that it belongs to the period of the Social war. With this bronze tablet there was also found at Tivoli the bust of the praetor Cornelius, which we give from the *Iconographie romaine* of Visconti, pl. iv. No. 6.

² A fragment of Diodorus seems to begin at this point a narrative of a single combat between Lamponius and Crassus.

³ Diod., *Frag.* xxxvii. 20, and *Exc. Vat.* ii. 119.

⁴ Appian wrongly places this defeat after Caesar's victory, of which mention will be made later.



GULF OF SALERNO (FROM THE NORTH)

other side of the Tolenus, perished there with a portion of his army. Marius was not far distant; and, notified by the sight of many dead bodies floating down the Tolenus that an action had taken place, he made haste to cross to the enemy's side of the river, and to seize upon the camp of the victors, who were occupied in gathering their spoils on the battle-field.

After the defeats of the two consuls came that of Pompeius, against whom three Italian generals were united, the successes in the south having left them free to move northward and join their forces to arrest his advance. It had been the design of Pompeius to besiege Asculum; but, defeated by superior numbers, he had fallen back upon Firmum, where Afranius held him fast. This retreat upon the Adriatic left Umbria unprotected; numerous Italiot emissaries hastened thither, and soon the fidelity of the Etruscans and Umbrians began to give way.¹ In Latium, even, there were symptoms of danger; and it is probable that at this time it was known that the allies were intending to send a deputation to Mithridates. Consequently, when news of all these disasters and perils was received at Rome, — when, especially, the dead bodies of Rutilius and other persons of importance who had been slain, were brought home, — the mourning in the city was as great as in the darkest days of the Second Punic War. To prevent discouragement from spreading among the people, who were much more impressed by the imposing funeral rites customary at the time than by the mere fact of the deaths, the Senate limited the time of mourning, and made a decree that for the future the funeral rites should be performed where the deceased had fallen, whether he were chief or soldier. Another *senatus-consultum* ordered all citizens to assume war dress; even the freedmen were armed, and were formed into twelve bands, who were posted at Ostia, at Cumae, and all along the Appian Way.²

Fortunately for Rome, her geographical position, which in the past had been so helpful to her growth, now served as her salvation. Placed behind the line of battle, and in a central position per-

¹ Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 47.

² To Appian's mention of Ostia and Cumae we add this reference to the Appian Way, — a road which traversed the whole of Latium, at that time in a state of ferment. The allies had no vessels; hence it was needless to garrison the coast. Besides, from Minturnae to Sinuessa the Appian Way nearly follows the coast, while elsewhere it is distant from it but a few miles.

mitting her to receive by her river all needful supplies, and by her military roads to send them rapidly forward to her legions, she fed her armies without difficulty, and caused them to act in concert, following a plan determined in advance by her best generals. The Italians, on the other hand, without ships and without harbors, were hampered by the lack both of food and munitions. Communicating among themselves only across the central mass of the Apennines, where rise the highest summits of the chain, they



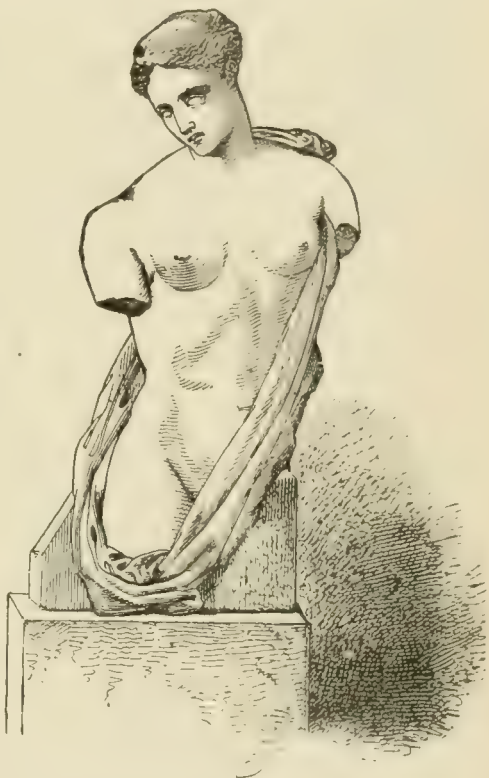
ROMAN BRIDGE UPON THE OSTIAN ROAD.

could not concert their movements, and frequently attacked at random. They lacked siege material; and after they had taken a few cities by surprise or treason, they could do no more. Finally, they had no foreign aid; while Rome had many allies whom her great reputation kept faithful. But a few months elapsed after the beginning of hostilities before the assistance which Rome had asked from the kings and nations friendly to her began to arrive. Sicily distinguished herself by her eager-

ness in furnishing all kinds of supplies needful for armies.¹ Ten thousand Cisalpine Gauls whom Sertorius had brought to the consul Caesar, after his defeat by Egnatius, and many thousand Moors and Numidians who came to him from Africa, gave him confidence again to take the offensive. He marched upon Acerræ, between Naples and Capua, for the purpose of raising the siege of that town; and, notwithstanding the desertion of many of the Numidians when Motulus exhibited to them in royal attire Oxyntas, a son of Jugurtha, found in exile at Venusia, Caesar slew six thousand of the enemy, and was able to throw a body of troops into the town. This news, arriving at Rome, calmed the public mind; and the toga, which had been laid aside for military dress, was resumed.²

In the north, the legate Sulpicius, after defeating the Pelignians, had hastened to the aid of Pompeius, at that time shut up in Firmum. A double attack, concerted by the two Roman generals, put the allies to flight; and Pompeius at once proceeded to close the approaches to Umbria by recommencing the siege of Asculum.³

The Senate had united what remained of the defeated army of Rutilius with the troops under the command of Marius and Caepio; but, distrusting Marius,



PSYCHE [OR VENUS?] OF CAPUA.⁴

¹ *Siciliam nobis non pro penaria cella, sed pro aerario illo majorum vetere ac repleto fuisse; nam sine ullo sumptu nostro, coriis, tunicis, frumentoque suppeditando, maximos exercitus nostros vestivit, aluit, armavit.* (Cic., in *Verr.* II. ii. 2.)

² Livy, *Epit.* lxxiii.; Orosius, v. 18.

³ Asculum was upon the Via Salaria, the only road crossing the Apennines into Picenum.

⁴ Torso of an admirable statue found in the Capuan amphitheatre (*Mus. Borbon.* No. 203).

had given equal authority to the two generals;¹ and Caepio, dazzled by a slight success, allowed himself to be again drawn into a snare by Pompaedius Silo. The proconsul and a great number of Romans were slain. This disaster, and the loss of Aesernia, which at last yielded, compelled the Senate to give to Marius, instead of the insignificant force hitherto intrusted to him, the whole of the original consular army. The veteran general soon restored discipline; and by skilfully choosing impregnable positions, checked the victorious Marsians. "If you are so great a general," one of the leaders of the allies said to Marius, "why don't you come out and fight?" "If you are so skilful, why don't you force me?" the Roman rejoined. He did, however, fight them at last, and killed the praetor of the Marrucini, Herius Asinius. But the peasant of Arpinum, the former accomplice of Saturninus, the man who had given citizenship and a place in his legions to so many Italians, was reluctant to fight against the party he had formerly favored, and in which he still had his best friends. On one occasion his army and that of Pompaedius chanced to meet; friends and kindred recognized one another; they called out to each other by name, and exchanged salutations; while even the two generals allowed themselves to converse as friends, and discuss the prospects of the much-desired peace. The soldiers on both sides finally mingled freely,² and the scene was like a meeting of townsmen for some peaceful object.

Had Marius been at this time, as he was during the Cimbrian war, in command of all the forces of the Republic, it may well be believed he would then have made an end of the Social war, and again have had occasion to say that amid the clash of arms he had failed to hear the voice of law. But the Senate, suspicious of his intentions, had left him powerless to decide alone upon the conduct of the war; and at this very moment Sylla, his former lieutenant and now his enemy, was following him with an army.

Sylla had made his way but slowly hitherto. In 94 he was defeated at the elections, only obtaining the praetorship the following year by the use of money. When he threatened an ex-consul with his official authority the other had retorted: "You do well

¹ Livy, *Epit.* lxxiii. ; *Aequatum ei cum C. Mario esset imperium.*

² Diod., xxxvii. : 'Ἡ πᾶσα σύνοδος ἐκ πολεμικῆς τάξεως εἰς πανηγυρικὴν διάθεσιν μετέπεσεν.

to use it; doubtless it is indeed yours — by right of purchase!" Being sent into Asia, though without an army, to keep Mithridates in check, he had driven the King out of Cappadocia, and had returned to Rome with a high reputation as a skilful diplomatist. An offering placed in the Capitol by Bocchus, representing himself delivering up Jugurtha to the quaestor of the Numidian army, had deeply incensed Marius. He had sought to destroy these statues; and the matter would doubtless have come to violence, had not the Italian insurrection supervened. Marius avoided energetic action in this war. On one occasion he had refused to complete a victory; and all the profit and honor of the day fell to the share of Sylla, who had followed the enemy, routed them, and gained an entire success. In all this Marius showed himself unchanged. As tribune he had caused the defeat of a popular law; as consul he had publicly reviled the Senate. He was a friend of Saturninus, yet caused his death; a partisan of the Italians, yet fought against them at the head of the legions of Rome, and these he held back on the eve of victory; his conduct was always in contradiction to his convictions. Compromised in the eyes of the Senate and the people in the affair of Saturninus, he had exiled himself from Rome; and now, after doing harm enough to the Italians to make them regard him as an enemy, yet not enough to secure the gratitude of the Romans, he resigned his command, alleging infirmities, and withdrew, angry and envious, to his villa at Misenum, while Sylla came forward to take his place and to found his own fortunes by the same war in which those of his rival had been ruined.



BOCHUS DELIVER-
ING JUGURTHA TO
SYLLA.¹



FAESULAE.²

While the military movements of which we have spoken were going on in Campania and the country of the Marsians, two praetors had been sent to display the standards of Rome to the Umbrians and Etruscans, and to chastise two cities, Faesulae and Oericulum.³

¹ Sylla, seated between the kneeling Bocchus and Jugurtha, the latter being bound; behind Sylla the name Felix, which he assumed later. Reverse of a silver coin of the Cornelian gens.

² Flying gorgon. Silver coin of Faesulae.

³ Flor., iii. 18; Livy, *Epit.* lxxiv. Oericulum, which had enjoyed great prosperity,

which had sided with the Italians. This moment of unexpected good fortune was seized by the Senate to make a concession which should not have the appearance of being extorted. The Julian law of the consul Caesar offered citizenship to all inhabitants of cities not involved in the revolt, on condition that the person desiring this honor should come to Rome within sixty days, and declare before the praetor that he accepted all the rights and obligations of the *jus civitatis*.

This concession, which confirmed the fidelity of some, while exciting the hopes and regrets of others, was one of the ablest

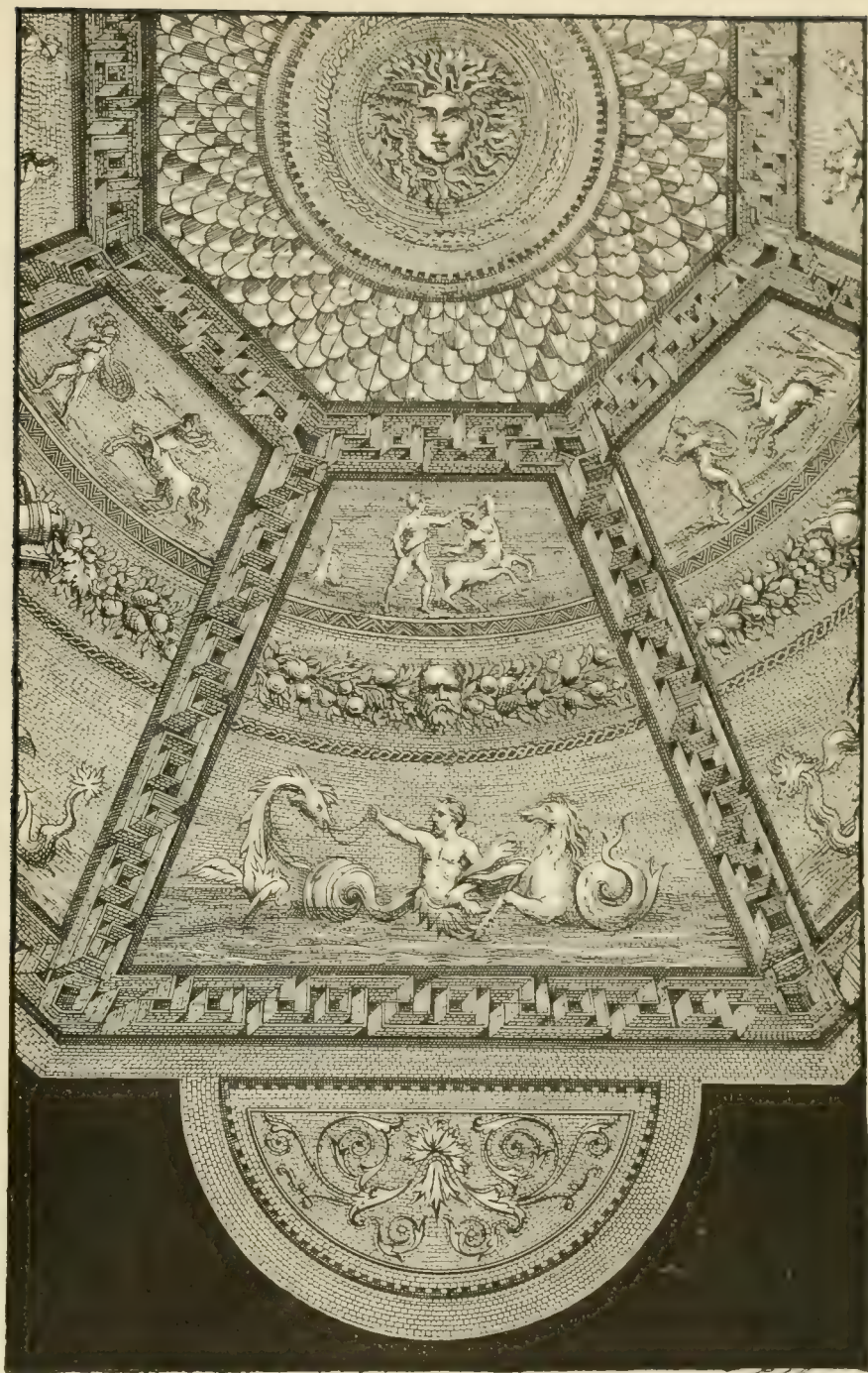


MOSAIC FROM OCRICULUM.

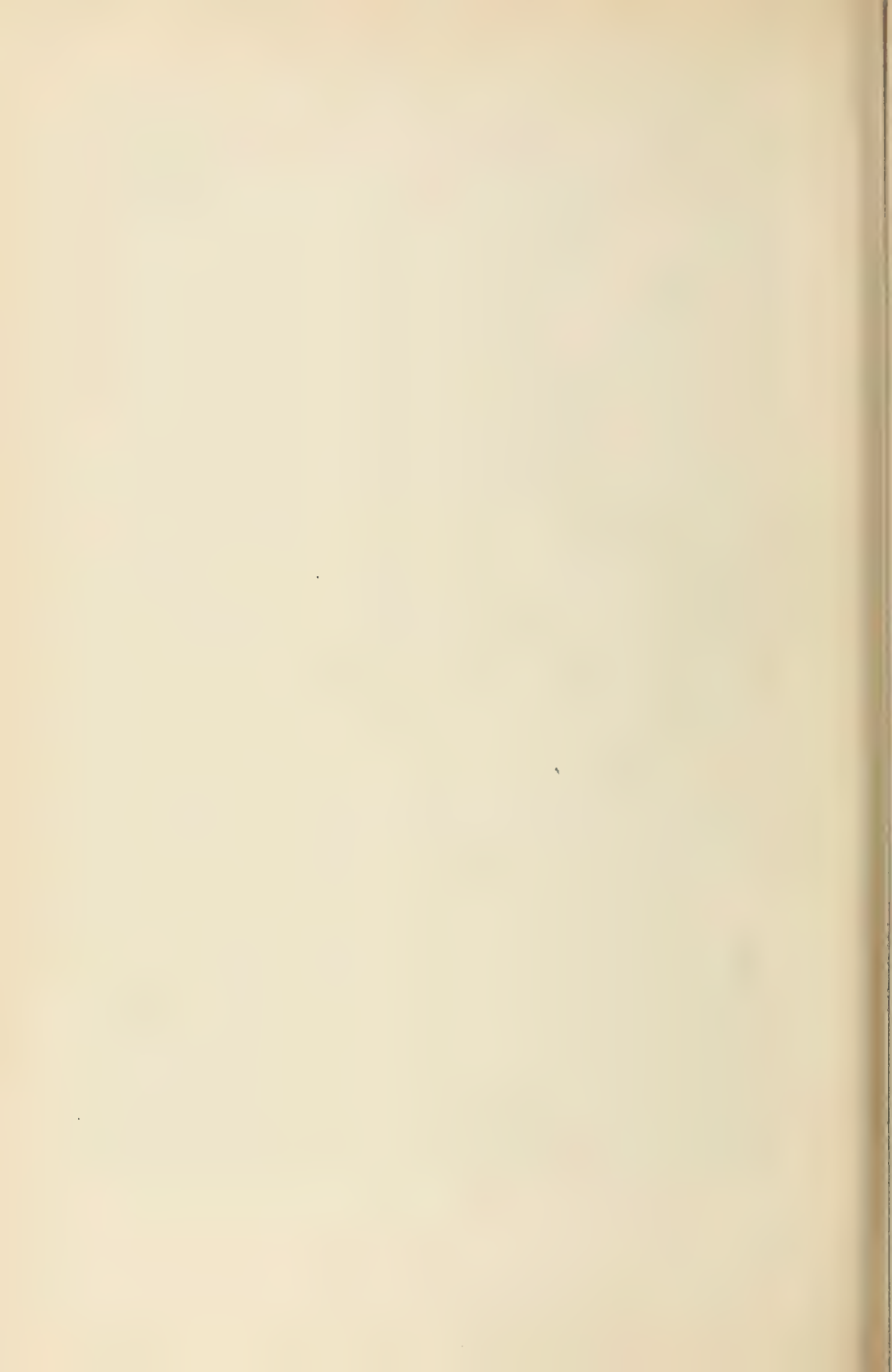
strokes directed against the Italian confederation. In order to conquer her enemies Rome introduced divisions among them; it was her old, and always successful, policy.¹

owing to its position on the Flaminian Way, is called in some inscriptions *splendidissima civitas*. The admirable mosaic represented here, now in the Vatican, was found in this city.

¹ [It is, however, certain that this great concession was extorted from a reluctant majority of the Senate by the real fear of the Italian power. The defeats of Rome were such that had she not weakened her enemy, another campaign might have brought her to her knees. — *Ed.*]



MOSAIC AT OCRICULUM (DETAIL OF A SECTION).



III. — SECOND AND THIRD YEARS OF THE SOCIAL WAR (89–88).

ROME, taken unawares in the first year of the Social war, had, for the time, experienced only reverses; during the last months of the year success seemed evenly divided; but the second year

ASCOLI (ASCULUM).¹

opened with a general attack on the part of Rome.² The new consuls, Cn. Pompeius and Porcius Cato, opposed the confederates in the north. Sylla, who was the consular legate of Porcius, and J. Caesar, who remained as proconsul in command of the southern army, were ordered to drive Papius Motulus out of Campania; the praetors Cosconius and Luceius were to recover the cities of Apulia, and Gabinius those of Lucania. The very considerable forces intrusted to these generals placed them in a position to fulfil the expectations of the Senate. Porcius penetrated the Mar-sian country, and attacked the allies repeatedly; but at last fell mortally wounded, in the attack upon a camp near Lake Fucinus.³

¹ From an engraving of the sixteenth century. *Bibliothèque nationale.*

² Diod., xxxvii. 2.

³ It is thought possible that he was killed by the younger Marius in revenge for severe language used respecting his father. (Orosius, v. 18; Vell. Paterc., ii. 16.)

and the Marsians took advantage of this success to send an army into the region of Etruria, and again attempt to rouse the inhabitants.¹ Pompeius, who was blockading Asculum, came out of his camp, defeated the Marsian corps, and returned to draw more closely the lines of the siege. Judacilius, however, succeeded in

passing through the lines; Asculum was his native town, and he was determined either to save it or perish with it. In the city he found only discouragement. Feeling, then, that the allies' cause was hopeless, he caused a funeral pile to be erected in front of the principal temple and a couch prepared upon its top; he then gathered his friends for a last banquet, took poison, and, lying down upon the pile, ordered it to be set on fire. These brave soldiers were of savage temper, and the men of that day loved vengeance. Judacilius had despatched before him all the inhabitants of the city who were suspected of desiring peace. The rest had no better fate. When Asculum opened her



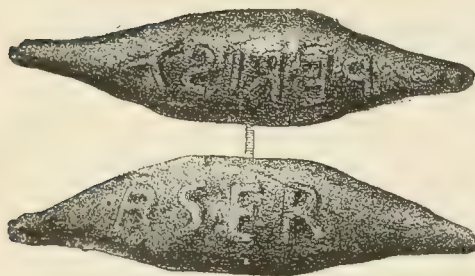
NO. 1.



NO. 2.



NO. 3.



NO. 4.

SLING-MISSILES FOUND AT ASCULUM.³

gates the victors spared none save the women and children.²

¹ Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 50; Vell. Paterc., ii. 21.

² Livy, *Epit.* lxxv., lxxvi.; Flor., iii. 18.

³ The earthworks recently constructed under the Roman ramparts of Asculum have brought to view, especially in the bed of the Fiume di Castello, an affluent of the Tronto, many leaden projectiles to be used in slings. Of these a number bear a double inscription, proving that they served both sides in turn. These inscriptions are names of chiefs, devices, insults addressed to the enemy, even revelations made by traitors. No. 1, *Pompe[ius]*, first inscription; *Judacil[ius] Picen*, second; missile thrown first by the besiegers, and sent back by the city. No. 2, *Fricas Rom[anos]* ("You rub the Romans"). No. 3, *C. Marius*; this general was not present at the siege,

To save this bulwark of the league, Vettius Scato had marched thither with a large force. The armies for some time hesitated to engage. Parleys took place; and Cicero, at this time serving his first campaign, was present at an interview between Scato and the consul's brother, who had ties of hospitality with the Italian. "By what title shall I address you?" said Sextus Pompeius; and the Marsian replied: "Call me your host; in spirit I am so still, although by necessity I am your enemy."¹ They failed to come to an agreement. The action was severe, and the retreat of the Italians disastrous. They fled in midwinter across the crest of the mountains. Pompeius, following them in hot haste, found whole cohorts which had fallen exhausted in the snow and had perished from cold. Scato, their leader, also perished. A story



NO. 5.



NO. 6.



NO. 7.

SLING-MISSILES FOUND AT ASCULUM.

but he doubtless sent Pompeius munitions bearing his name. No. 4, *Peristis servi* ("Death to slaves"); upon another we read, *Peri Cassium* ("Strike Cassius"); upon still another, *I[indicamus] justa* ("We claim that which is just"). These three missiles prove that a battle with the gladiators of Spartacus took place under the walls of Asculum: we know that a general of the name of Cassius commanded in that war. Fifty years later this city saw other military events, of which history says nothing; but there are found leaden projectiles cast for the war of Perugia in the year 40: thus No. 5 bears on one side in Oscan characters, that are to be read backward: *C[aius] Paapi Cai [filius]*, which were the names of the great leader Papius Motulus, and on the other side: *L. XI. DIVOM IVLIVM* ("Eleventh legion, the divine Julius"). No. 6, *L. Antoni periste* ("Death to L. Antonius"), the brother of the triumvir who had shut himself up in Perugia. No. 7, *M. Anto. imp.* ("M. Antonius imperator"). This was a missile which the enemies of Octavius marked with the name of their leader.

M. Ernest Desjardins, from whom we borrow these illustrations and their description, has placed beyond all doubt, in his learned work on the leaden missiles found at Ascoli, the authenticity of these curious relics. The custom of inscribing upon projectiles names, threats, insults, or even traitorous information, was habitual. (See Caesar, *Bell. Hesp.* 13. 18, and 19.) We shall presently have more to say in respect to the war of Perugia.

¹ Cicero, *Philipp.* xii. 11.

was told of his last moments, which Seneca, the great declaimer of philosophic sentences, has preserved to us. "Being made prisoner, he was brought before Pompeius; when one of his slaves who followed him, snatching a sword from a soldier of the guard, struck Scato, crying out, 'I enfranchise my master; it is my turn next,' and killed himself."¹ The story is extremely theatrical, but by no means impossible.

The defeat of Vettius Scato² was followed by the submission of all the neighboring nations, the Marrucini, the Vestini, and the Pelignians surrendering at discretion, and even the Marsians laying down their arms.³ Upon his return to Rome Pompeius obtained a triumph. Behind his chariot walked a boy destined one day himself to be consul, Ventidius, the Asculan. In Apulia the praetor Cosconius had defeated and killed Egnatius, the ablest of the generals of the allies, and after him the Samnite Trebatius. Most of the cities opened their gates to the Roman general. In two days he had subjugated the Peucetians, on the north of Tarentum, and Brundisium; so that when Metellus Pius had recovered Venusia,⁴ the whole province was restored to peace.



BRONZE LAMP FOUND
AT STABIAE.⁵

Caesar having died of illness early in his proconsulship, the whole weight of the war in Campania had fallen upon Sylla, who had exhibited in this campaign his wonted zeal and activity. Stabiae, the first to be attacked, was destroyed, and Herculaneum and Pompeii surrendered; near Pompeii, Sylla, after a first rebuff, forced the

¹ *De Benef.* iii. 23.

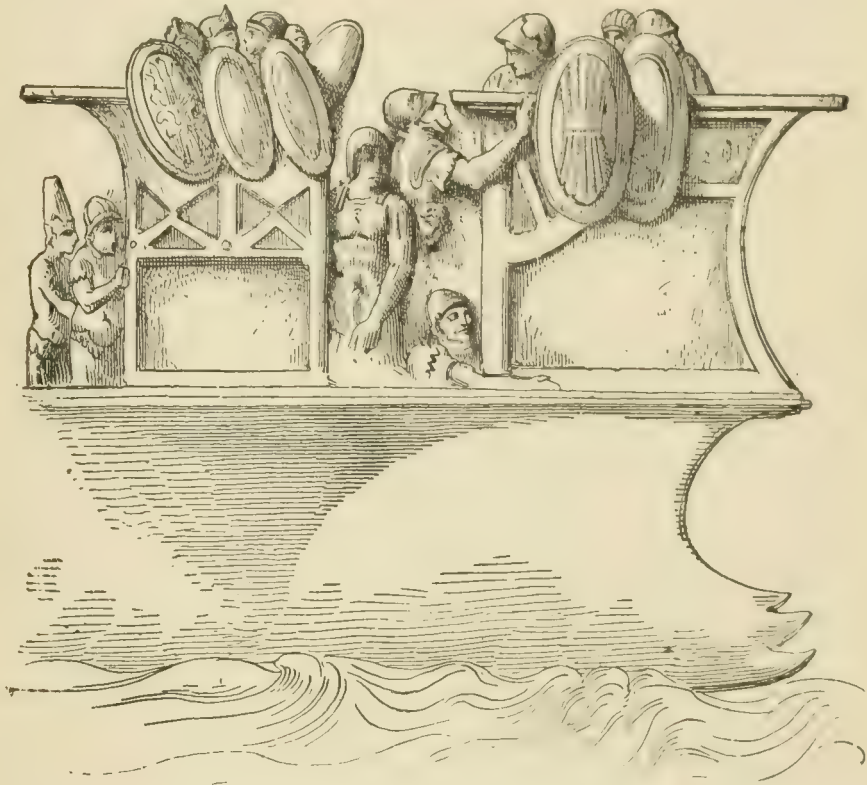
² Livy (*Epit.* lxxvi.) attributes the subjugation of the Marsians, *aliquot praeliis fracti*, to Murena and Metellus Pius. Velleius Patereulus (ii. 21) gives to the allies in this battle more than sixty thousand men, and seventy-five thousand to the Romans. This is evidently an exaggeration. Appian (*Bell. civ.* i. 50) speaks only of five thousand slain.

³ App., *Bell. civ.* i. 52. *In deditionem accepit.* (Livy, *Epit.* lxxvi.)

⁴ The taking of Venusia possibly occurred in the following year (88). (Cf. Diod., *Fragm.* xxxvii.)

⁵ This double lamp, found at Stabiae in 1782, is preserved in the museum of Herculaneum. At the time it was found, the wick, folded in the interior of the vessel, was perfectly intact, after an inhumation of seventeen centuries. (Roux, *Herculan. et Pompéi*, vol. vii., Third Series, pl. 39.)

lines of the Samnite Cluentius, and pursued him as far as the city of Nola. There he found a formidable camp; and in an imprudent attack upon it, a portion of his army narrowly escaped destruction. He rescued them, however, and received from them the finest of all the military rewards, the obsidional crown.¹ Cluentius had been killed in the conflict.



MARINES FIGHTING ON SHIPBOARD.²

Livy relates an occurrence of this campaign which is almost unparalleled in the history of Rome; the admiral of the fleet, Postunius Albinus, ordered to act in concert with Sylla, was slain by mutineers, who accused him of treason.³ The accusation was certainly false; but these marines, recruited from the very lowest

¹ Appian (i. 50), for the first time since the beginning of the war, gives large figures, — thirty thousand men slain in the rout, and twenty thousand in the second battle.

² Scheffer, *Mil. nar. in Adlend.*

³ *Epil.* lxxv.

classes, had not the ingrained respect of the legionary for discipline.¹ "These men are mine," said Sylla, "since they have committed a crime;" and in expiation he required from them a victory, — which they gave him by the defeat of Cluentius.

By these three successes, that of Pompeius in the northeast, Sylla in the southwest, and Cosconius in the southeast, the allies were, as they had been in the first Samnite war, driven out of the plains which extend along the base of the Apennines. Since the Pelignians had abandoned the cause, the allies had transferred their senate and seat of government to Bovianum.² Pompaedius Silo was placed in command of their remaining forces, now but thirty thousand men;³ but he called the slaves from all sides to liberty, and armed as many as twenty-one thousand of them. Papius Mutilus had had recourse to the same expedient in Campania. Judacilius in Apulia,⁴ and the last Italian army endeavored to call out the Sicilian slaves. Rome herself had armed her freedmen; it was quite as much a Servile as a Social war.

Pompaedius sought to bring also upon Rome a foreign war by asking aid from Mithridates, who received at the same time secret appeals from the provincials of Greece, Africa, and Asia. It became needful that Rome should put an end to this war; for all whom she oppressed were about to rise and unite. The last blows were struck by Sylla. Deceiving Motulus by skilful manœuvres, he crossed mountains reputed impracticable, and



COIN OF
BOVIANUM.⁵

¹ This spirit of discipline was, however, beginning to be enfeebled. Of this we have already had many proofs. Still another was given in this war: Porcius Cato would have been stoned by his mutinous soldiers if, as Dion Cassius relates (*Frag.* 100), they had found stones in the ploughed fields where they were encamped; failing this, they threw at him clods of earth, which did him no harm.

² Diodorus, xxxvii. 2.

³ Diodorus (*ibid.*) calls *μεγάλην δύναμιν* this army of thirty thousand men that had been gathered with difficulty by calling out all who had already served; the armies in this war were, it is evident, not so strong as the rhetoricians have represented them. Florus (iii. 18) regards this war as more formidable than that of Hannibal, and Velleius Paterculus affirms that it cost Italy three hundred thousand men; but he magnifies the forces of Cinna in the year 84 to thirty legions, and the losses in the two Servile wars to one million of slaves. With but one exception, Appian speaks always of moderate losses: Caesar, before Aesernia, loses two thousand men; Perperna, four thousand; Crassus, eight thousand, etc.

⁴ Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 42: *δοῦλους ἐστράτευε*.

⁵ SABINIM (written backward). Soldier standing, a couchant ox at his feet. Reverse of a silver coin of the Social war, attributed to Bovianum. One of the results of the Social

suddenly appeared in the neighborhood of Aesernia. The Italian consul hastened thither to save so important a place; but was defeated, and carried into the city mortally wounded. The taking of Bovianum, the second capital of the league, terminated this prosperous campaign, in which Sylla had conquered the consulship. Pompeidius Silo recovered the place later, it is true, after a



VASE FROM NOLA.¹

victorious engagement, and made a triumphal entry with the same pomp displayed by Roman generals in similar circumstances; but a short time after, he fell in a skirmish while seeking again to rouse Apulia (end of the year 89).

The Plautian-Papirian law,² which extended the benefits of

war was the closing of mints throughout Italy. Henceforth Roman money alone was current in the peninsula.

¹ A winged Hebe, with a caduceus in her hand. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 4862.)

² The following is the text of this law as given by Cicero in the *pro Archia*, 4: *Data est civitas . . . si qui foederatis civitatibus adscripti fuissent: si tum, cum lex ferbatur, in Italia domicilium habuissent, si sexaginta diebus apud praetorem essent professi*. This law had been proposed by the two tribunes, M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo. Three praetors received the declarations,—Appius Claudius Pulcher, P. Gabinius Capito, and Q. Caec. Metellus Pius. "Appius," says Cicero, "kept his registers carelessly, and the levity of Gabinius took all credence from his." (*Ibid.* 5.) The Julian law had given the *jus civitatis*

the Julian law to all the inhabitants of the allied cities, from the Po to the Straits of Messina; another of the consul Pompeius Strabo (89), which granted the *jus Latii* to the Transpadane; and especially the judicious moderation of the Senate in the use of their victory, — took away all force and all danger from what remained of the war. The leaders of the insurrection had perished; the Italian senate, which had taken refuge at Aesernia, was dispersed; only the Samnites, the Lucanians, and a few cities still held out, — Nola, for instance, which Sylla, now consul, returned to besiege. Numerous bands also were haunting the Apennines. In the hope of reawakening the Servile war in Sicily, these scattered remnants of the Italian army essayed to seize Rhegium. Having been defeated in this attempt by the vigilance of the praetor, C. Norbanus, they fell back into the trackless forests of the Sila, whence they came forth to have a share in the sanguinary conflicts of the Marian and Syllanian factions. New disasters, results of former ones, were soon to fall upon the Italian peninsula — proscriptions of individuals, and military devastations of cities; and the Italian people long remembered this warfare, in which the blood of Italy and of Rome flowed so freely. Under the emperors, men still spoke of it as a war more terrible than those of Hannibal or of Pyrrhus: *nec Annibalis nec Pyrrhi fuit tanta vastatio*;¹ and, in truth, never in so short a time had any country so great loss of human life and devastation of cities.²

IV. — CITIZENSHIP GIVEN TO THE ITALIANS.

ALTHOUGH defeated, the Italians had forced their entrance into citizenship. They were no longer strangers in Rome; no tribune

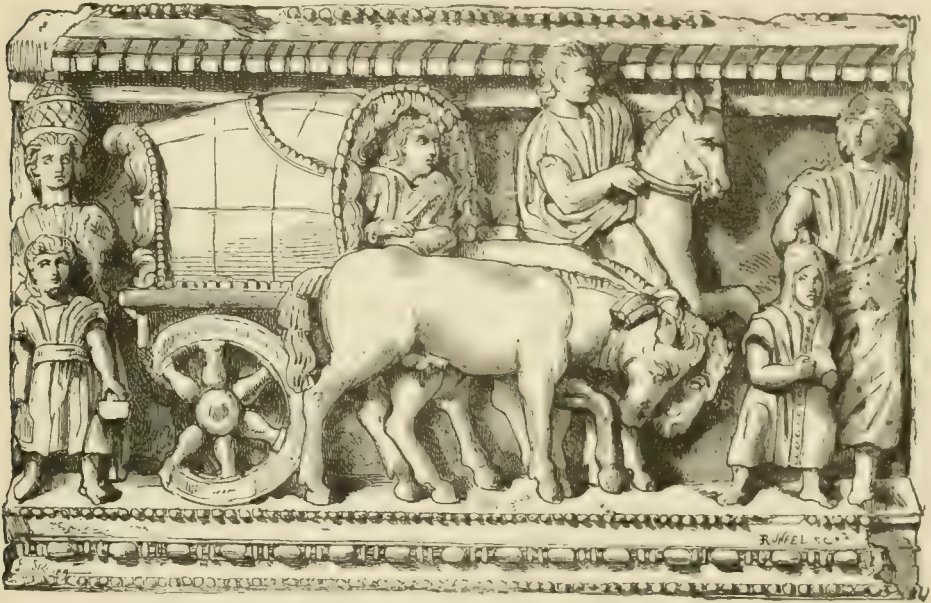
to all faithful allies: the Plautian law gave it to all the allied cities, some of which, however, as we shall see, preferred to retain their own customs; and the Plautian-Papirian law, in order to create even in these cities a Roman party, permitted any individual of them to come to Rome and take the rank of citizen.

¹ Florus, iii. 18.

² [It was another case of wanton and stupid blundering on the part of Rome, followed by frightful consequences. Had the Julian and Papirian laws been passed three years sooner, and not extorted from the Senate by the war, all this misery would have been avoided, and the further devastation of Italy saved.—*Ed.*]

ever again should insolently drive them forth; they were sharers henceforth in the renown and the imperial power of the people-king; the Forum belonged to them: the world was theirs; they were Roman citizens.

But when, after the first excitement was past, they re-read those Julian and Plautian laws which had made so many among them ready to lay down their arms,—when they saw that it was requisite to be in Rome within sixty days to give their names to



TRAVELLERS.¹

the praetor,—many began to see that the journey was long, and the time allowed very short.² The rich, however, all hastened to Rome; and the vagabond crowd whom no ties held at home, also made their way thither. But whatever representatives of the middle class yet remained in Italy hesitated. The

¹ Bas-relief in the Louvre. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 151 bis, No. 794.) A Roman family travelling, riding the ancient cart called *carpentum*. (Cf. Saglio, p. 927.)

² The usage, later established by laws, of accepting as valid for citizenship the registration made by the local magistrates in the case of the *fundi*, was perhaps already in existence, and would have afforded relief in this matter. Still further relief was granted by the permission, which seems to have been given in certain cases, to appear by proxy (Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 86); but all had not the means of doing this, and many believed that the surer way was to obey the law strictly, and present themselves in Rome within the sixty days. The designating of three praetors to receive the declarations proves that extraordinary measures were believed requisite to provide for the registration of the new citizens.

roads were not safe; armed bands traversed the country in every direction, plundering, since they could no longer fight. Besides this, in the Greek cities most of the inhabitants were disinclined to abandon their hereditary laws and adopt those of a city devoted only to war, and despising traffic.¹ Accordingly, the petty proprietor remained upon his farm, and the trader of Naples, Tarentum, Puteoli, in his city. And so the designated time went by, and the praetor had registered but a small minority of the Italians, perhaps not over eighty thousand men.²

But another disappointment awaited the new citizens at Rome. Instead of taking their places in the thirty-five tribes already

¹ The *jus civitatis* was to be formally adopted by the people obtaining it; the nation then became *fundus* (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 8), and its inhabitants were *fundani*. But a man could not be both a citizen of Rome and of some other city; he must choose between them. (Cf. Corn. Nep., *Att.* 3.) Cicero says this in so many words: *Ex nostro jure duarum civitatum nemo esse possit, tum amittitur haec civitas . . . cum is . . . receptus est . . . in aliam civitatem.* (*Pro Caccina*, 34; cf. *pro Balbo*, 13.)

² It is generally held that all Italy gained at that time the right of citizenship; but Cicero, in his oration *pro Balbo*, speaks of certain states only who shared the right. He mentions a concession of citizenship made by Crassus to an inhabitant of Alatrium; also speaks of the Papian law, which again, in the year 66, expelled the *peregrini*. The census, too, which before the war represented the number of citizens as 394,336, gives the number in the year 86 as only 463,000. It is true that Velleius Paterculus says (ii. 15) this war cost the Italians three hundred thousand men, and the Romans as many more,—that is to say, in a period of two years more than double the number killed during the Second Punic War; but this is without doubt a very considerable exaggeration. Nor do the great Italian losses of this war account for the smallness of the increase in the Roman census. But one explanation is possible, which is that all Italy did not receive at this time the citizenship. Many cities of the allies, as Naples and Heracleia (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 8), hesitated, or, like Puteoli, refused it, as three Hernican towns had done in 306. (Livy, ix. 43.) Brundisium did not have it; for Sylla, on his return from Asia, ἔδωκεν ἀτέλειαν. (App., *Bell. civ.* i. 79.) Many other towns were similarly situated; for we are told that Cinna, at the approach of Sylla, asked help from all the cities of Italy, from those especially who had lately received the citizenship. (App., *Bell. civ.* i. 76.) His army was therefore divided, not into legions, but into cohorts, because it contained many more allies than citizens; and Plutarch says (*Mar.* 35): "The Italians having been subdued, there was no further talk of conceding to them the right of citizenship." Velleius Paterculus (ii. 17) says: *Victis adflictisque . . . quam integri universis civitatem dare maluerunt.* We shall see later that Sulpicius sells it to any who will buy; and Carbo, in 84, gave it as a reward. (Livy, *Epit.* lxxxiv.) Livy's *Epitome* expressly says of the Marsians, Vestini, and Pelignians: *in deditonem accepti*,—that is to say, reduced to the condition of subjects; of the Hirpini, Livy says *domiti*; while the Lucanians, being still in arms under Cleptius and Lamponius, and the Samnites, under Pontius Telesinus, could not have received citizenship. After these explanations it will be understood how erroneous must be the estimates founded on the assumption that the figures given by the census at Rome can be used to determine exactly the population of the entire peninsula. Niebuhr says (vol. i. p. 387), in his lectures published in London: "It is a very common, but erroneous, opinion that the *lex Julia* conferred the privilege of Roman citizens upon the Italians, who in fact never acquired those privileges by any single law, but gained them successively, one by one."

existing, there were created for them eight or ten¹ new tribes, according to the former custom, and these new tribes voted last in the comitia; so that the Roman people retained its position of superior importance. Politically, therefore, the Italians derived but an illusory advantage from this concession. In respect to civil rights, the reign of law being at an end, this new title gave them neither guaranties against oppression, nor any more security in their daily lives. Their admission to citizenship was, however, one of the greatest events in the history of the Republic, and an immense gain in the matter of equality; instead of being herself the state, Rome was soon to be only the capital. And furthermore, if certain of the Italians became Quirites, the people of the provinces might become so; already treaties permitted it to Sardinians, Spaniards, and Africans. The Germans and the Japodes, people yet too barbarous, are the only nations formally excluded.²

Meanwhile the Italians who gathered in their new capital augmented its noise and crowd and disorder. We have referred to the character of the new elements added to the population of Rome, — a few rich men, who at once united with the aristocracy, like Asinius Pollio; and all the beggars in Italy, hastening to profit by the gratuitous distributions of food, and to sell their new votes to the highest bidder. Doubtless this war did not pass over Roman society without deeply agitating it: in the lower strata there was a drawing together of all the oppressed; in the higher it had been made clear to the nobles that they could no longer monopolize the privileges of citizenship. These two facts were sure to have their results; but, for the moment, the Italian had gained only an empty title, and Rome only recruits for her mobs and for the approaching civil war.

¹ Velleius Paterculus (ii. 20) says eight; Appian (*Bell. civ.* i. 49) ten. After Sylla, we find only the thirty-five tribes again. (Cf. Cic., *de Leg. agr.* ii. 7; *Verr.* i. 5; *Philipp.* vi.) This suppression was doubtless effected by Cinna, distributing the new citizens among the thirty-five. Italy had at that time but three kinds of cities remaining, — *municipia*, colonies, and *præfecturae*. (Cic., *pro Sextio*, 14, 32; *in Pison.* 22, 51; *Philipp.* iv. 3, 7.)

² Cicero, *pro Balbo*, 14 and 18. The Insubrii, Helvetii, and some barbarians of Gaul were also excluded. At the same time that this concession was made to the allies, the tribune Plantius Silvanus (89) obtained the passage of a decree of the popular assembly taking away from the tribunals of the knights the decision in cases of high treason.

CHAPTER XLIII.

RIVALRY OF MARIUS AND SYLLA.

I. — THE DISPUTE FOR THE COMMAND IN THE WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES.

SYLLA had gained greatly in importance since the day when, as quaestor under Marius, he had put an end to the Numidian war. With the superstition common to most great men who believe in their luck, — that is to say, in their genius, — he had devoutly cherished the memory of this first favor of the gods; and all his life he had no other seal than that representing Bocchus delivering up to him Jugurtha.¹ Marius at first took no offence; in the Cimbrian war he accepted Sylla again as his lieutenant without jealousy, and saw him obtain a victory over the Tectosagi. It was not until the year 102, when Marius had the aid of Saturninus, and resorted to low popular intrigues to obtain the consulship for the fourth time, that his lieutenant, at last remembering that he himself was the scion of an illustrious patrician house, refused any longer to serve a parvenu who was seeking to make of the consulship a royal position, without so much as thanking the nobles for their patience. Sylla now offered his talents and activity to Catulus, and contributed largely to the success at Vercellae (101). For seven years, however, he remained without further advancement, forgetting, though no longer young, his ambition in his pursuit of pleasure. At the age of forty-four he had failed in an attempt to obtain the praetorship, and had decided to buy it; after which, in order to become popular for the future, he had given magnificent public games,

¹ *Traditione Jugurthae semper signavit.* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 4.)

among others a lion-hunt in the circus, with a hundred lions given by Bocchus (93).

The following year, being pro-praetor in Cilicia, he did two things which drew upon him the eyes of the Eastern world and the applause of the Roman people. With a small army he re-established in Cappadocia Ariobarzanes I., whom Mithridates had driven out; and he received an envoy whom Arsaces IX., king of the Parthians (called "the Great," by reason of his conquests), had sent to offer his friendship and ask that of Rome, with such haughtiness that the Parthian, it was said, returned to tell his master that there could be no doubt the Romans were a most powerful nation. This time Marius was irritated. He, too, had been in Asia, but had traversed the Asiatic countries almost unnoticed; and now his former quaestor was returning thence with great fame. Then the incident of Bocchus' votive offerings occurred, which changed this silent displeasure into violent enmity; and violence was imminent, when both generals were compelled to set off in all haste for the Marsian war. Circumstances constantly bringing them together did but envenom their hatred. We have spoken of the inefficient conduct of the one, and of the other's brilliant services. All the honor of the war redounded to Sylla, and it was not yet ended, — Nola, the Samnites, and the Lucanians yet resisting, — when the general received the reward of his zeal and of his successes. The people with unanimity gave him the consulship, and with it the command of the army against Mithridates (88).



ARSACES IX.¹

But there was another man who desired this lucrative command; and, in the hope of obtaining it, disgraced his gray hairs and his past reputation. Marius was at this time sixty-eight years of age; he had recently built himself a house near the Forum, and every day he might now be seen in the Campus Martius, sharing in the exercises of the Roman youth, riding and throwing the javelin, to show that age had not impaired his physical powers, and that the illness of which he had complained during the late war had completely disappeared. But the people looked with contemptuous pity upon this senile ambition; they recommended him to return

¹ Head of Arsaces IX., from a tetradrachm in the *Cabinet de France*.

to his elegant villa on the promontory of Misenum, or to the waters of Baiae;¹ whereupon he resorted to other measures.

The new citizens had quickly comprehended the intentions of the Senate; their eight votes left them always in the minority, and their nobles complained of being without influence,—their poor, of finding no buyers for a worthless vote. Marius conceived the idea of employing their discontent to serve his own designs. Between himself and them an alliance was easy, their friendly relations being of early date; he made them an offer to repair the Senate's injustice and disperse them among the thirty-five tribes. As he had done thirteen years before, he made use of a tribune, Sulpicius, as the requisite lever.

Sulpicius had distinguished himself in the Marsian war, where he had served as legate under Pompeius Strabo; and in the judgment of Cicero, who had heard him, he and Cotta were the most eminent orators of his time. "Of all whom I have known," says Cicero, "he was the most pathetic, and, so to speak, the most tragic. His voice was powerful and sweet, his gestures elegant and graceful; but with the grace suited to the Forum, not that which is requisite for the theatre."² The Sulpician *gens*, one of the noblest in Rome, had doubtless, like many patrician races, a plebeian branch, to which our tribune belonged; for otherwise he could not (except by adoption, which is not mentioned) have attained to this office, which enabled him to agitate the entire Republic. He obtained his election with the support of the nobles whose interests he had served up to that time (88); and one of the consuls of that year, Pompeius Rufus, was his intimate friend. He at first supported the laws, by opposing C. Julius Caesar's attempt to obtain the consulship before holding office as praetor; and he served the animosities of the financial aristocracy by opposing the proposition to recall those who, under the Varian law, had been condemned to exile. Lastly, he demanded that any senator in debt to the amount of two thousand denarii should forthwith be excluded from the curia.

This care for the senatorial dignity, and this respect for the

¹ The full-paged engraving is from the *Voyage pittoresque à Naples et en Sicile*, Paris, 1782, vol. i., 2d part, p. 214.

² *Brutus*, 55.



TEMPLE OF DIANA AT BAIÆ.

laws appeared meritorious in an age when men no longer respected anything. The year before, a sad instance had been seen of this contempt for gods and men. The Social war had overthrown the fortunes of many, and the disturbances in Asia caused by the invasion of Mithridates had made great havoc in the financial world. Insolvent debtors clamored for the abolishment of debts, and the praetor Asellio directed the judges to grant them the benefit of the old laws against usury, — laws useful, perhaps, in a small agricultural town, but most objectionable for an empire. The creditors complained loudly, and, a tribune placing himself at their head, they set upon the praetor while he was offering a sacrifice before the Temple of Concord. Asellio endeavored to escape, and took refuge in the Temple of Vesta; the assassins, however,

CONCORD.¹

pursued him into the sacred recesses which no man was allowed to enter, and killed him there, still clad in his pontifical robes.² In vain did the Senate promise a reward to any one who should denounce the criminals. No man was willing to assist in the punishment of this murder and double sacrilege.

VESTA AND HER TEMPLE.³

The tribunes Plautius and Papirius profited by the excitement which this event caused, once more to reorganize the tribunals. A

¹ Statue in the Museo Pio-Clementino. The head of the goddess has been replaced by that of the younger Faustina, — an irreverent custom, but one much practised during the Empire. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 760, No. 1,858.)

² Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 54.

³ Veiled head of Vesta. C. CASSIUS VEST. The reverse, a round temple, surmounted by a statue of Vesta; within, a curule chair; at the left, an urn; at the right, a tablet, with the letters A and C (*absolvo* and *condemno*). Silver coin of the Cassian family.

plebiscitum deprived the equestrian order of their exclusive right to fill the judicial offices, decreeing that every year the people should appoint the members of the *quaestiones perpetuae*, each of the thirty-five tribes electing fifteen judges, to be chosen from the three orders, senatorial, equestrian, and simple citizens.¹ It was a bad measure, for the judges were chosen by those amenable to them; but still preferable to the former system, which, giving the judicial offices to a single order, made that order supreme in the state. Varius himself, who had been the agent of the equestrian order in their attack upon the Senate, being cited before the new judges, was condemned by the operation of his own law.

Meanwhile Sulpicius, who had at first appeared as the friend of the nobles, had become the tool of Marius. No other cause than this tribune's debts can be assigned for his sudden change of party. Pursued by his creditors, Sulpicius saw no way to escape from them when his term of office should have expired. Marius displayed the treasures of Mithridates before the tribune's eyes; the latter yielded to the temptation. The agreement was concluded, and Sulpicius began to play the part of Saturninus, whom from that time forward he blamed for his slowness and timidity. He surrounded himself with a guard of six hundred young men, also ruined by debts and profligacy, whom he called his anti-senate,² and was followed moreover by a crowd of Italians who wore concealed weapons. Many murders spread terror through the city. To render himself master of the comitia he proposed the recall of all the partisans of the Italian cause who had been banished by the operation of the Varian law, and the redistribution among the thirty-five tribes of the newly made citizens and the freedmen.³ The consuls Sylla and Pompeius Rufus at once proclaimed the *justitium*, or cessation of all public business. But while they were haranguing the people, Sulpicius presented himself in the Forum and demanded the withdrawal of this proclamation. The consuls refusing, Sulpicius let loose his band; Pompeius fled, after having seen the murder of his son, and Sylla only escaped by taking refuge in the house of Marius. There had as yet been no open rupture

¹ The centumvirs, or hundred and five judges, in certain civil cases had for a long time been thus selected. See Vol. I. p. 242.

² Cic., *Brut.* 89; Plut., *Mar.* 35; *Sylla*, 8; Vell. Paterc., ii. 18.

³ Livy, *Epit.* lxxvii.; Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 55; Cic., *ad Herenn.* ii. 28.

between the two, and Marius protected him. But the latter had already gone so far that all men marvelled to see him recoil from one additional crime. Even here he had not the courage to go forward to the end. Finally, however, his cruelty came to be unhesitating. Sylla, however, refuses him credit for this moment of generosity: in his Memoirs he writes, that, seized by the sicarii of the tribune, he was led to the house of Marius, and there, with a poniard at his throat, forced to withdraw his proclamation.

Sulpicius, remaining master in the Forum, passed whatever laws he pleased, and, while he waited for the treasures of the king of Pontus, sold the right of citizenship for ready money.¹ He also seems to have abolished, in the interest of the knights, the Plautian law concerning the judiciary, in order to gain them over to his party:² at all events, they profited later by the proscriptions of Marius, so much so, indeed, as to acquire the appellation of "cut-purses;"³ and we shall find that Sylla regarded them as enemies, and reduced their power as much as possible. Appointed by the comitia to take the command against Mithridates, Marius sent two tribunes to the six legions encamped before Nola to assume the authority in his name; but Sylla had been before him. The soldiers, not very eager to make an Asiatic war, in which there was so much to gain, under a general who pushed discipline to the extreme of cruelty, and pillaged for himself only, stoned the envoys of Marius. After this decisive conduct, Sylla had little difficulty in bringing them back with him to Rome. The officers, however, were not so unscrupulous, and all abandoned him, with the exception of one quaestor. Luckily his colleague Pompeius came to join him, and, with the authority of the consulship, to give an aspect of legality to his proceedings.⁴ It was the first

SYLLA'S DREAM.⁵

¹ If this sarcasm of Plutarch (*Sylla*, 8) is true, Sulpicius could not have found many purchasers for the *jus civitatis*, since earlier laws had given this right to all those Italians who had been able to become citizens.

² M. Belot, in his learned *Histoire des chevaliers romains* (vol. ii. p. 263), expresses his belief that the Plautian law was not abolished until the year 80, by Sylla.

³ *Multas pecunias abstulerant ex quo saccularii appellati.* (Ascon., ad. *Cic.*, *Tog. Cand.*, p. 90, Orelli.)

⁴ He himself esteemed this decision on the part of Pompeius as one of the most fortunate events that had ever occurred to him.

⁵ Sylla lying on the grass; on one side, a Victory holding a palm; on the other, Diana. Reverse of a silver coin of the Aemilian family.

army, for more than two centuries and a half, that had marched with standards upon Rome; but, being led by the two consuls, it had the air of hastening to the defence of the laws rather than to an

attack upon the country.

We note, however, for the sake of the lesson it holds, that this dangerous example was set by the chiefs of the aristocratic party.

Plutarch, who believes in dreams, relates that Sylla began this enterprise with a certainty of success, because he had seen in a dream a goddess (either Selene, Minerva, or Enyo, the Cappadocian divinity) putting into his hand a thunderbolt with which to smite his enemies. Sylla, very sceptical, though quite as superstitious withal as Plutarch himself, had no need of these supernatural encouragements. From the moment when he decided to draw the



THE VENUS OF THE ESQUILINE.¹

sword against men who had but a *plebiscitum* with which to defend themselves, his success was certain.

The Senate, ruled by Sulpicius, sent two praetors to meet Sylla, and forbid him to advance; but they narrowly escaped being torn in pieces. Other deputies came to ask his conditions: these he

¹ Statue discovered in 1874 upon the Esquiline, on the site of the gardens of Aelius Lamia (*Gazette archéol.*, 1877, pl. 23), a work, probably, of Roman origin, whose heavy forms are widely different from the divine elegance of Praxiteles and his school.

gave, promising to come no farther, and in the presence of the envoys he caused a camp to be marked out. But, as soon as they had gone, he despatched a force to seize the Colline and Esquiline gates, while a legion, executing a flank movement around the city, established themselves on the north, at the end of the *Pons Sublicius*, in order that the attack might be made from both sides simultaneously. At daylight he entered the sacred enclosure of the Roman walls, within which neither law nor liberty now existed, but whither no Roman soldiery had ever before penetrated in arms for a fray. Marius had vainly endeavored to collect an army. The old citizens were unfriendly to him, and the new felt themselves too feeble to contend against six legions. Even the slaves, whom he promised to enfranchise, came to him only in small numbers.¹ A very unequal conflict took place near the city walls: the Marian party threw down tiles from the house-tops, and the partisans of Sylla retaliated with lighted arrows, which set fire to the buildings in many places. The latter quickly drove back their adversaries all along the Subura, as far as the Temple of Tellus, at the foot of the Esquiline Hill; and a legion, which had entered by the *Porta Trigemina*,² now appearing in the rear, the terrified crowd rushed into the side streets, and fled, their leaders having already disappeared. In the evening, camp-fires were lighted in the Forum. It was a doubly sacrilegious conflict; for at that moment Mithridates in Asia was massacring eighty thousand Romans whom this civil war rendered defenceless in his hands.

Sylla caused his troops to observe the severest discipline, and used with moderation this easy victory. Twelve persons only were proscribed, without legal proceedings, it is true, and without the right of appeal. This was the first of these fatal lists which were to take the place of justice, and to make of Rome during the next half-century a bloodier arena than that of her amphitheatres. Sulpicius, betrayed by one of his slaves, was captured in the marshes of Laurentum, and killed. Sylla freed the slave as a reward for obeying the edict, but ordered him to be thrown

¹ Plutarch (*Mar.*, 35) says that only three came to him.

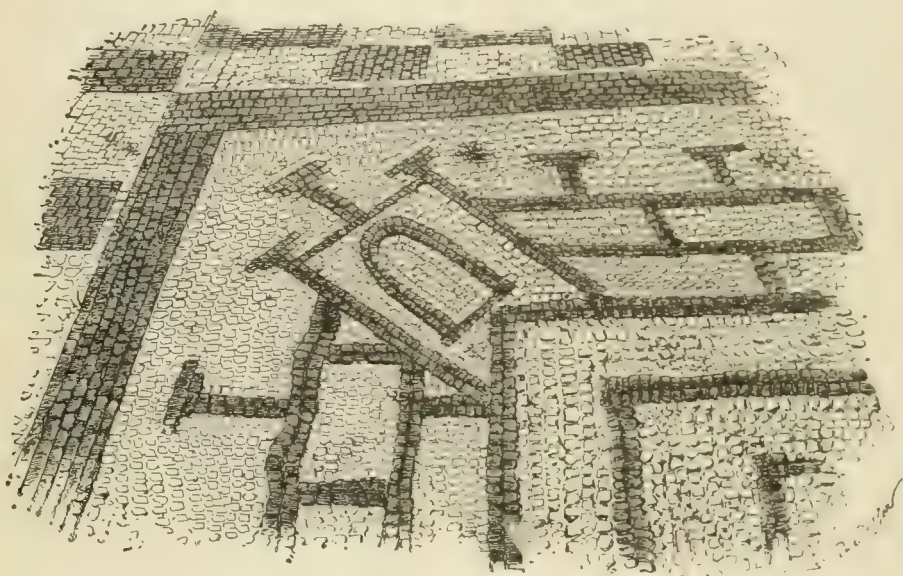
² It seems probable, at least, that this was the legion posted at the *Pons Sublicius*, which entered by the nearest gate, *Porta Trigemina*, and attacked the Marians in the rear.

from the Tarpeian Rock for having betrayed his master. The head of Sulpicius was placed above the rostra,¹ the first of those hideous trophies with which all parties, in turn, disgraced the theatre of the peaceful contests of early Rome. Marius succeeded in making his escape. Sylla had set a price upon his head, notwithstanding the opposition of Quintus Scaevola, the hereditary enemy of all violence. "You may dispose of my life," said the old man — "at my age the sacrifice is light, — but never believe that your power, or your soldiers, will make me vote for the death of a man who once saved the Republic."² On the following day, Sylla called together the popular assembly, where at this moment he was sure of finding no opposition. After explaining that he had been compelled by factions to have recourse to arms, he caused the abolition of the laws of Sulpicius, on pretence that they had been passed in spite of religious prohibitions, and the abrogation of that clause of the Hortensian law which exempted the plebiscita from the necessity of being first approved by the Senate; he also secured the passage of certain laws in the interests of debtors, the tenor of which we do not now understand.³ Thus the violent acts of Marius, endeavoring to win the popular favor, had forced Sylla to decide, and he had thrown himself into the opposite party. The one stooped to the Italians and to the slaves, in the interests of his own ambition, delivering Rome over to the lower classes: the other, to make an end of the seditiousness of the tribunes, united with the nobles, and was already meditating the establishment of an oligarchy upon the ruins of all popular liberty. However, when the time of the consular elections arrived, Sylla left full liberty to the voters. Two candidates whom he presented, his nephew Nonius and Ser. Sulpicius, were defeated. Cn. Octavius, a partisan of the Senate, was elected; and then a friend of Marius, L. Cinna, whom Sylla had endeavored to secure, before the election, by a solemn oath of fidelity to himself. The oath was taken in the Capitol, Cinna holding in his hand a stone, and declaring, in the presence of a numerous crowd, "If I keep not for Sylla the friendship I promise, I consent to be thrown out from the city, as now I throw this stone out of my hand." A strange guaranty

¹ Vell. Paterc., ii. 19.² Max., III. viii. 5.³ Festus, s. v. *Unciaria lex*.

in an epoch like this, — an oath taken upon the altars of the gods! Sylla soon learned what it was worth. Upon the expiration of his term of office, the new consul caused him to be accused by a tribune.

That day, doubtless, Sylla repented his moderation, and his mind settled upon the reforms which later he should inaugurate. But, notwithstanding his brilliant public services, he was not yet in a position to speak and act as a master: it was needful for



MOSAIC AT OSTIA.¹

him to test the devotion of his troops, and strengthen himself by that military renown which has so often slain liberty. Leaving, therefore, at Rome the factious consul and the accusing tribune, he departed to join his army, and boldly embarked for Greece,² feeling certain, that, with his victorious legions and the spoils of Asiatic victory, he could at any time re-open his road to Rome (spring of 87).

¹ Mosaic of the *thermae* at Ostia, representing the walls and gate of a city.

² Plut., *Sylla*, 10; Cicero, *Brut.* 48.

II. — FLIGHT AND RETURN OF MARIUS ; PROSCRIPTIONS ; HIS SEVENTH CONSULSHIP (87–86).

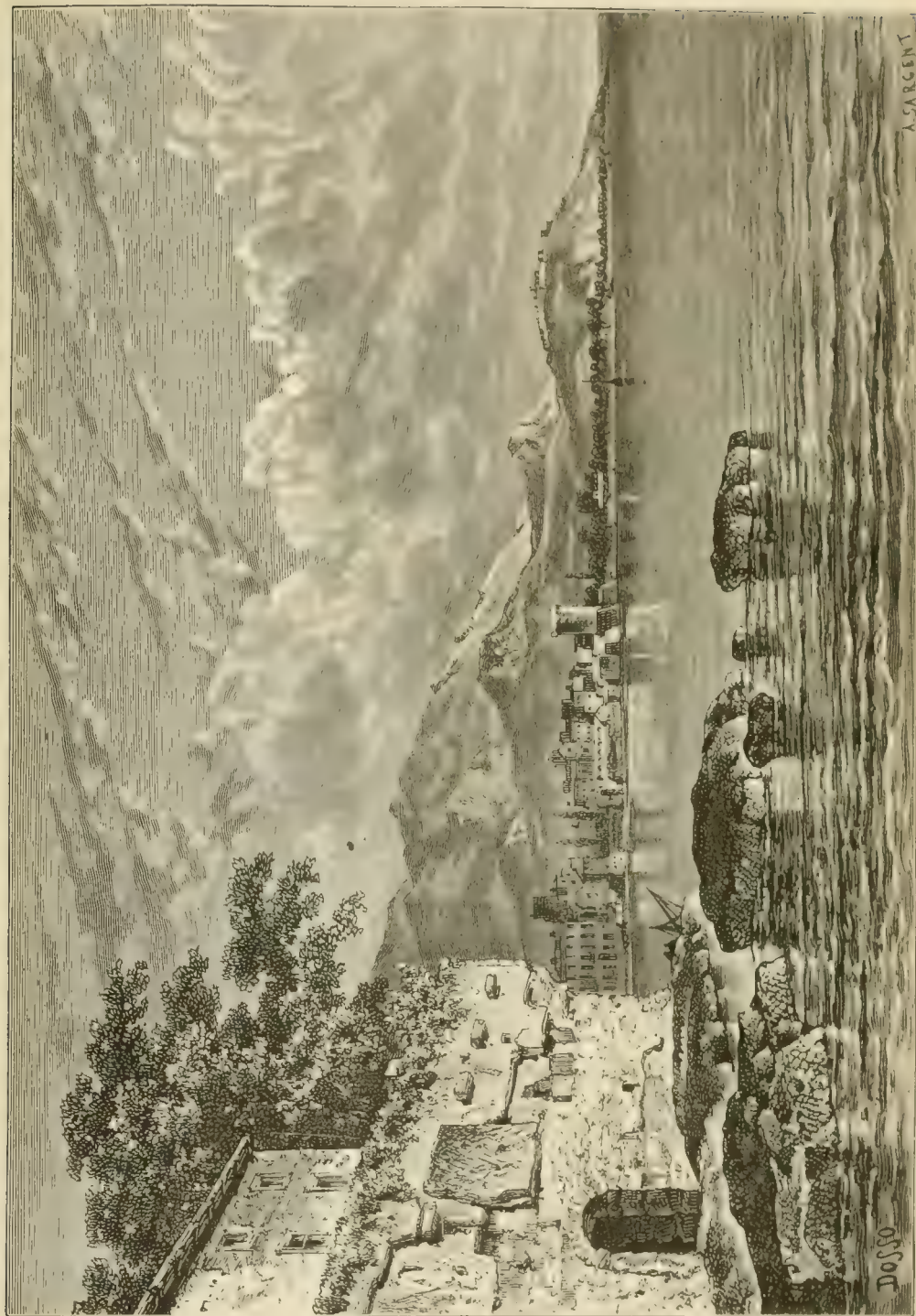
MARIUS fled from his fortunate rival. We may here follow the graphic narrative of Plutarch. “Those that were with him were dispersed as soon as he had escaped out of the city, and, when night came on, he hastened to a country house of his, and sent his son¹ to provide necessaries. He went himself to Ostia, where his friends had prepared a ship, and hence, not staying for his son, he took with him his son-in-law, Granius, and weighed anchor.

“Young Marius made his preparations, and, the day breaking, was almost discovered by a party of horse; but a farm-steward, foreseeing their approach, hid Marius in a cart full of beans, then yoking his team, and driving towards the city, passed through those that were in search of him. Thus young Marius escaped to a ship that was bound for Africa. His father, having put to sea, passed along the coast of Italy, in no small apprehension of one Geminius, a great man at Terracina, and his enemy; and therefore bade the seamen hold off from that place. They were indeed willing to gratify him; but, the wind now blowing in from the sea, they were afraid the ship would not weather out the storm. With difficulty they rounded the promontory of Caieta (Gaëta);² and Marius being indisposed and seasick, as, moreover, they were scant of food, they made for land, and reached the shore near Circeii.

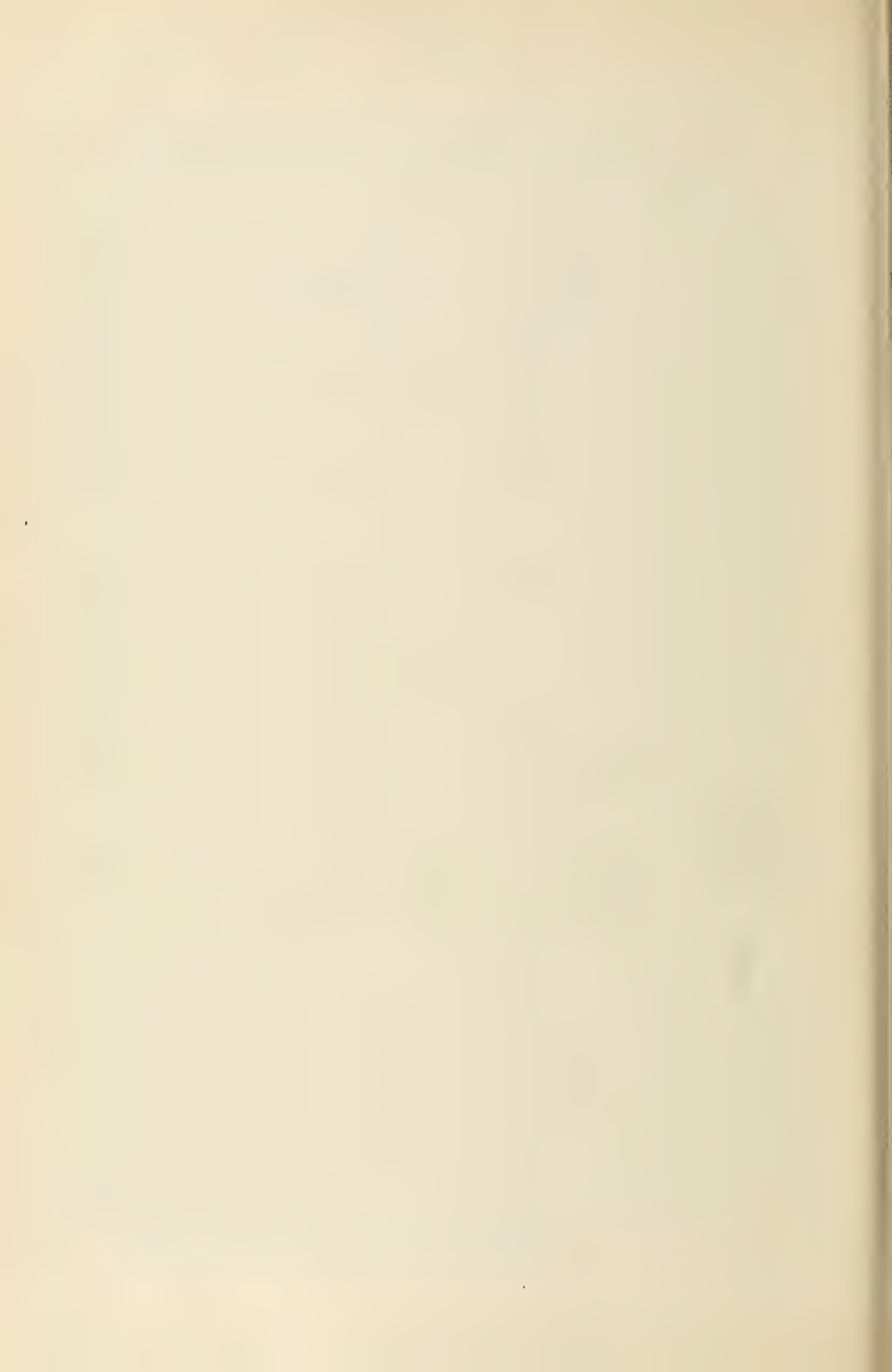
“The storm now increasing, they left their ship, and wandered up and down without any certain purpose. At length, though late, they lighted upon a few poor shepherds who had nothing to relieve them, but, knowing Marius, advised him to depart as soon as might be, for they had seen a party of horse that were

¹ Livy (*Epit.* lxxxvi.) and Vell. Paternulus represent the younger Marius as an adopted son of the conqueror of the Cimbri; Appian calls him, by turns, his son (*Bell. civ.* i. 62) and his nephew (*ibid.* 87). Plutarch (*Mar.* 35) speaks of Granius, one of the twelve who were proscribed with Marius, as the latter's son-in-law.

² The illustration representing Gaëta is from an engraving of the *Aeneid*, translated into Italian verse by Annibal Caro at the expense of the Duchess of Devonshire, 1819, vol. ii. pl. 1.



GAËTA.



gone in search of him. Finding himself in a great strait, especially because those that attended him were not able to go farther, being spent with their long fasting, for the present he turned aside out of the road, and hid himself in a thick wood, where he passed the night in great wretchedness. The next day, pinched with hunger, and willing to make use of the little strength he had, he travelled by the seaside, encouraging his companions not to fall away from



ISLAND OF AENARIA (ISCHIA).

him before the fulfilment of his final hopes, for which, in reliance on some old predictions, he professed to be sustaining himself; for it is certain Marius, in his exile and greatest extremities, would often say that he should attain a seventh consulship.

“When Marius and his company were now about twenty furlongs distant from Minturnae, they espied a troop of horse making up towards them with all speed, and by chance, at the same time, two ships under sail. Accordingly they ran, every one with what speed and strength he could, to the sea, and, plunging

into it, swam to the ships. Those that were with Granius, reaching one of them, passed over to an island opposite, called Aenaria (Ischia). Marius himself, who was heavy and unwieldy, was with great pains and difficulty kept above the water by two servants, and put into the other ship. The soldiers were by this time come to the seaside, and thence called out to the seamen to put to shore, or else to throw out Marius; and then they might

TERRACINA.¹

go whither they would. Marius besought them, with tears, to the contrary; and the masters of the ship, inclining first to one, then to the other side, resolved at length to answer the soldiers that they would not give up Marius. As soon as these had ridden off in a rage, the seamen, again changing their resolution, came to land, and casting anchor at the mouth of the river Liris, where it overflows and makes a marsh, advised him to land, refresh

¹ Pelasgic remains of a bridge. (Dodwell, *Pelasgic Remains*, pl. 109.)

himself on shore, and take some care of his discomposed body till the wind came fairer; which, said they, will happen at such an hour, when the wind from the sea will calm, and that from the marshes rise. Marius, following their advice, did so, and, when the seamen had set him on shore, he laid him down in an adjacent field, suspecting nothing less than that which was to befall him. They, as soon as they had got into the ship, weighed anchor and departed, as thinking it neither honorable to deliver Marius into the hands of those that sought him, nor safe to protect him.

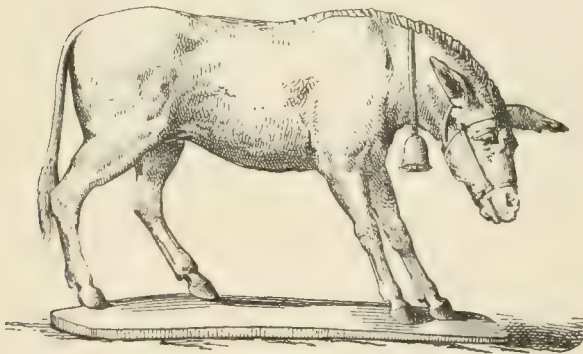
MINTURNÆ.¹

“He, thus deserted by all, lay a good while silently on the shore. At length, collecting himself, he advanced with pain and difficulty, without any path, till, wading through deep bogs, and ditches full of water and mud, he came upon the hut of an old man that worked in the fens, and, falling at his feet, besought him to assist and preserve one, who, if he escaped the present danger, would make him returns beyond his expectation. The poor man, whether he had formerly known him, or was then moved with his superior aspect, told him, that, if he wanted

¹ Chenavard, pl. vi.

only rest, his cottage would be convenient, but, if he were flying from anybody's search, he would hide him in a more retired place. Marius desiring him to do so, he carried him into the fens, and bade him hide himself in a hollow place by the river-side, where he laid upon him a great many reeds and other things that were light, and would cover, but not oppress him. But within a very short time he was disturbed with a noise and tumult from the cottage, for Geminus had sent several from Terracina in pursuit of him; some of whom, happening to come that way, frightened and threatened the old man for having entertained and hid an enemy of the Romans. Whereupon Marius, arising, and stripping himself, plunged into a puddle full of thick muddy water. And even there he could not escape their search, but was pulled out, covered with mire, and carried away naked to Minturnae, and delivered to the magistrates; for there had been orders sent through all the towns to make public search for Marius, and, if they found him, to kill him. However, the magistrates thought convenient to consider a little better of it first, and sent him prisoner to the house of one Fannia.

"This woman was supposed not very well affected towards



BRONZE ASS.¹

him upon an old account. But Fannia did not then behave like one that had been injured, but, as soon as she saw Marius, remembered nothing less than old affronts, took care of him according to her ability, and comforted him. He made her his returns,

and told her that he did not despair, for he had met with a lucky omen, which was thus: when he was brought to Fannia's house, as soon as the gate was opened, an ass came running out to drink at a spring hard by, and gave a bold and encouraging look, first stood still before him, then brayed aloud, and

¹ From an antique figurine.

pranced by him. From which Marius drew his conclusion, and said that the Fates designed his safety rather by sea than by land, because the ass neglected his dry fodder, and turned from it to the water. Having told Fannia this story, he bade the chamber-door to be shut, and went to rest.

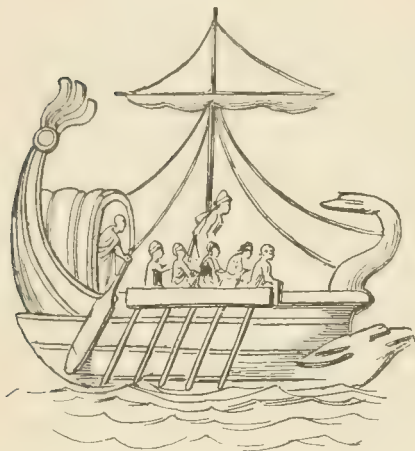
“Meanwhile the magistrates and councillors of Minturnæ consulted together, and determined not to delay any longer, but immediately to kill Marius; and, when none of their citizens durst undertake the business, a certain soldier, a Gallic or Cimbrian horseman (the story is told both ways), went in to him with his sword drawn.¹ The room itself was not very light: that part especially where he then lay was dark, whence Marius’ eyes, they say, seemed to the fellow to dart out flames at him, and a loud voice to say out of the dark, ‘Fellow, darest thou kill Caius Marius?’ The barbarian hereupon immediately fled, and, leaving his sword in the place, rushed out of doors, crying only this, ‘I cannot kill Caius Marius.’ At which they were all at first astonished, and presently began to feel pity and remorse, and anger at themselves for making so unjust and ungrateful a decree against one who had preserved Italy, and whom it was bad enough not to assist. ‘Let him go,’ said they, ‘where he please to banishment, and find his fate somewhere else: we only entreat pardon of the gods for thrusting Marius, distressed and deserted, out of our city.’²

“Impelled by thoughts of this kind, they went in a body into the room, and, taking him amongst them, conducted him towards the seaside, on his way to which, though every one was very officious to him, and all made what haste they could, yet a considerable time was likely to be lost; for the grove of Marica (as she is called), which the people hold sacred, and make it a point of religion not to let anything that is once carried into it be taken out, lay just in their road to the sea, and, if they should go round about, they must needs come very late thither. At length

¹ This was one of the *servi publici* of the city.

² We do not learn that Sylla punished this conduct of the magistrates of Minturnæ. They sheltered themselves behind the story of the Cimbrian, very likely a fiction invented by them to excuse their conduct. They had by this means the appearance of having obeyed the will of the gods, shown by the “Panic terror” which had fallen upon the barbarian. Probably they were glad not to destroy a man who was so conspicuously the friend of the Italians.

one of the old men cried out, and said there was no place so sacred but they might pass through it for Marius' preservation; and thereupon, first of all he himself, taking up some of the baggage that was carried for his accommodation to the ship, passed through the grove, all the rest with the same readiness accompanying him.



SAILING-VESSEL.¹

And one Belaeus (who afterwards had a picture of these things drawn, and put it in a temple at the place of embarkation) having by this time provided him with a ship, Marius went on board, and, hoisting sail, was by fortune thrown upon the island Aenaria, where, meeting with Granius and his other friends, he sailed with them for Africa. But, water failing them in the way, they were forced to put in near Eryx in Sicily, where was a Roman quaestor

on the watch, who all but captured Marius himself on his landing, and did kill sixteen of his retinue that went to fetch water. Marius, with all expedition loosing thence, crossed the sea to the island of Meninx, where he first heard the news of his son's escape with Cethegus, and of his going to implore the assistance of Hiempsal, King of Numidia.

“With this news being somewhat comforted, he ventured to pass from that isle towards Carthage. Sextilius, a Roman, was then governor in Africa,—one that had never received either any injury or any kindness from Marius, but who from compassion, it was hoped, might lend him some help. But he was scarce got ashore with a small retinue, when an officer met him, and said, ‘Sextilius the governor forbids you, Marius, to set foot in Africa. If you do, he says he will put the decree of the Senate in execution, and treat you as an enemy to the Romans.’ When Marius heard this, he wanted words to express his grief and resentment, and for a good while held his peace, looking severely

¹ From Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.

upon the messenger. At last Marius answered him with a deep sigh, 'Go tell him that you have seen Caius Marius sitting in exile among the ruins of Carthage;' appositely applying the example of the fortune of that city to the change of his own condition.

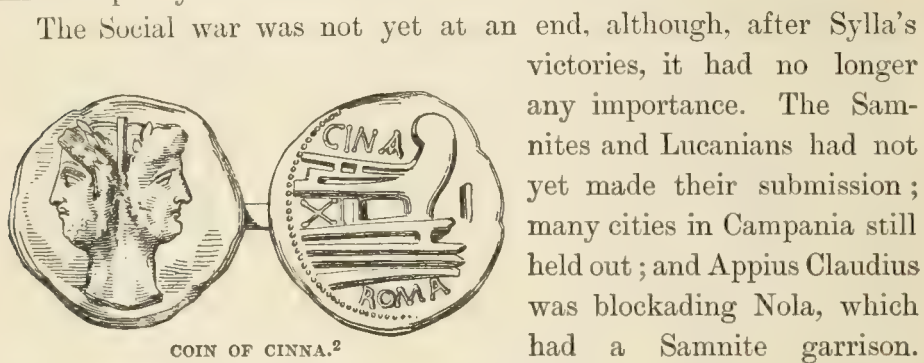
"In the interim, Hiempsal, King of Numidia, dubious of what he should determine to do, treated young Marius and those that were with him very honorably; but, when they had a mind to depart, he still had some pretence or other to detain them, and it was manifest he made these delays upon no good design. However, there happened an accident that made well for their preservation. The hard fortune which attended young Marius, who was of a comely aspect, touched one of the king's concubines, and, she finding means to convey them away, he escaped with his friends, and fled to his father. As soon as they had saluted each other, and they were going by the seaside, they saw two scorpions fighting, which Marius took for an ill omen, whereupon they immediately went on board a little fisher-boat, and made towards Cercinas, an island not far distant from the continent. They had scarce put off from shore when they espied some horse, sent after them by the king, with all speed making towards that very place from which they were just retired. And Marius thus escaped a danger, it might be said, as great as any he ever incurred."¹

Meanwhile the aspect of affairs in Italy was changing. The absence of Sylla and the incapacity of Octavius had encouraged Cinna to bring forward again the schemes of Sulpicius. The new citizens gathered about him; and the rich men of the party went so far as to offer him three hundred talents.² Whether he gave or sold to them his support is of little consequence. In return for his protection, they were to deliver to him the comitia: this was the real bargain. Supported by several tribunes, Cinna proposed to distribute the new citizens among the thirty-five tribes, and with the idea, that, if he were to cause the return of Marius to Rome, the latter might feel bound to be useful to him, he proposed a recall of all persons in exile. On the voting day, a majority of the tribunes

¹ Plut., *Mar.* 35-40.

² Cic., *de Div.* i. 2; *de Nat. deor.* ii. 5; *Philipp.* xiv. 8; Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 64.

opposed these measures, and a sanguinary conflict broke out in the Forum between the old citizens and the new; the former under the command of Octavius, the latter, of Cinna. The latter, driven from the place, strove to excite the slaves in the city to insurrection. We have already seen Caius Gracchus, and, later, the friends or leaders of the Italians, resort to this measure, giving us, as it were, a right to class in one group all these misfortunes. But whether Italians, slaves, or proletarii, in all cases they formed but an untrained and disorderly band. The old citizens easily remained masters of Rome; and the Senate, dealing with a consul as the elder Gracchus had once dealt with a tribune, by decree removed Cinna from office, and appointed in his place Corn. Merula, the flamen of Jupiter. If we may believe Appian, Cinna was even deprived of his title of citizen.¹ This time ten thousand men had perished. There was much illegal action and much bloodshed; but for more than half a century this was what Rome had to see uninterruptedly.

COIN OF CINNA.²

The Social war was not yet at an end, although, after Sylla's victories, it had no longer any importance. The Samnites and Lucanians had not yet made their submission; many cities in Campania still held out; and Appius Claudius was blockading Nola, which had a Samnite garrison. Cinna presented himself to the Italians as a victim of his devotion to their cause, and received from them both men and money: he then drew away the troops blockading Nola, accusing the Senate of having violated in his

¹ Cicero soon after this pleaded that it is not lawful to withdraw from any man the *jus civitatis*: but, in a time when law was perpetually violated, it is not impossible that the Senate may have passed such a decree against Cinna: I do not, however, believe it. The Conscript Fathers had not even the right to remove a magistrate. In the affair of Catiline they decided that Lentulus should abdicate the praetorship, *ut P. Lentulus, quum se praetura abdicasset, tum in custodiam traderetur*. But Cicero very carefully explained to the people that Lentulus, before being led to prison, had resigned his office, *magistratu se abdicavit*. (iii. *Catil.*, 6.) Caesar also was suspended from office, not displaced. (Suet., *Caes.* 16.)

² Head of Janus. On the reverse, the prow of a ship: a copper *as*, its monetary symbol, I. being placed before the prow, and the legend, CINA, ROMA.

person both the rights of the consulship and those of the citizens who had elected him.¹ Numerous levies made throughout Italy² increased his army, and the Social war seemed about to recommence. When Marius heard this news, he set out in all haste, and soon landed at Telamon, in Etruria, with about a thousand Moorish and Numidian horse and foot, and six thousand slaves, whom he attracted by the promise of liberty. Sertorius counselled Cinna not to associate himself with this ambitious and vindictive old man. But Marius appeared so humble that Cinna believed in his disinterestedness, and gave him the title of proconsul with the insignia. Wearing an old toga, with unshaven beard, and eyes fixed upon the ground, Marius seemed still weighed down with the sentence of proscription. But, as soon as he saw himself among the soldiers, all his old activity revived. Four armies (under Marius, Cinna, Sertorius, and Carbo) marched upon Rome. The lines of supply were cut, Ostia seized, and cargoes prevented from going up the river; so that the city was threatened with famine. Octavius and Merula made useless preparations for defence, widening the moat, closing the gaps in the walls, and covering them with machines, but refusing, although greatly urged, to arm the slaves, being unwilling themselves to do, they said, what they blamed in their adversaries.

The Senate had still two armies and two generals in Italy, — Metellus Pius, opposing the Samnites in the south; and in the north Cn. Pompeius, who, to keep the allies in check, had retained his army since the expiration of his consulship. Sylla had sent him a successor, the consul Pompeius Rufus, whom the soldiers massacred, at the instigation, perhaps, of the other Pompeius, who was called Strabo, or the Squinting.⁴ When the civil war broke out, this clever man found himself in much embarrassment. His antecedents and his preferences led him towards the Senate;



POMPEIUS
RUFUS.³

¹ See in Appian (i. 65) his discourse, and his base flatteries of the soldiery.

² Velleius Paterculus (ii. 20) exaggerates, as usual, these levies, representing the whole number as thirty legions. Appian (i. 66) says only, *χρήματά τε καὶ στρατιάν συνετελούν.*

³ Q. POM. RVFI RVFVS COS. Head of Pompeius Rufus.

⁴ App., *Bell. civ.* i. 63; Val. Max., IX. ix. 2. Velleius Paterculus (ii. 21) draws a faithful portrait of this personage: *Ita se dubium mediumque partibus praestitit ut . . . huc atque illuc unde spes major potentiae adfulsisset se exercitumque deflecteret.*

yet he feared that the Syllanian party, if victorious, would call him to account for the consul's death; and besides, in these troublous times, when no one was sure of the morrow, it seemed to him better to have an army of his own, and to take no risk of losing it by engaging in any decisive action. Therefore he advanced slowly towards Rome, and was in sight of the Colline Gate when Cinna and Sertorius attacked it.¹ There was fighting all day, without decisive results; and, a short time after this, Strabo was

MOUTH OF THE TIBER.²

killed by lightning (87). Metellus was recalled by the Senate, who ordered him to make whatever terms the Samnites required: the latter exacted citizenship for themselves and their allies, the restitution of the booty which had been taken from them, the release of the Samnite prisoners, and the extradition of deserters. Metellus refused; but Marius sent word to them that all their demands should be granted, whereupon they came over to his side. Meanwhile Metellus returned to Rome with his troops; but a military tribune opened a gate of the Janiculum to the Marians.

¹ Orosius, v. 19; Zonaras, x. 1. The *Epitome* (lxxix.) of Livy places this affair later, and upon the Janiculum, which may have been a second engagement.

² The Devonshire *Vergil*, vol. ii. pl. 3.

Desertions began from the senatorial army, which was discouraged by the delays of Octavius, and his efforts to conduct a civil war in strict accordance with legal forms; and was also decimated by a contagious disorder, which carried off more than twenty thousand soldiers. The slaves, too, were constantly flocking to the camp of Marius;¹ and at last Metellus, judging the cause lost, fled to Africa, and the Senate prepared to negotiate. Cinna was to be recognized as consul, on condition that no blood should be shed.² Cinna refused to take an oath to this effect, but added, that, for his own part, he should never knowingly cause any man's death; and he even advised Octavius to go away. But the deputies saw at his side the stern and scowling Marius, and they returned terrified into the city.

Cinna and Marius soon were at the gates. "A law drove me forth," Marius said; "and only a law can permit me to return." The comitia were accordingly summoned; but only three or four tribes had voted, when Marius, throwing off the mask, entered, surrounded by the slaves whom he had enfranchised, and a massacre at once commenced. Octavius was killed sitting in his curule-chair, and his head was placed above the rostra.³ P. Crassus, the father of the triumvir, L. Caesar, who had distinguished himself in the Social war, his brother Caius, Atilius Serranus, P. Lentulus, C. Numitorius, M. Baebius, the most important personages in Rome, perished. The assassins had orders to kill all not specially protected by Marius. A former praetor, Ancharius, presented himself before Marius at the moment when the latter was offering sacrifices in the Capitol, and was murdered on the spot. In the case of some there was a parody of justice: Merula, the substituted consul, and Catulus, the conqueror of the Cimbri, were cited before a tribunal. They did not await sentence; but the former inhaled the fumes of charcoal, and the latter opened his veins in the Temple of Jupiter, "under the very eyes of the god" whose pontiff he was. Beside the corpse of Merula was

¹ Livy, *Epit.* lxxx.; Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 69.

² App., *Bell. civ.* i. 69. The fragmentary *Annales* of Granius Licinianus, which have recently been discovered, add a few details, but unimportant ones, to what we already know of these events.

³ Plutarch relates (*Mar.* 42) that a Chaldean amulet was found upon his body. Sylla also wore one. These sceptics were extremely superstitious.

found a tablet declaring, that, before dying, he had laid aside his insignia of *flamen dialis*, according to the ritual. The friends of Catulus had implored Marius for his life, obtaining no other reply than simply the words, "He must die."

The great orator Marcus Antonius had hidden himself in a peasant's hut. The peasant, sending to buy at the tavern more wine than his accustomed supply, excited the curiosity of the inn-keeper, who questioned the slave, and hastened to betray the proscribed man. Marius was eager to go and kill his enemy with



WINE-DEALER'S SIGN.¹

his own hand, but those about him prevented it; and a tribune with some soldiers was sent to perform the act. Arriving at the hut, the soldiers enter; but Antonius with his eloquent remonstrances stops them. They listen with charmed attention; their swords drop, until the tribune, who has remained outside, is forced to enter, and breaks the spell, cutting down the orator with his own hand. It is said that Marius, when the head of his enemy was brought to him, took it into his hands, and addressed it with insults.² Cornutus was saved by his slaves. They prepared a

¹ At Pompeii (from a painting).

² App., *Bell. civ.* i. 73. Val. Max. iv. 2 . . . *inter epulas per summam animi ac verborum insolentiam aliquandiu tenuit*. This Antonius was the grandfather of the triumvir. He is one of the interlocutors in Cicero's treatise *de Oratore*.

funeral-pile in front of his house, and placed on it a corpse which they had picked up in the road. When they saw far away the assassins approaching, the slaves set fire to the pile, and, since ashes of senator and ashes of peasant are quite alike in appearance, the sicarii believed their work already done, and went on.

For five days and nights, murder raged without interruption, penetrating even to the most sacred places and the very altars of the gods. From Rome the proscriptions extended over all Italy. Men were slain in cities and on highways; and as it was forbidden, under pain of death, to bury them, the corpses remained where they had fallen, until devoured by wild beasts, or birds of prey. The senators had only this privilege, that their severed heads were placed on the rostra. To these murders, the slaves who had been let loose added rapine, theft, and every outrage. Cinna and Sertorius were the first to weary of this butchery. One night, with the troops from Gaul, they surrounded four thousand of the satellites of Marius, and slew them to a man.¹

Sylla, meanwhile, at the head of his victorious army, could not be reached: even his wife, Metella, with her children, had escaped. Marius declared him a public enemy, confiscated his property, and abrogated his laws.² Rome must still have had great strength, or her opponents must have been extremely feeble, for her to be able to exhibit with impunity, to the world, the strange spectacle of an army and its general proscribed at the moment when they were fighting their country's enemies. It is plain, also, that he who, being situated thus, was willing to postpone his private vengeance until he had satisfied the vengeance of his country against their foes, was no ordinary man. Marius felt this, and although, with Cinna, he had, on the 1st of January, 86, taken possession of the consulship without the formality of an election, he was alarmed at the prospect of being soon obliged to encounter Sylla. In the night he seemed to hear a menacing voice, which said to him, "The lair even of the absent lion is formidable!"³ To escape from these terrors, Marius plunged into debauchery, which

¹ Probably after the death of Marius: Appian, however (*Bell. civ.* i. 71), places this execution before his seventh consulship.

² App., *Bell. civ.* i. 71; Plut., *Mar.* 43; Livy, *Epit.* lxxx.; Vell. Paterc., ii. 22.

³ This is hardly probable, and is doubtless borrowed by Plutarch from Sylla's own memoirs, who naturally wished to represent his enemy dying amidst terrors inspired by himself.

hastened his end. Piso relates, that, walking one evening with himself and some friends, Marius talked to them much of his past life, of the favors and rebuffs that he had received from Fortune, adding, that it was not the part of a wise man to trust himself longer to her inconstancy. Saying these words, he embraced them, bade them adieu, and returning home took to his bed, whence he never again rose. Pursued even to his last moments by dreams of military glory, and visions of battle, he gesticulated in his delirium like one at the head of an army, springing up in bed, commanding a charge, shouting victory. On the seventh day he died, in the seventieth year of his age, and in his seventh consulate (13th of January, 86).

The funeral-rites of Marius were worthy of him. During the ceremonies, Fimbria attempted to murder the pontifex maximus, Mucius Scaevola, whose only offence had been to seek to mediate between the two parties. The wound was not mortal; and, some weeks later, Fimbria made preparations to bring an accusation against him before the people. When Scaevola asked to know of what crime he was accused, Fimbria rejoined, "Of not having received my weapon deep enough." Marius had set the example of these human sacrifices, causing L. Caesar, the ex-censor, to be cut in pieces on the tomb of Varius.¹

Shall we say that Marius did more harm or good to his country? If he had never lived, doubtless some other man would have conquered the Cimbri, and saved Italy; and this other perhaps would not, when loaded with years and military renown, have plunged Rome into civil war, and inaugurated as a political measure and an act of statecraft the murder of whole classes of citizens. Without Marius, Sylla would not have been what he was. We have paid honor to the Gracchi, notwithstanding their faults: we must condemn the sterile ambition of the man who was not even a good partisan.

Cinna, left alone, found himself unequal to his task. A violent but inconsistent person, he never carried either his moderation or his violence to its legitimate end; so that he irritated by his audacity, and ruined himself by his irresolution. Valerius Flaccus, whom he

¹ Cic., *pro Rosc.* 12; Val. Max., IX. ii. 2.

selected for successor to Marius in the consulship, brought to that office neither great talents nor much reputation. He reduced all debts to one quarter of their amount by permitting copper to be paid instead of silver, an as for a denarius, and then set off for Syria, to dispute with Sylla the glory and profit of the war against Mithridates. By his own authority, Cinna himself continued without election for the two following years, 85 and 84,



TOMB, SAID TO BE OF MARIUS, NEAR LAKE FUSARO ¹

in the consular office, taking as colleague Papirius Carbo;² whereby it will be seen that the people never had less share in public affairs than under this so-called "popular government." An apparent calm prevailed. Murders had ceased; and still, every day, apprehension drove out of Italy and to the camp of Sylla, those members of the old nobility who had yet remained in Rome. The

¹ From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*. The *lago di Fusaro* (*Acherusia palus*) is a little salt lake between Cumae and the promontory of Misenum, communicating by a narrow channel with the sea. The funeral-rites of Marius were performed at Rome, not at Misenum; and later we shall see that Sylla caused his rival's tomb to be destroyed, and the ashes it contained to be thrown into the Tiber.

² *A seipsis consultis per biennium creati* (Livy, *Epit.* lxxxiii.). During his consulship, Papirius Carbo erected, in obedience to a senatus-consultum, an equestrian statue to Marius.

new citizens, distributed among the thirty-five tribes by the operation of the Sulpician law, which a decree of the Senate confirmed in the year 84, reduced to silence the tribunes, the Senate, and the old citizens, and delivered the State over to Cinna, who, as consul for four years successively, exercised an absolutely royal authority, yet had not even the ability to prepare a defence against Sylla by fortifying the harbors, and rendering them inaccessible to his fleet. Like his patron Marius, Cinna was one of those ambitious men who desire power, but are incapable of using it; and it is noteworthy with what facility their party, formed of all the lower orders in the State, accepted even an incompetent master.

There was, however, among these self-seekers, one man who bestowed some thought upon the public interests. Since the time of Drusus a depreciation of the currency had appeared so convenient a resource that it had been frequently employed, until, Cicero says, "At that time no man knew accurately what he possessed."¹

In 84 the praetor Marius Gratidianus put a stop to the forced circulation of these plated denarii, and had them exchanged at the public treasury for pieces of true metal.² The evil had become so great, that the praetor appeared a public benefactor: statues were erected to him, and wax candles and incense burned before them, thus paying him almost divine honors. The men who recompensed with such homage a simple municipal measure will be ready to do much indeed for those who will give them peace and security. As a matter of chronology the empire is still remote; but in the manners of the time we are already very near it.

A fact related by Livy will fitly close this gloomy chapter.³ "In this war two brothers (one belonging to Cinna's army, the other to that of Pompeius) encountered each other without knowing it; and when the conqueror, despoiling the enemy, recognized his

¹ These plated coins were not official counterfeits any more than are our bank-notes, which have no intrinsic value, and they were received, like the rest, in payment of public dues. But as nothing distinguished them from denarii of real silver, they encouraged counterfeiting, and left men uncertain as to what they really possessed. Accordingly, when in critical moments the State multiplied the plated denarii, the disquietude became general. (Cic., *de Off.* 20, 80. Cf. De Witte, *Revue numism.* 1868, p. 181, and Lenormant, *Hist. de la monn.* i. p. 231.)

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 9, and xxxiv. 6.

³ *Epit.* lxxix.

brother, he vented his grief in uncontrolled lamentation; and, having prepared a funeral-pile for him, he stabbed himself on it, and was consumed with him." During the past two years, Italy had brought together friends and brothers upon countless funeral-piles.



VICTORY (POMPEIAN PAINTING).

CHAPTER XLIV.

MISERABLE CONDITION OF THE PROVINCES.

I. A PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR.

FOR forty years the Roman world had been shaken by the constantly renewed claims of the Roman poor, of the Italians, and of the slaves: it was now to be again agitated by the efforts of the provincials to obtain relief. Like an ocean scourged by the tempest, the threatening waves followed one another, each more formidable than its predecessor. The Gracchi had attacked only the privileges of the nobles; the Italians, only those of Rome: Mithridates now was able to endanger the very existence of the State, finding, as he did, the patience of its subjects exhausted.

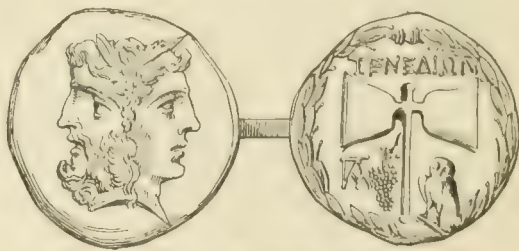
Elsewhere we have explained the theoretical organization of the provinces: we will now examine their real condition.

Appian, referring to the favorable terms granted by Gracchus to the Celtiberians, adds, "But, when the Senate grants privileges to any people, this condition is always included,—that these privileges shall be in force only so long as it shall please the Roman people."¹ In other words, notwithstanding the distinctions which we have set forth, the provincials were subjected to Rome's absolute sway, and to the unlimited authority of the proconsul, the representative of Rome;² so that their condition depended much less upon the law than upon the character of the man who came among them to wield the right of the sword. If he were intelligent, honest, and kindly, the province prospered: if he were hard and grasping, it groaned under the most revolting oppression.

¹ Δίδωσι δ' ἡ βουλὴ τὰς τοιάσδε δωρεὰς, ἀεὶ προστιθείσα, κυρίας ἔσεσθαι μέχρι ἂν αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ (App., *Iber.* 44).

² *Prætor improbus cui nemo intercedere possit* (Cic., in *Verr.* II. ii. 12). The condition of the provincials was expressed in these words: *in arbitratu, dicione, potestate, amicitiave populi Romani* (*Lex Repet.* v. 1).

"The cities," wrote Cicero to his brother, the governor of the province of Asia, "no longer contract debts. Many are relieved by your care from the enormous burden of those formerly contracted: many cities, almost deserted, owe to you their revival. There are no more seditions and discords among the people. The administration is in the hands of the enlightened class.¹ Mysia is purged of brigands; throughout the province murders are repressed, and peace is established; security again exists upon the high-ways and in the fields, and, what is more, in the cities and in the temples, where robbery and pillage were formerly practised with the greatest boldness and success. Burdens and tributes are more equally distributed. You are always accessible. The poor and weak are admitted to your tribunal and your house. In a word, nothing in your conduct is severe or cruel. For three years you have governed Asia, and not one of the numerous temptations that a province offers—neither pictures, nor precious furniture, nor rare stuffs, nor the charm of beauty, nor the allurements of wealth—have made you for a moment forget the strictness of your principles." In these eulogies, which were but counsels in disguise, Cicero depicted a governor such as the Roman world had rarely known: elsewhere he shows what these masters of the world for the most part really were, immortalizing the infamy of one of them.

COIN OF HALICARNASSUS.²COIN OF TENEDOS.³

The praetor Dolabella, on setting out for Cilicia, his province, took with him C. Licinius as lieutenant.⁴

At Sicyon in Achaea, Licinius demanded money of the chief magistrate of the city, and upon his refusal, shut him in a cell,

¹ *Ut civitates optimatum consiliis administrarentur* (ad Quint. i. 1, 8).

² ΑΛΙΚΑ (ἡρασσέων Ἡρ) ΟΔΟΤΟΣ. Conventional bust of Herodotus upon a bronze of Hadrian, struck at Halicarnassus.

³ Heads of Jupiter and Juno, united like the double-faced Janus. On the reverse, ΤΕΝΕΔΙΩΝ. Two-edged axe (*bipennis*), bunch of grapes, owl, and monogram, in a laurel wreath. Tetradrachm of Tenedos.

⁴ The gentile name of Verres is not known, nor do we know the *gentilium* of Marius Servilius or Mummius. It is quite probable that these parvenus had none.

in which he caused a great fire of green wood to be set burning.

He then compensated himself by carrying away the most beautiful statues and pictures that could be found throughout Achaia. At Athens, sharing the spoils with his praetor,

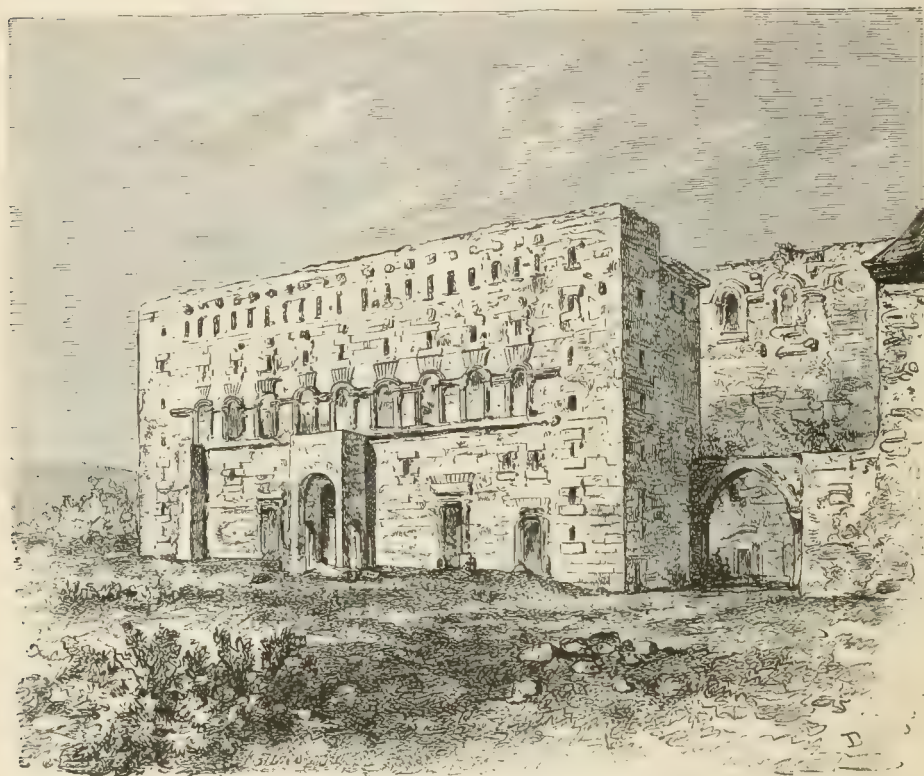
he plundered the Parthenon, and at Delos, the



TEMPLE OF PERGA.¹



COIN OF LAMPSACUS.²



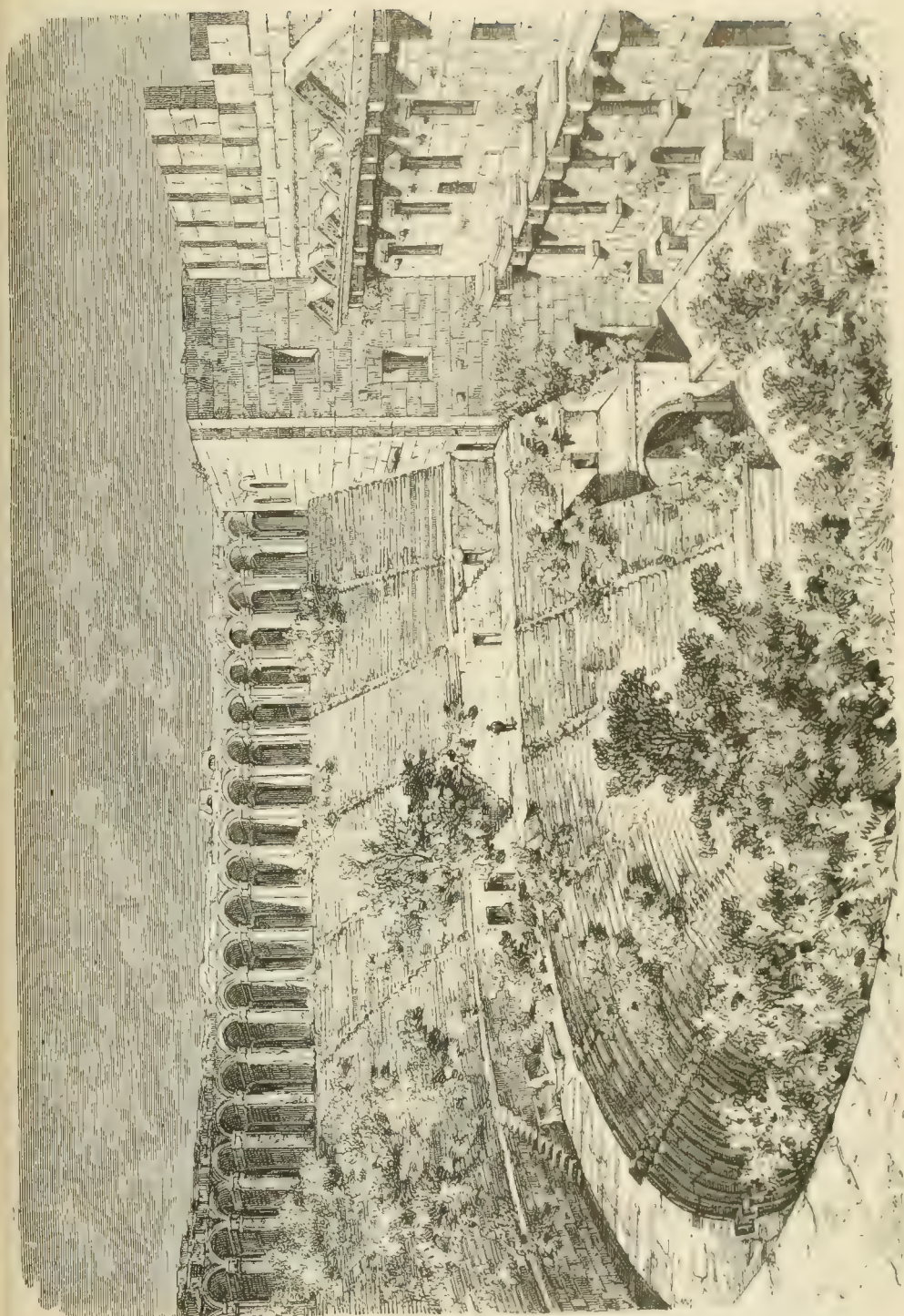
THEATRE AT ASPENDUS IN PAMPHYLIA (EXTERIOR).³

Temple of Apollo; at Chios, at Erythrae, at Halicarnassus, at Tenedos, at Aspendus in Pamphylia, all along his road, the same

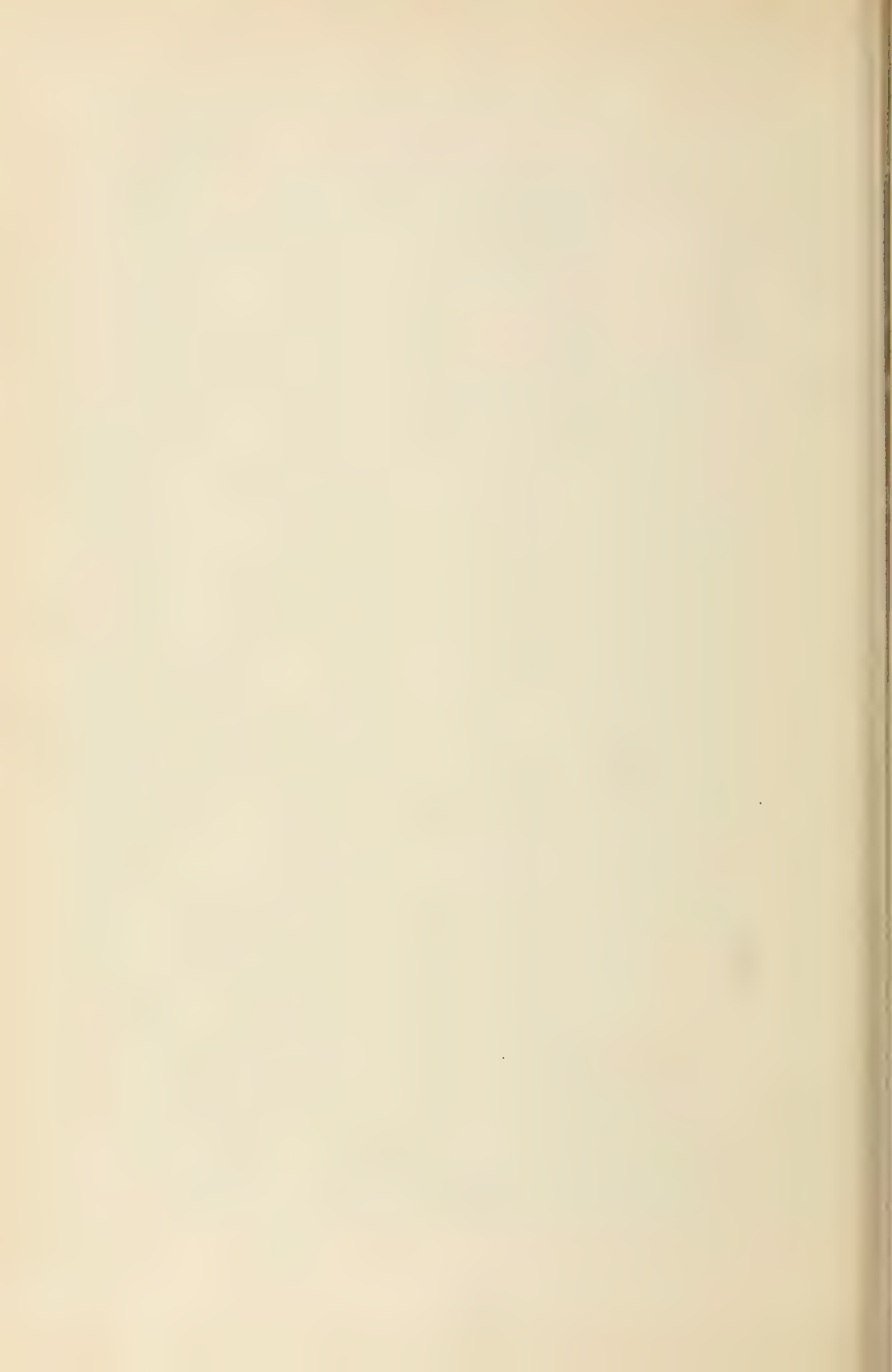
¹ ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΕ ΥΨΑΤΟΣ. Temple of Diana of Perga, with her image. Reverse of a silver coin of Trajan.

² Head of Pan. Reverse, the hippocampus, or, according to MM. L. Müller and de Chanot (*Gazette archéol.*, 1875, p. 113), Pegasus. Gold stater of Lampsacus.

³ Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie mineure*, vol. iii. pl. 232 bis. The interior of this theatre (next page) is from the same work, pl. 232. [This splendid building, unfortunately so inaccessible that few civilized men have seen it, is by far the best preserved ancient theatre in the world. It is apparently Greek with Roman building added in most parts. — *Ed.*]



THE THEATRE AT ASPENDUS IN PAMPHYLIA (INTERIOR).



acts of rapine were perpetrated. Samos had a temple venerated by all Asia. He plundered both temple and city; and, when the Samians complained to the governor of Asia, they were told that they must address themselves to Rome. At Perga was a statue of Diana entirely covered with gold, which he caused to be torn off. The people of Miletus sent one of their best ships to convoy him, being one of ten the town owed to Rome. He kept and sold it. At Lampsacus he sought to do violence to a daughter of the first citizen of the place. Her father and brother had the courage to protect the girl, and in the struggle a licitor was killed. Licinius seized this pretext, accused them of an attempt upon his life, cited them before the governor, acting himself as witness and as judge; and both father and son were beheaded in the market-place of Laodicea. As yet, he had no public office; but what was his conduct when Dolabella made him his pro-quaestor! Pamphylia, Lycia, and Pisidia were overwhelmed with requisitions for corn, leather, bags, sailors' clothing. There was exemption for all who were able to purchase it. Dolabella himself accused his pro-quaestor of having made a profit of 2,567,000 sesterces (about a hundred thousand dollars), which placed him in a position to buy the praetorship.



COIN OF HALAESA.¹

Invested in the year 76 with the urban praetorship, Licinius during a year made merchandise of justice at Rome, and, on the expiration of his term of office, obtained the government of Sicily, the province nearest home, and usually most gently treated because it was full of Roman citizens. Many calamities had fallen upon this beautiful island, — the Punic wars, the Servile wars, the publicans; but Nature made good all losses by her generous fruitfulness. Countless streamlets descending from the mountains of the interior gave, under the

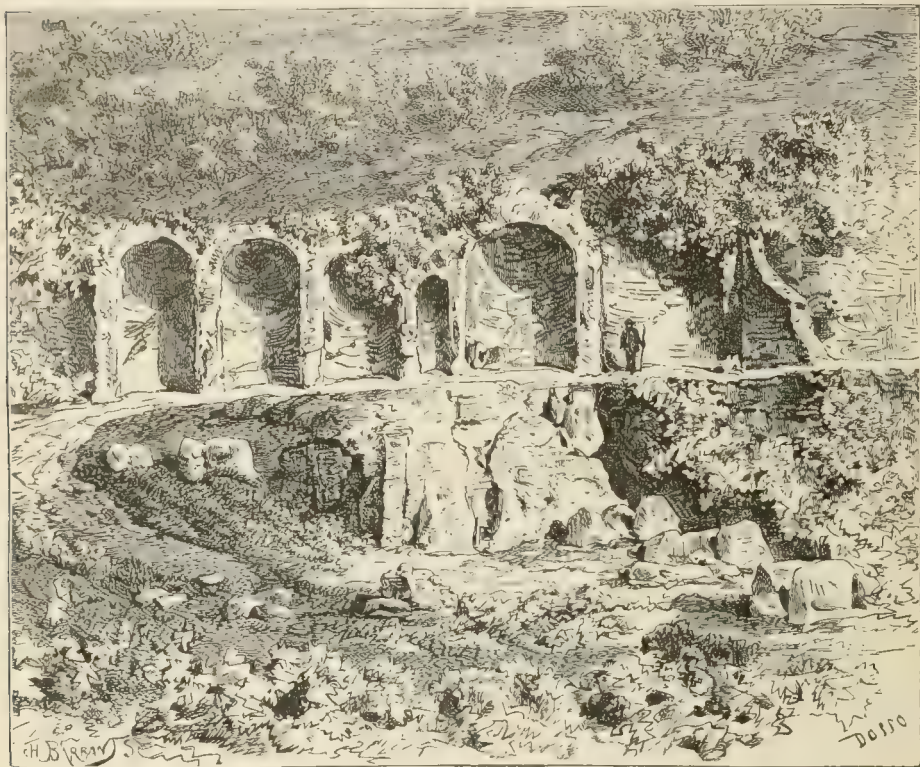


COIN OF CENTURIPAE.²

¹ ΑΛΛΙΣΤΑΣ ΑΡΧ. Soldier standing. Reverse of a bronze coin of Halaesa.

² Head of Ceres or of Proserpine; behind it a fish. The reverse, ΚΕΝΤΟΡΙΠΙΝΩΝ, under a panther. Bronze coin of Centuripae.

almost African sun, a mighty energy to vegetation; and Ceres, the great goddess of the island, repaid with abundant harvests the fervent worship paid her by the inhabitants. Ships were constantly coming to Syracuse, Messina, and Lilybaeum. Agrigentum, just now recovering from the desolations of the Punic wars, was at this time a flourishing city; and numerous bands of



REMAINS OF ANCIENT BATHS, NEAR CENTURIPAE.¹

pilgrims were ever on the road to the temple of Venus Erycina. Licinius swooped down upon this rich prey. Even before he had landed, he summoned an inhabitant of Halaesa to give an account of an inheritance; and the latter did not escape from his hands until he had paid eleven hundred thousand sesterces, together with his finest horses, and all the silverware and costly carpets

¹ From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*. Centuripae, which had become a very wealthy city (Cic., in *Verr.* II. v. 32), suffered much from the exactions of Verres, and still more from those of Sextus Pompeius. The city rendered to Augustus services which he recompensed by certain privileges (Cic., in *Verr.* II. ii. 67, 69; iii. 6, 45, 48; iv. 23); Strab., vi. p. 272; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ii. 8, § 14.



MOUNT ERYX AND REMAINS OF THE TEMPLE OF VENUS (FROM THE DEVONSHIRE VILLA)



that he possessed. Other similar affairs brought him in not less than forty million sesterces. The new governor sold justice and public offices: he trifled with the law, his own edicts, the religion, lives, fortune, and, above all, the endurance of the provincials. During three years, not a senator of the sixty-five cities of Sicily was elected gratuitously. Once, for a small profit, he cut off a month and a half from the year, declaring that the first day of the ides of January was the first day of the calends of March. A judge at Centuripae had decided against his wishes. He annulled the verdict, forbade the judge to sit in the senate of his city, or to appear in public, and debarred him from acting in any matter of business, or prosecuting any person who might attack him. The inhabitants of Agyrum, suffering from too heavy a tax, dared to complain. Their deputies narrowly escaped death under the rod, and the city paid to the praetor four hundred thousand bushels of corn, and sixty thousand sesterces. At Aetna his agents extorted from the agricultural laborers, besides the tithe, three hundred thousand bushels; at Leontini and at Herbita, four hundred thousand.¹ Like Darius or Xerxes, he gave cities to his friends, — Lipari to a boon-companion, Segesta to Tertia the actress, Herbita to Pippa, the scandal of Syracuse. His exactions depopulated, not only the cities, but the country also. Upon his arrival he found in the territory of Leontini eighty-three farms. The third year of his praetorship there remained but thirty-two; at Motye, the number had fallen from one hundred and eighty-eight to one hundred and one; at Herbita, from two hundred and fifty-seven to one hundred and twenty; at Agyrum, from two hundred and fifty to eighty.³ Throughout the province, more than half the arable ground was deserted. It seemed as if war and pestilence, and all scourges united, had passed over the country. And the governor, lying in his litter upon Maltese roses, a wreath of

COIN OF ALUNTUM.²

¹ Piso repeated in Macedon, Boeotia, the Chersonese, and at Byzantium, the exactions of Verres in the matter of corn: *Unus aestimator, unus redditior, tota in provincia, per triennium, frumenti omnis fuisti.* (Cic., in *Pis.* 35.)

² Head of the Phrygian Venus. The reverse, an ox standing. Bronze coin of Aluntium, town built on a hill on the southern coast of Sicily, now San Marco (?).

³ Cic., in *Verr.* II. iii. 51.

flowers upon his head, another about his neck, in the midst of silent maledictions journeyed through the desolated land.¹

For the provisioning of Rome, he had received from the province thirty-seven million sesterces. The money he kept for himself; and the grain sent to Rome was the result of his robbery. For his household, the province was to furnish him provisions, for which the Senate paid.² Corn was worth two or three sesterces a bushel. He fixed the price at twelve, required five times more than was due

to him, then caused the payment to be made him in money, on the scale of value which he had fixed.³

It was still further disastrous for the provinces that this Licinius was a dilettante, an antiquary, a lover of curiosities and of all beautiful things. Woe to the host who received him! The house was plundered without scruple. One day he passed near the city of Aluntium situated on a hill-top, which till then had escaped his rapine. He



THE EROS OF THE VATICAN.⁴

caused his litter to stop at the foot of the hill, had all the silver in the place brought to him, selected what pleased him, and carried

¹ Sicily escaped at this time from one tax which Fonteius laid upon his province. — the Narbonensis. This was an import upon wines on entering the cities and on being exported from the province. — four denarii on the amphora at Toulousa, three victoriati (victoriatus = a half denarius) at Croduna, six denarii at the place of export. (Cic., *pro Font.* 8.)

² These dues were called *vasarium*. The Senate gave Piso eighteen million sesterces, *quasi vasarii nomine*. (Cic., *in Pis.* 35.)

³ To escape this exaction, the Sicilians asked the favor of being allowed to furnish the corn *gratuitously* which was required for the praetor's household. Cf. Cic., *in Ferr.* II. iii. 86.

⁴ Museo Pio-Clementino, No. 250. This statue may be a copy of that which Verres stole from Messina. Cf. Ampère, *Histoire romaine à Rome*, iii. 310.

it away, leaving word for the magistrate to compensate the owners by some trivial sum, which he did not even repay.¹ The King of Syria, Antiochus, came through Sicily on his way to Rome, bearing magnificent gifts destined for the Capitol: the praetor seized upon



DIANA THE COMBATANT.²

them. The King complained, protested, but got no more redress than the meanest provincial would have obtained. For eight months numerous goldsmiths were at work in the palace of Hiero, merely in repairing and polishing the objects in gold which the praetor had stolen; and at the custom-house in Syracuse it was

¹ Cic., in *Verr.* II. iii. 43; iv. 23.

² From the museum of the Capitol.

registered, that, from that port alone, he had in the course of a few weeks sent out of the island objects valued at twelve hundred thousand sesterces. Our praetor also was making a collection of antiquities, and not a cup, not a fine vase, above all, not a famous statue, escaped him. Messina had a renowned Eros by Praxiteles; Agrigentum had an urn by Boethus: he seized them both. The Diana of Segesta and the Ceres of Enna were objects of general devotion: from Rome even, worshippers came to their altars. This made them worthy to stand in his gardens or his gallery, and he carried them off. Almost all the statues that Scipio had sent back from Carthage to the Sicilians were thus a second time stolen from them.

The Servile war was at its height; pirates covered the sea. He equipped a fleet, requiring from the cities ships, sailors, arms, and provisions; but only for the purpose of selling the weapons and the supplies, and to the sailors leaves of absence and exemptions. Roman soldiers could be seen, in this most fruitful province, reduced to feed upon the roots of palm-trees. The first time this fleet, so ill appointed, sailed out of the harbor, it was defeated, whereupon the praetor, as a strict guardian of the honor of the flag, ordered all the captains to be put to death; and, again, his lictors sold to the relatives of the condemned the privilege of having them killed at one blow. One last fact will sum up all the rest. A Roman citizen, Gavius, was carrying on business at Syracuse: the governor caused him to be thrown into the Lantumiae. Gavius made his escape, hastened to Messina, announcing that he was going to Rome to accuse the praetor. The latter, however, again seized him, caused him to be beaten with rods by all the lictors together, then directed a cross to be set up on the shore looking towards Italy,—towards liberty and law,—and Gavius to be attached to it. Amid these tortures and in all the agony of death, the victim uttered not a groan or a cry, but only repeated, *Civis romanus sum*; while the praetor cried out to him, "There you see Italy! you see your country, your laws, and your liberty!"¹

This Caius Licinius is also known as Verres, and the name is that of the most rapacious extortioner, I admit, that ancient history mentions; but, as Cicero himself says, the guilty governors were

¹ Cic., in *Verr.* II. v. 62.

numerous; they went unpunished; and Verres was only possible because a hundred others had preceded him: between them and him the difference was only one of degree. "How many unjust magistrates," cries the orator, "have there been in Asia, in Africa,



CERES (VATICAN).¹

in Spain, in Gaul, in Sardinia!" Many were accused, and a few condemned, like Dolabella and Calidius, each of whom paid a fine of three hundred million sesterces.² "A mere nothing," said Calidius, "for which I cannot understand how a praetor can be fairly condemned." But the larger number of them escaped, for the

¹ Museo Pio-Clementino, No. 544.

² Three million sesterces — about a hundred and twenty thousand dollars.

successor of an accused magistrate usually stifled the complaints of the provincials, arrested the witnesses, requested, threatened, and by a new tyranny kept men silent in respect to the past.¹ "The rights of our allies!" cries Cicero; "but it is not even allowed them to deplore their misfortunes."

Sometimes the province disarmed itself in advance by unworthy sycophancy. Did not Verres have statues in all the cities of Sicily, a triumphal arch at Syracuse with the inscription of "savior," and even equestrian statues at Rome, "erected by the grateful Sicilians"?²

II. EXACTIONS IN THE PROVINCES; THE PUBLICANS; USURY.

VERRES had not exhausted all varieties of exactions. The consul Manius Aquilius sold Phrygia to Mithridates V.³ For two hundred talents another governor, Piso, granted to the people of Apollonia an exemption from paying their debts, and let the creditors do what they could.⁴ He sold at a higher price, namely, three hundred talents, to King Cotys, the head of a Thracian chief who had come to him as ambassador. We must therefore commend his moderation when we find that he took only a hundred talents from Achaea in the form of personal gifts. He, however, indemnified himself by various industrial enterprises; for example, under pretext of fabricating bucklers and weapons, he collected all the flocks in the province, and sold them. In his army all grades, even to that of centurion, were sold to the highest bidder. Flaccus caused the cities of Asia to pay for a fleet which did not exist; Fonteius converted to his own use a tax upon the wines of Narbonensis;⁵ and Aemilius Scaurus, by threatening an Arab prince

¹ See in the Verrine orations (*in Verr.*, II. i. 10) what hindrances Metellus, who was, after all, an honest man, placed in the way of Cicero's investigations. Certainly any one less active, and less eager for a cause which would have great notoriety, would have abandoned this. (*In Verr.* II. i. 10.)

² Piso also caused statues to be erected to himself in his provinces. Cf. *in Pis.* 38. The Sicilians requested the Senate to forbid them to erect statues in honor of any governor until after his term of office should have expired.

³ App., *Bell. Mithr.* 57.

⁴ Cic., *in Pis.* 35.

⁵ Cf. *pro Flacco* and *pro Fonteio*. Piso imposed all forms of taxes. *Singulis rebus quaecumque venirent certo portoria imposito* (*in Pis.* 36). Observe the summary which Cicero gives

with war, wrested from him three hundred talents.¹ These exactions were of old date. In the time of the war with Perseus, we saw consuls and praetors rival each other in pillaging allied cities, and selling their inhabitants at auction, as was done at Coroneia, at Haliartus, at Thebes, and at Chalcis. Sterile Attica was condemned to furnish a hundred thousand bushels of corn. Abdera gave fifty thousand, and, besides, a hundred thousand denarii; then, when the city ventured to complain to the Senate, Hostilius gave it up to pillage, beheaded the principal men, and sold the entire population. Another praetor, Lucretius, yet more guilty, was accused at Rome. "It would be unjust," said his friends, "to entertain complaints against a magistrate absent in the service of the Republic;" and the affair was adjourned. Lucretius, however, at the time was near Antium, employed in decorating his villa with

A CENTURION.²COIN OF THE GENS FONTEIA.³

the product of his rapine, and turning the course of a river to lead it through his park. Another time he was less fortunate: he was condemned to pay a fine of a million ases, of which the Senate then gave a few thousand to the envoys of the cities; and so the matter ended.⁴

us, of this governor's administration: *Achaia exhausta, Thessalia vorata, laceratae Athenae, Dyrrachium et Apollonia erinanita, Ambracia diripta, Parthini et Bulienses illusi, Epeirus excisa, Locri, Phocii, Boeotii exusti, Acarnania, Amphilochia, Perrachia, Athamanique gens vendita, Macedonia condonata barbaris, Actolia amissa, Dolopis finitimique mediani oppidis atque agris exterminati* (in Pis. 40). He repeats these accusations in the *pro Domo*.

¹ Jos., *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 5, § 1.

² From a sepulchral bas-relief which bears this inscription: QUINTUS PUBLIUS FESTUS CENTUR. LEG. XI. He holds his stick in the right hand, wears leggings, and is decorated with seven *phalerae* (medals decreed by the military chiefs). Of these decorations three are placed in front of the breast, and two on each side. Only half of the latter are seen in the illustration. (Cf. Rich, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, page 137.)

³ Laurelled and beardless head of Janus. On the reverse, C. FONT. Galley with rowers. Silver coin of the Fonteian family.

⁴ We have spoken above (chap. xlii. sect. i.) of other kinds of exaction which weighed heavily upon the allies.

When Cicero took possession of his government of Cilicia, which Appius had just quitted, he found on all sides a weeping and groaning population: "It would seem that a ferocious beast, rather than a man, had been there." However, from this ruined province, desolated past hope of recovery, Cicero himself was able in twelve months to extract, *salvis legibus*, the sum of two million two hundred thousand sesterces.¹

By what the most honest of men could do without infringing the laws, and by what he excuses, we may judge what the subject peoples suffered. "He asks for money from the chief man of Sicily: I do not blame him for this, others have done the same. The magistrate refusing it was punished; it is odious, but it is not without example."² You have caused it to be known throughout your province that you could be bought, and those have borne sway over you who have paid you best. Be it so, I do not bring this up against you; perhaps another in your place would have done the same.³ You have condemned at Syracuse a man who was at Rome; but I do not stop at this, for one may receive a declaration against an absent person: no law in the province prohibits it."⁴ Elsewhere Cicero accepts without too much complaint the exactions of the praetors in the matter of the corn which was to be furnished them, "a practice," he says, "very common in Spain and in Asia, blamable, doubtless, but not punishable." However, by dint of enumerating these crimes, and hearing the consul Hortensius repeat that this is no new thing, that others have done the same, and worse even,⁵ he becomes excited, and finds noble words like these: "Our provinces groan; the free peoples complain; the kings cry out against our avidity and injustice. To the far distant shores of the ocean, there is no place so obscure, so concealed, that the lawlessness of our citizens has not penetrated it. It is no longer the strength of other nations, their arms, or their wars, that weigh upon us: it is their mourning, their tears, their groans. . . .

¹ *Ad Fam.* v. 20. In this letter mention is made of "gratifications," which we to-day call by another name. Nevertheless, Cicero had taken for his model the upright Mucius Scaevola.

² *In Verr.* II. i. 17.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 32.

⁴ *In Verr.* II. ii. 41. Such was the uncertainty of the rules, and so great was the license left to the governors, that their edicts varied, even on a question of such importance as this, whether the Greeks were to be judged by their own laws, or by those of Rome.

⁵ *Fecisse alios . . . fecerunt alii alia quam multa.* (*In Verr.* II. iii. 88.)

Let it be again said that this man has done the same that others have done. Doubtless, examples are not lacking; but, if wicked doers rest upon each other to escape justice, then I say that in the end the Republic also will be destroyed."

The governors robbed on a large scale, and left to their subalterns many very fair profits. One gave up to his lieutenants the choice of winter-quarters, exemption from which the cities paid for at a great price:¹ another gave to his tribunes the duty of repairing the roads,—which were not repaired. There was no one, down to the praetor's freedmen and even his slaves, whose favor was not bought, and bought at a high price. After Verres had thrown the Syracusan captains into prison, their friends crowded about the gate to have a last word with them, and there was Sestius the licitor putting a price on sympathy, a tariff on every tear. To enter, a relative must pay so much; to bring food to the prisoner, so much more. No one refused. "What will you pay me to behead your son at one blow? What for his body to bury, instead of throwing it to the dogs?" And again they paid.

And we have said nothing of insolence, harder to be borne than real injuries. A quaestor passing through Athens desired to be initiated into the Mysteries, and, as they were just over for the year, ordered them to be repeated. Once the Athenians had yielded to a similar desire, to initiate Demetrius Poliorcetes. But he was a successor of Alexander, to whom the gods themselves seemed bound to pay respect. The Greeks were disgusted at the audacity of this Roman, who, quaestor though he was, seemed, to these inheritors of the grandest name on earth, a person of little importance. He revenged himself by showing his contempt for "these miserable Greeks, idle and voluble," and for "the sterile wisdom of their schools." The matter was a trifle; but the men who of their past grandeur had nothing left save a towering pride, *nihil praeter animos*, must have been much more hurt by this arrogant contempt than they would have been by a mere requisition of corn.²

¹ *Magnas pecunias dabant.* . . . Cyprus gave annually for this alone two hundred Attic talents. (Cic., *ad Att.* v. 21.)

² Livy, xxxi. 14

After the governor and his officers came the publicans, a second tyranny severer than the first. The former, in general, weighed only upon communities; but the latter reached to every individual, even the most obscure.¹

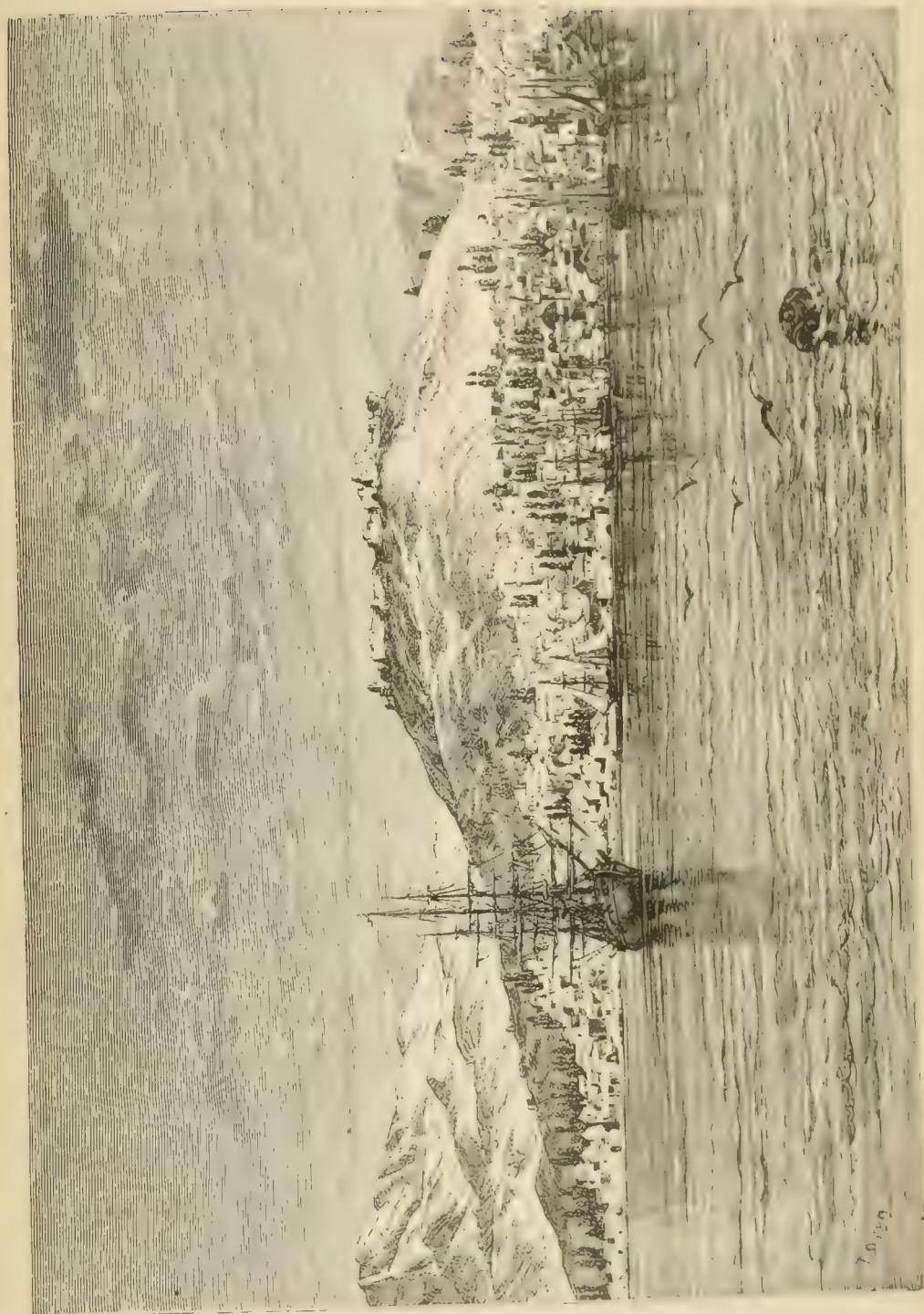
It would have been fortunate had these two tyrannies been at variance; but alas! they almost always played into each other's hands. When, by some miracle, the publicans exacted no more than their due, a rapacious governor would urge them on, associating them in his own plunderings for the purpose of giving himself a better chance of impunity.² If the governor was honest, it was the publicans, especially after they had become judges at Rome, who threatened or incited him. Integrity became a crime. Rutilius, an ex-consul, and one of the most upright men of his time, resolutely repressed the exactions of the publicans in Asia, where he was legate under Mucius Scaevola. His administration and that of Scaevola left such gratitude throughout the province, that a yearly festival, the *dies Mucia*, was established commemorating the virtues of the two. The publicans, exasperated at this intervention, instituted a suit against Rutilius for peculation, on his retiring from office, and were at once accusers, witnesses, and judges. In spite of Mucius Scaevola, and Crassus and Antonius, and every honest citizen in the State, he was condemned, and, being sentenced to exile, withdrew into the very province he was accused of having plundered. Received with honor wherever he went, he made his residence at Smyrna, and passed the rest of his life there, occupied in literary pursuits.³

Cicero, always friendly to the publicans, says himself, "If we do not resist them, we must see the destruction of those whom we ought to defend;" and he shows their *esprit de corps* going so far as to form a permanent conspiracy; "It was an inviolable rule with them," he says, "that he who had presumed to

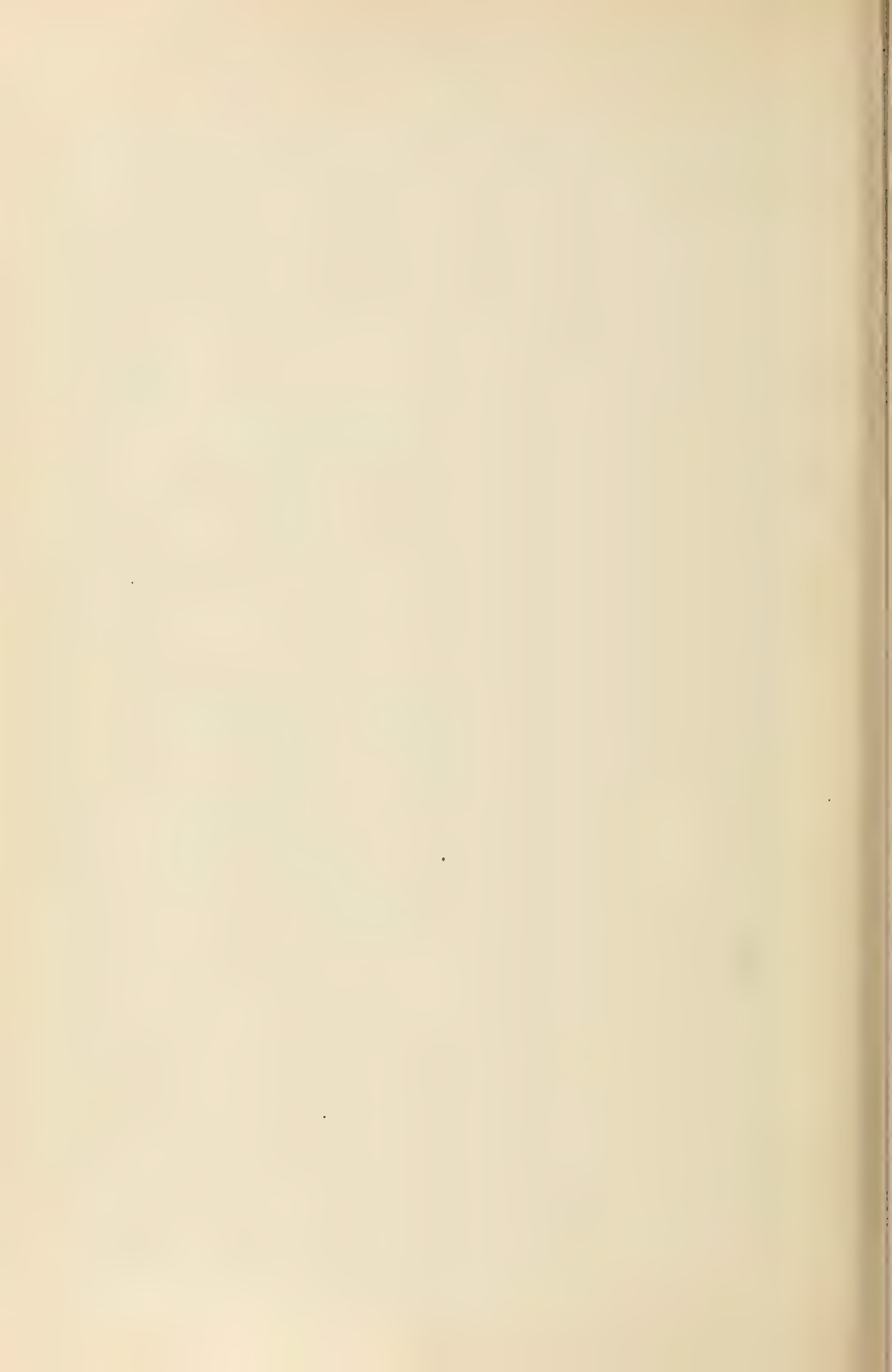
¹ See the frightful situation of Asia during the last war against Mithridates, a prey to unspeakable and incredible miseries, so plundered and enslaved by tax-farmers and usurers that private people were compelled to sell their sons in the flower of their youth and their daughters in their virginity, and the States publicly to sell their consecrated gifts, pictures and statues. (Plut., *Lucull.* 20.)

² See the agreement between Verres and the farmers of the customs and tithes, in the *Verrine orations.* (*In Verr.* II. ii. 70, 75.)

³ Val. Max., VI. iv. 4; Livy, *Epit.* lxi. 1; and Vell. Patere., ii. 13. The illustration (next page) is taken from De Laborde's *Voyage en Orient*, pl. 3, A.



SMYRNA.



offend a knight should be regarded by the whole order as a person to be disgraced." And elsewhere, "To content the publicans without ruining the allies requires an absolutely divine power."¹

When the inhabitants of the provinces had satisfied the demands of the governors, of their agents, and of the publicans; when they had paid all the taxes, furnished all the compulsory labor, and met all the requisitions,² the value of which was not always paid them,—they had not yet satiated the avarice of Rome: they were further obliged to receive with great and costly honors the Roman nobles who might chance to pass through their cities, to keep awake



COMBAT BETWEEN GENII AND WILD BEASTS.³

by frequent gifts the zeal of their patrons, and, foreseeing the results of elections, to gain over in advance the future magistrate.

In most modern States a public office gives a salary: at Rome, on the contrary, it involved expenses which were sometimes very great. In the public entertainments which their positions required them to furnish, the magistrates, through vanity and ambition, vied in the display of extravagance. As the share contributed by the State was but trivial, this display would have ruined them, if they had not made the subjects pay for it. Thus the aedileship leading to the praetor's office, and thence to the

¹ Cicero, *ad Quint.* i. 1, 11. Livy (xlv. 18) speaks in the same way, "Wherever a tax-contractor was employed, there is no more justice or liberty for any man." Even in Italy it became necessary, about the year 60, to suppress the *portorium*, or tax on the importation by sea of provisions destined for sale, *portoria venalium*. It was abandoned, not so much on account of the tax itself, as to put an end to the exactions of the publicans. (Dion Cassius, xxxvii. 51; Cic., *ad Att.* ii. 16.) In the provinces the *portorium* was levied for the advantage of Rome, except in the territory of *civitates foederatae* or *immunes*.

² The State furnished horses and tents; but the cities must supply lodgings, also transportation for lieutenants suddenly summoned to headquarters, and for senators on "a free legation," etc. Cf. Livy, xlii. 1, and Cicero, *de Leg.* iii. 8, § 18.

³ Details from a vase in the form of a cup without handles, the bas-reliefs carved in the material, and the figures full of life and action. This work is of the Roman period: but the bronze is not very well preserved. (Cabinet de France, No. 3,144 of the catalogue.)

consulship, the aediles of to-day were future proconsuls, whose favor was eagerly sought by sending them from the remotest provinces rich or curious presents for their public entertainments. To these gifts, a governor of a province, desirous that his friend the aedile should make a fine display, would now and then add some of the inhabitants themselves. Piso sent to Clodius six hundred provincials, who fought in the amphitheatre with the lions and panthers.

Under pretext of a vow made during the battle, a general, on his return to Rome, would construct a temple, for the sake of putting his name on it; or would give the people some public show, by aid of the "voluntary offerings" of the conquered people. Vainly did the Senate limit the expense allowable on such occasions, and issue decrees to protect the provincials from the demands of their late governors: the custom remained; and these contributions were added, as if they formed one of the regular taxes, to the tribute from certain provinces. Each year the province of Asia expended, under this head only, the sum of two hundred thousand sesterces.

An evil still greater, inasmuch as it was permanent, and weighed upon all, was the usury which devoured the provincial,—an evil the more formidable because the usurers were Roman citizens who took in pawn, from this man the products of his fields, from that, a mortgage upon his property. Was it not needful to help the provincial to pay the taxes due to the State, and the gratuities demanded by the governor and his subordinates? In the Narbonensis not a piece of money changed hands without the intervention of a Roman citizen; not a silver coin was in circulation that was not entered on the books of the Italian merchants who filled the provinces: all business passed through their hands; and usury was so familiar to them that we cannot wonder, if, when the legal rate was twelve per cent with commissions that doubled it, private rates of interest should go as high—even when the creditor was Brutus—as forty-eight per cent.¹ The Allobroges owed to Fonteius, or to persons representing him, thirty million sesterces. We have

¹ Livy, xl. 44; Cic., *ad Quint.* i. 1, 9; Cic., *pro Fonteio*, 4; Cic., *ad Atticum*, vi. 1. Cicero himself permitted much more to be demanded, and confirmed the most usurious agreements when the debtor did not pay on the day fixed.

seen Apollonia give two hundred talents to escape payments of debts. Almost all the cities of Caria owed money to a certain Cluvius of Puteoli; and Salamis in Cyprus was debtor to Scaptius, an agent of Brutus.¹ This Scaptius, to obtain payment, asked from the governor the command of a body of cavalry, shut up the Senate of Salamis in their senate-house, and kept them there so long that five senators died of hunger. And of what consequence, after all, was a senator of an allied city, or the most eminent provincial, compared with even the lowest and poorest citizen of Rome? All the taxes of Cappadocia, plus thirty-three talents a month, were not enough to pay the interest on the money that Pompey had lent to Ariobarzanes; and the Asiatic prince had other creditors, Brutus especially, who pressed him pitilessly, and wrung from him one hundred talents in a year. "So," says Cicero, "there was no poorer king nor more miserable kingdom."

Nicomedes II. of Bithynia was not less involved. To obtain money from him, his creditors—who were all Roman knights, envoys of the Senate, generals, and the like—forced him to ravage Paphlagonia, at the risk of



COIN OF CYZICIUS.²

bringing upon himself a terrible war. A few years earlier, in the time of the Cimbrian invasion, Marius had called upon him for auxiliaries. The King made reply: "Bithynia is deserted and ruined. My subjects?—ask the publicans who have reduced them to slavery, and carried them hither and thither through your provinces."³ "Where," exclaims Cicero, "is the wealth of the nations who are now reduced to indigence? What need is there to ask, when you may see Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicus, Miletus, Chios, Samos, all Asia, Achæa, Greece, and Sicily, collected in the villas which cover our territory?"⁴

¹ Sardis owed great sums to Anneius (Cic., *ad Fam.* xiii. 53); Nicaea, to Pinnius (*ibid.* xii. 61); Parium, to another person, etc. The Gabinian law forbade the allies to borrow money at Rome; but it was easy to obtain a *senatus-consultum*, dispensing with the operation of the law. Cf. Cic., *ad Att.* vi. 1.

² Proserpine crowned with wheat. On the reverse, KYZI. Lion's head and bunch of grapes. Tetradrachm of Cyzicus.

³ *Ad Att.*, vi. 1, 3 sq.; 2, 7; 3, 5; Appian., *Bell. Mithr.* 11; Diod., xxxvi. 3.

⁴ *Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio sinus apud in externas gentes, propter eorum,*

And there indeed they were; for, after having taken the gold of these cities for their own pleasures and for their royal luxury of living, these Romans, who had gone so far as to deify plunder, *Jupiter Prædator*, desired statues for their gardens, pictures for their porticos, books¹ and all rare and precious objects for their libraries and museums. The nations were compelled to see their trophies, their historic monuments,² the images of their heroes and their gods, carried off to Rome and to the Latin villas. In the presence of monuments of the national renown, before statues erected in public places to recall the memory of some act of heroism, men are inspired to devotion and self-sacrifice. When they laid covetous hands upon these sacred objects, the Romans demoralized the nations as much as by massacres upon the battlefield. In their cities, now despoiled of the illustrious dead, the vanquished were like men deprived of family traditions, without a past and without a future; and those among them who felt conscious of talents and of ambition deserted these desolated homes to seek applause and fortune on a grander stage. The Achaean Polybius and the African Terence both came to live in Rome.

III. POWERLESSNESS OF THE LAW TO PROTECT THE PROVINCIALS.

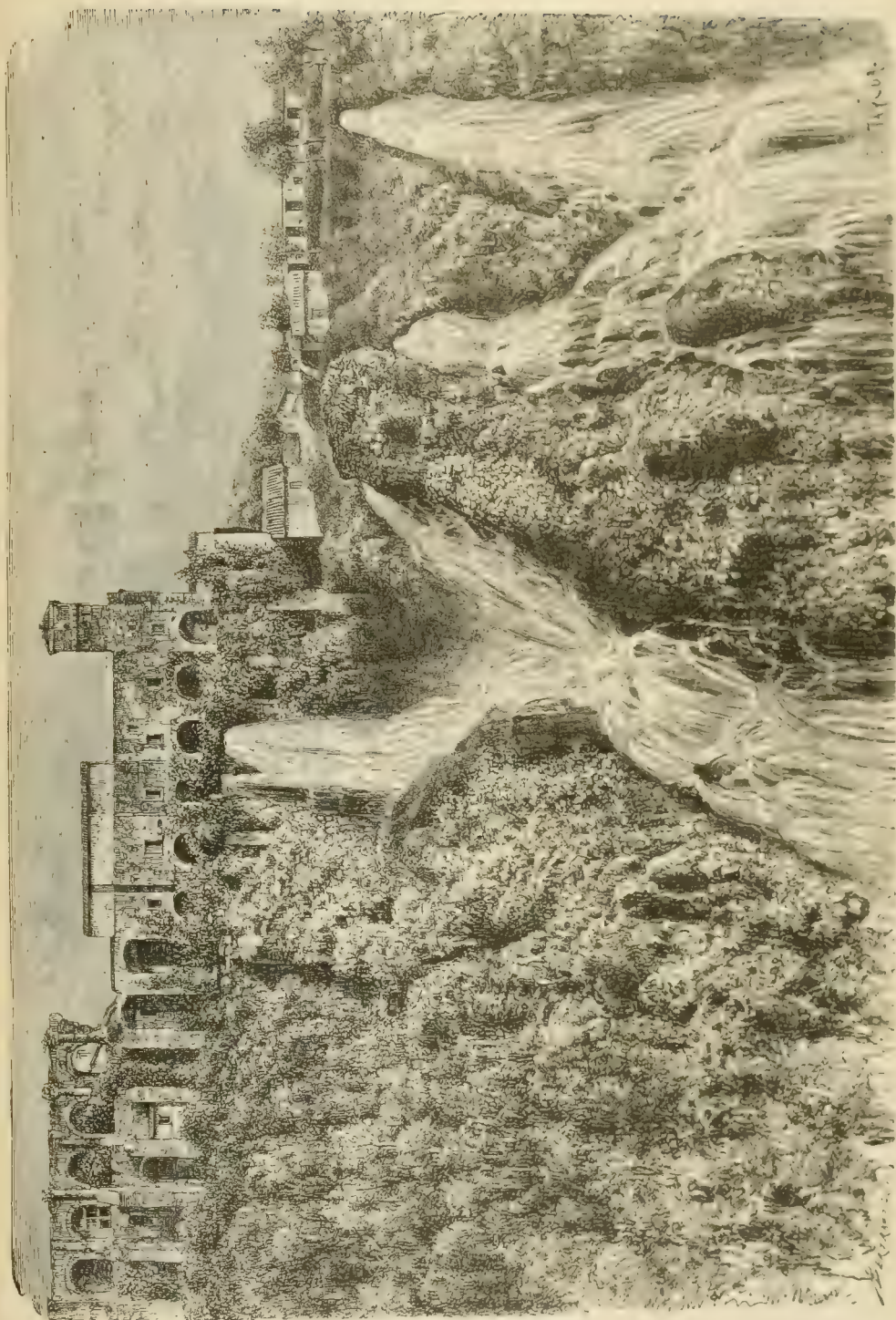
LAWS for the protection of provincials were not wanting. The repression of exactions had even been the object aimed at in a revolution in the judiciary at Rome, where originally the subject nations had no recourse except to the Senate, which often stifled the affair. In 149, the tribune Calpurnius Piso had obtained the establishment of a permanent tribunal invested with the right, till then exercised by the people only, of judging those accused of extortion.³ The

quos ad eas per hos annos cum imperio misimus, libidines, et injurias. (Cic., *de Imperio Cn. Pompeii*, 22.)

¹ Paulus Aemilius brought home all the books of Perseus (Plut., *in Aemil.*); Sylla, the library of Apellicon of Teos (*id. Sylla*, 26; Strab., xiii. 54), where were preserved the only manuscripts in existence of many of the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus.

² Paulus Aemilius had forgotten to carry off from Dion the statues that Alexander had erected there in memory of his "companions" slain at the passage of the Granicus. Metellus took them.

³ See in vol. iii, Caesar's law *de pecuniis repetundis*, which remained under the empire the basis of legislation in this matter.



TIBUR. — CASCADES OF TIVOLI.



allies, not being allowed to bring a complaint personally, were obliged to find a citizen to speak for them. If the cause promised well, if the accused had enemies, if there were some young noble who sought occasion to draw public attention to himself, they soon found a patron. Then the action began, and the Forum rang with the indignant accents of an orator who could not find anger enough for the misconduct of the accused, or tears enough for the sufferings of the provincials. The offender was condemned, especially if, at the moment, his condemnation was useful to any powerful personage or important party; but, before the sentence was pronounced, this man who had played with the life, the honor, and the fortune of the allies, would quit Rome for the delicious groves of Tibur¹ or of Praeneste, and leave to the complainants a few sesterces of indemnity.² This was going into exile, the severest penalty that could be inflicted on a Roman citizen. Roman justice was then satisfied, and the deputies had nothing more to do but to return home, and reckon with those who had sent them, how much their long and useless embassy had cost the province. And they were fortunate if they did not some day see their eloquent defender, having forgotten his borrowed indignation, come to rule over them with the same rapacity, and repeat the same acts of injustice.

The younger Gracchus had obtained a decree that the governments of provinces should be distributed by lot;³ he hoped that

¹ Tibur stands eight or nine hundred feet above the sea, and is twenty miles from Rome, on a spur of Monte Ripoli joining Monte Castillo, and barring the valley of the Anio. The river, in crossing this barrier, undermines it, makes it tremble, and from time to time breaks through it here and there. In the year 105 A.D. (Pliny, *Epist.* viii. 17) a freshet carried away many houses and enormous masses of rock (*montes*). Another, in 1826, required extensive engineering works to save the threatened city. A tunnel was excavated through Monte Castillo, by which the river was led away, escaping from the end of it in a splendid cascade. The water distributed through the city in pipes is finally carried off by subterranean conduits, forming many little waterfalls which dash down into the valley. The one emerging from a great building called the "House of Mæcenas" falls nearly a hundred and fifty feet. Switzerland has finer cascades; but they are not, like these, lighted up by an Italian sun, and covered by admirable works of art, in regions full of historic and poetic interest. (See in vol. i. page cxxxi., the Temple of Vesta, the Sibyl, or Hercules at Tivoli.)

² There was at first simple restitution; the Servilian law required it double (*frag. legis Serr.*, c. 18); the Cornelian, quadruple (Asconius in Cic. in *Verr.* i. 17.) Under the empire, the ordinary penalty was banishment. (*Dig.* XXVIII. ii. 7 § 3; Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 28.)

³ Cic., *de Prov. Cons.* ii. 15; *pro Dom.* 9; Sall., *Jur.* 22. The Senate first decided what two provinces should be consular, after which the consuls drew lots to determine which each should have.



BUST OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT ¹
(FROM BRITISH MUSEUM).

thus the public interest alone, not that of the individual, would henceforth be consulted. But for the Pisos and Gabinii all provinces were alike, because in all there was material for plunder.

Later another plan was tried. The Pompeian law of the year 52 established that no one should obtain a province until after being five years out of office. The civil war, however, which broke out almost immediately, rendered this law useless.

After the venality and disgraceful conduct of the nobles in the Jugurthan war had restored its power to the plebeian tribuneship, the Servilian law promised citizenship to any one con-

victing a Roman magistrate of extortion. The prize offered was brilliant; but how great were the dangers if a man did not succeed! how great, even if he did!

All, therefore, were alike powerless, — laws, tribunals, and the indignant eloquence of the great orator. No man has found severer words than he against the pro-consular rule and that haughty patriciate which had been able, indeed, to conquer the world, — since a military aristocracy is best adapted to carry out with perseverance a far-reaching plan, — but knew not how to govern it, inasmuch as no power is ever more rapacious, oppressive, and insolent.² Unfortunately, Cicero, who saw the evil so well, did not see that there could be no limit to these iniquities until the day when Rome should bring the old organization of a Latin municipium into harmony with the royal fortune which the wisdom and boldness of her Senate had brought to her. For new times, new institutions are needed. As we have been for Rome

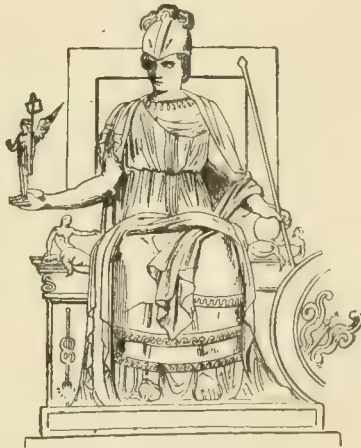
¹ This bust was probably one of the spoils carried from the East to Rome.

² An Appian speaks contemptuously of Cicero as a new man, even after all his successes at the bar and at the rostra, even after his consulate. (*Cic., ad Fam.* iii. 7.) If we exclude the exactions of the governors, the tax levied by Rome was light, — about two hundred million sesterces annually, or less than eleven million dollars.

against the Samnites and against Carthage, we are now against Rome in behalf of humanity, and we say without hesitation, that it was necessary that the empire should become the patrimony of one man, and that all, the conquerors especially, should feel over them the hand of a master keeping them subject to law and justice. But this regal authority, which the provinces would have hailed with acclamations,¹ was not yet to appear amidst the chaos of domestic dissensions; and since a master, a saving divinity, as the Greeks said, did not appear at Rome, they sought him in the East, where two powerful States were at that time in process of formation,—Armenia, which owed her fortune to the weakness of the Parthians and Seleucidae; and Pontus, which owed hers to the genius of her king, Mithridates VI. Eupator.

¹ Tac., *Ann.* i. 9, ii. 44. See also what is said by Strabo, himself a provincial (vi. 4, 2, *ad fin.*).

² From an ancient painting belonging to the Barberini.



ROMA DEA.²

CHAPTER XLV.

INSURRECTION OF THE PROVINCES.—MITHRIDATES.

I. MITHRIDATES.

FOR the last forty years, as we have said, the Roman world had been agitated by the repeated complaints of the poor of Rome, of the Italians, even of the slaves: it was now to feel those of the provincials. As upon an ocean scourged by tempests, the threatening waves had succeeded one another: the Gracchi had attacked only the privileges of the great; the Italians, those of Rome; Mithridates was now to attempt to break down everything, great and small, and reduce conquered and conquerors alike to one common ruin. He would have had no success had there not



COIN OF THE
CYRENAICA.¹

existed in his favor an actual conspiracy of all the Greek-speaking provinces. Their deputies encouraged him in his hopes, and they came to him, not from Asia only, but from the Cyrenaica, from Carthaginian Africa,² from Athens, and from many peoples of continental Greece. That Gaul and Spain did not share in this movement is due to the fact that they were yet too barbarous for their policy to rise to the conception of a general league among the provinces: meanwhile, during the Social war, and while Mithridates was yet busy with his preparations, the Thracians, excited by him, fell upon Macedonia; in Narbonensis the Salluvii took up arms, and the Celtiberians and Lusitanians, who had but just laid them down, resumed them under the leadership of Sertorius.³ Also, in spite of what has been said of this Roman aristocracy, who regarded

¹ Rayed female head. On the reverse, beardless head of Jupiter Ammon. Gold coin of the Cyrenaica.

² Eutropius, vi. 11; Athenaeus, v. 50.

³ Appian, *Bell. civ.* ii. 99-100. In the year 93 Didius obtained a victory over the Celtiberians, and Licinius Crassus over the Lusitanians. (Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.*)

the world as their prey, it is wonderful to see them, in the midst of these storms coming up at once from all quarters of the horizon, facing the tempest, braving all dangers, like the indestructible rock on which their Capitol was built, and to which the poet promises eternity . . . *Capitoli immobile saxum*.

Besides, were their enemies any better men than they? The dominion of Rome was very severe, her praetors very rapacious, the provincials very wretched; but read the history of the Ptolemies and the last of the Seleucidae, especially from the time of that Antiochus VIII. who forced his mother Cleopatra herself to drink the poison that she had presented to him. Consider in these royal families all natural sentiments outraged by unnamable vices and crimes, by incest and parricide, by murder in all forms, — mothers killing their sons, and sons their mothers, brothers murdering each other, everywhere intrigue, treason, revolt, authority contemptible and powerless, rags of the purple snatched for a moment's adornment, a frightful destitution among the people, and nowhere either the consolations of liberty or the tranquillity of despotism,¹ — and can any one say that these States and dynasties were not doomed to perish? The period of the successors of Alexander was the shameful death-struggle of the Graeco-Oriental world. Under this exterior decomposition, no doubt healthful forces were at work. Whilst empires were grinding each other into dust, ideas and beliefs were mingled; and beneath the heavy hand of Rome, which was at last to discipline this chaos, a moral revolution was preparing. The Senate was not conscious of what it did; but, pride and the instinct of domination impelling it, calm and strong as fate, it brought all these nations together in that unity of rule which alone rendered possible a unity of faith. This was the fortune, and these the destinies, that one man attempted to arrest, and for thirty years seemed to succeed in his attempt.

¹ See the history of Ptolemy IX. and of the five sons of Antiochus VIII., contemporary with the epoch of which we are speaking; *Mutuis fratrum odiis et mar jlliis inimicitis parentum succedentibus, cum inexpiabili bello et reges tot regnum Syriac consumptum esset*. . . (Justin, xl. 1.) After the death of the last of the sons of Grypus, Aretas, an Arab chief, seized upon Coelesyria. (Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xiii. 15, 2.) In 87 the Syrians called in Tigranes of Armenia, who reigned peaceably over Syria until the victories of Lucullus in 69. (Just., xl. 1.) Eastern Cilicia also acknowledged Tigranes. (App., *Syr.* 48.) Laodice, wife of Ariarathes V., poisoned five of his sons to secure the kingdom for the sixth. (Justin, xxxvii. 1.)

Mithridates VI. Eupator, whom historians have called "the Great," inherited from his father, the faithful ally of the Senate,¹ nothing but the kingdom of Pontus (120). He was then scarcely twelve years old,² but very early manifested his ambitious and indomitable character. His mother was to govern the kingdom



COIN OF MITHRIDATES THE GREAT.⁴

during his minority; but she became his first victim; his brother, the second. The courtiers, in alarm, sought to free themselves from so terrible a master;³ but he defeated their plots. For seven years he never slept under a roof, wander-

ing in the woods, hunting wild beasts over the plains and mountains, sometimes making a thousand stadia⁵ in a day, and acquiring by these violent exercises a constitution which braved the fatigues of half a century of war. Like Attalus of Pergamus, he made a study of vegetable poisons, and familiarized himself so thoroughly with dangers of this kind that it was believed he had nothing to fear from them. Brave, as well as strong and agile, he was the best soldier in his army, and could manage a team of sixteen horses harnessed to his chariot. Age never seemed to obtain any hold upon him, and at seventy he was still fighting, bearing upon his body as many scars as he had fought battles.

By the pomp with which he loved to surround himself, by his harem, and by his contempt for human life, he was an Asiatic king; by his taste for letters, sciences, coins, precious vases,⁶ and

¹ He brought assistance to Rome with troops and ships in the Third Punic War and in the war against Aristonicus, which brought him in return a portion of Phrygia. (Appian, *Mithr.* 10.)

² Strabo (x. p. 477) and Justin (xxxvii. 2) call him eleven years old at his accession to the throne; Appian (*Mith.* 112) twelve; Memnon (chap. xxx., ed. Orelli) thirteen: but Strabo was a native of the country, and ought to be best informed.

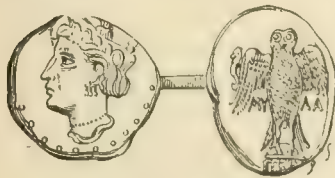
³ The Pontic nobles were a real feudal power. Strabo mentions one, a relative of his, who gave up to Lucullus fifteen fortified castles. (xii. 3, 33.)

⁴ Diademed head of Mithridates VI. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. Pegasus, a star, a crescent, and a monogram in a wreath of ivy and grape. Tetradrachm of Mithridates the Great.

⁵ A stadium = two hundred yards.

⁶ The colored lithograph represents the famous Bacchic cup of the *Cabinet de France*

engraved gems, he was a Greek prince; by his indomitable courage, a barbarian chief.¹ The position of his kingdom explains this. — Pontus, bounded towards the sea by the Greek republics of Amisus and Trebizond, on the east by the barbarous tribes of Iberia and Colchis, on the south by Armenia, whose king, Tigranes, assumed the title of Monarch of the East. Mithridates visited all these nations; he studied their strength and their weakness, and acquired their languages; he could, it is said, speak twenty-two dialects,

COIN OF AMISUS.²COIN OF TREBIZOND.³COIN OF COLCHIS.⁴

and talk with all the barbarous tribes of Scythia and the Caucasus without an interpreter.

In unskilful hands Pontus would have remained an obscure state: an able ruler, on the contrary, could find elements of power there. Its savage inhabitants, and all the barbaric lands that surrounded it, would supply warlike soldiers; while the Greeks of the seashore, if he could interest them in his cause, would put at his service the resources of civilization. Great men are not everything in history: witness Rome, where they did but little. In the case of Pontus, however, its fortunes during a half-century depended exclusively upon Mithridates.⁵

No. 279 of the Catalogue. It has been called the *Vase of Mithridates* and the *Cup of the Ptolemies*. A Carlovingian king in the ninth century presented this splendid piece of Oriental sardonyx to the treasury of the abbey of S. Denis, where it remained till the Revolution. It is decorated with the attributes of the worship of Bacchus, and Priapus and Ceres are represented on it. (Cf. Chabouillet, *Catalogue général et raisonné*, etc., pages 51-54, and Saglio's *Dict. des Antiq.* at the word *Carchesium*, page 919.)

¹ Velleius Paterculus (ii. 18) depicts him thus: *Bello acerrimus, virtute crimius, aliquando fortuna, semper animo maximus, consiliis dux, miles manu, odio in Romanos Hannibal.*

² Turreted female head. On the reverse, MYAA ΠΕΤ, two monograms (names of unknown magistrates). Owl, front view. Didrachm of Amisus.

³ TPA, first letters of the Greek name (τραπέζους) of this city, which signifies a table; a table covered, it is explained, with pieces of money. Reverse of a silver coin of Trapezus (Trebizond).

⁴ Couchant lioness. On the reverse a unicorn with kneeling human body. Unique silver coin of Colchis. (*Cabinet de France*.)

⁵ Pontus was the narrow coast of the Euxine, stretching from the Phasis on the east, where

Returning home after a long absence, he decimated his court which had believed him dead, and killed Laodice, his sister and wife; he then organized his armies, and lending aid, through motives of self-interest, to the king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, Parisades, he delivered him from the Scythians, Sarmatians, and Roxolani, but compelled him to descend to the position of vassal, and pay into the Pontic treasury two hundred talents yearly. His generals penetrated as far as the mouths of the Tyras (Dniester), where one of them constructed a fort, called, from his own name,



FUNERAL FILLET OF AN INHABITANT OF PANTICAPAEUM (NEAR KERTCH) ONCE THE CAPITAL OF THE CIMMERIAN BOSPHORUS.¹

the tower of Neoptolemus; and already his emissaries were busy in Thrace and in the valley of the Danube. On the death of Parisades, the Pontic king added the Bosphorus to his estates. A hill in that country is called to this day the hill of Mithridates, in the neighborhood of Kertch, near the famous tumulus of Koul-Oba, which contained so many magnificent works of Greek art.³



PARISADES.²

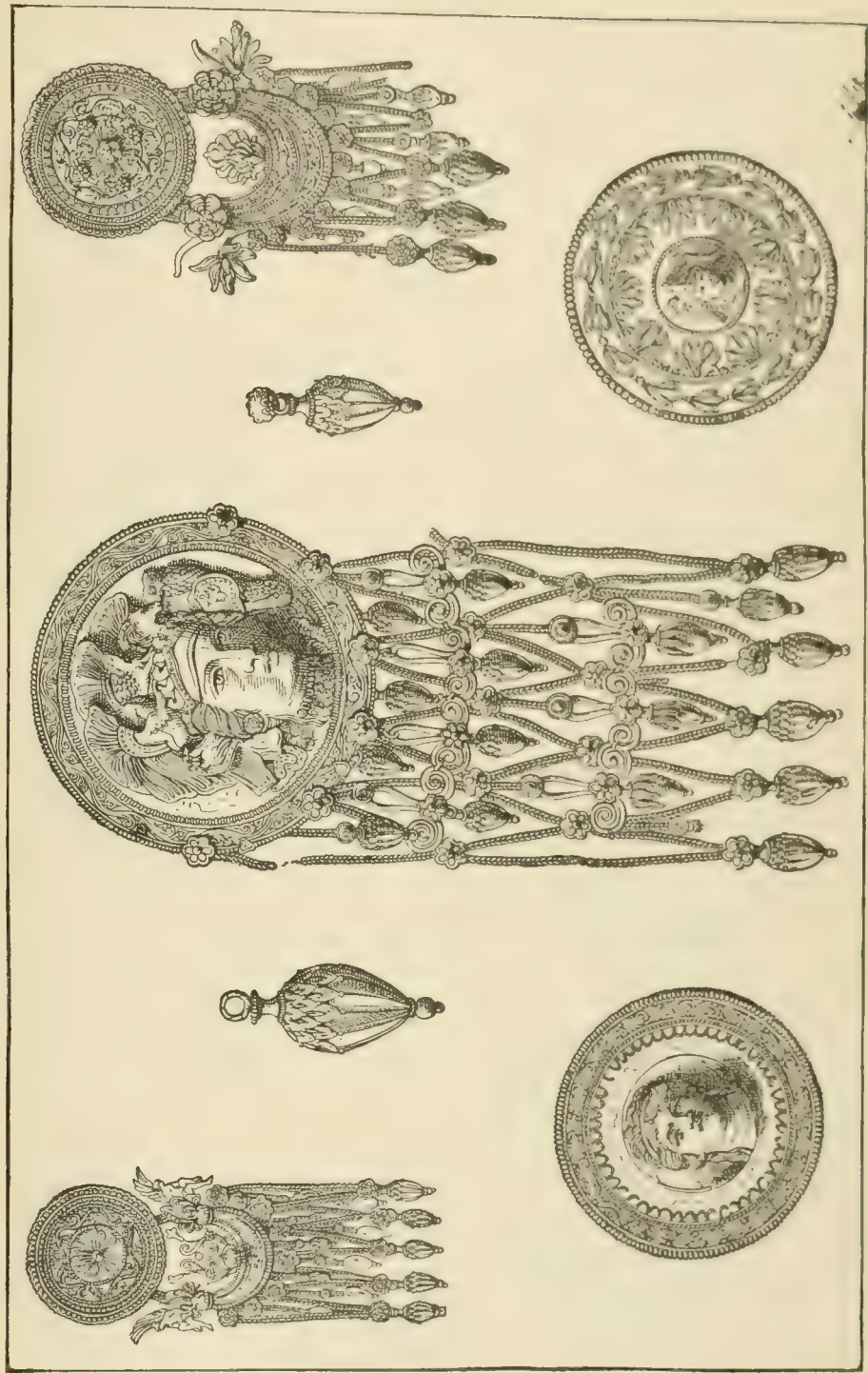
This kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, very ancient and very rich, had been the granary of Athens, that city having been

it bordered upon Colchis, as far as beyond the Illys in the west, where its kings made their residence at Sinope. On the south this kingdom was bounded by Galatia, Cappadocia, and Lesser Armenia.

¹ The skeleton was covered with a gold-embroidered tunic. (*Ant. du Bosph. cimmér.*, pl. 3, no. 3.)

² Diademed head of Parisades II., king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Gold coin.

³ These treasures, discovered by a Frenchman, Paul Dubrux, are now in the Museum of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. They are, however, represented in a work (*Antiquités du Bosphore cimmérien*) published in Russian and in French by the Imperial Government, from which work we borrow some designs.



JEWELS FOUND AT KOU-LI-OLA (PAGE 665).

accustomed to receive from it annually four hundred thousand medimni of corn, and it also fed many other Greek cities.¹ The Milesian colony of Panticapæum was at first the centre of this immense commerce in corn. About 363 B.C., Leucon, "the magnificent prince," had been obliged to open at Theodosia another port, capable of receiving a hundred merchant-vessels. In this way great wealth accumulated in the hands of these clever speculators, and they were in a position to attract to the Chersonesus the most distinguished Greek artists. In their tombs are found splendid ornaments with which they adorned the dead.²

Mithridates proposed to utilize in other ways resources so extensive. From his palace of Sinope he saw the waves roll in from the Caucasus and the coasts of the Tauric Chersonesus; and he might well say that this Euxine Sea was his own, — a magnificent basin in which to form and exercise a fleet far from all jealous eyes.

The kings of Pontus had never before dreamed of a maritime empire. They were more apt to look towards Asia Minor, and, as if to go out to meet the civilization of the Greek world, they had audaciously established their capital at the extreme west of their territory, at Amasia, in a deep gorge, through which flows the river Iris. In placing here their fortress, their treasures, and their tombs, and thus making this city the holy place of the dynasty, they had imposed upon themselves the necessity of advancing their frontier in this direction, — a work which was especially tempting to the ambition of Mithridates.

In Asia Minor the Romans at this time occupied only the western portion; the rest of the peninsula remaining a chaos of republics, kingdoms, and tetrarchates. Cilicia, the insecure possession of the Seleucidae and of the kings of Cappadocia, was a lair of pirates, whom Rome had already chastised, and whom she essayed to restrain by forming on their coast a military establishment in the year 103. Phrygia and Paphlagonia knew not to whom they belonged. Mithridates regretted the loss of the former, which the Senate had taken from him at the time of his accession:

¹ The medimnus was about a bushel and a half. Athens gave citizenship to Leucon, king of this country, and to his sons.

² See page 663.

for the partition of the latter he had made an agreement with Nicomedes II. of Bithynia. The Romans having summoned the two princes to abandon this province, Nicomedes withdrew, giving one of his sons for king to the Western Paphlagonians; but Mithridates replied haughtily, "This kingdom belonged to my father, and I am astonished that any one should dispute my right to it." To this conquest he added an alliance with the Galatians, who later furnished him auxiliaries at the time of his expedition into Greece; and to secure Cappadocia, whence he might attack Phrygia, which the Romans had taken from him during his minority, he now caused his brother-in-law Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, to be killed. One of this prince's children he murdered with his own hand, drove out the other, and ended by placing upon

ARIARATHES VI.¹

the throne his own son, eight years of age. The Senate, at this time occupied with the war against the Cimbri, paid little attention to these palace-tragedies. However, when the widow of Ariarathes VI.—herself sister of Mithridates, and now wife of Nicomedes II.—ventured to claim Cappadocia for an impostor, whom she presented as the brother of her two murdered children, while the King of Pontus affirmed that his own son was the true son of Ariarathes, the Senate, at last becoming indignant, punished the two kings by ordering Nicomedes to relinquish Western

NICOMEDES II. OF BITHYNIA.²

Paphlagonia, and Mithridates, Cappadocia, and declared the latter country to be free.

The people of Cappadocia were alarmed at this liberty. They supplicated the Senate to give them a king, and Ariobarzanes was chosen.³ All these crimes and intrigues had resulted, therefore, in provoking a threatening intervention, and in placing Cappadocia still more under the influence of Rome.

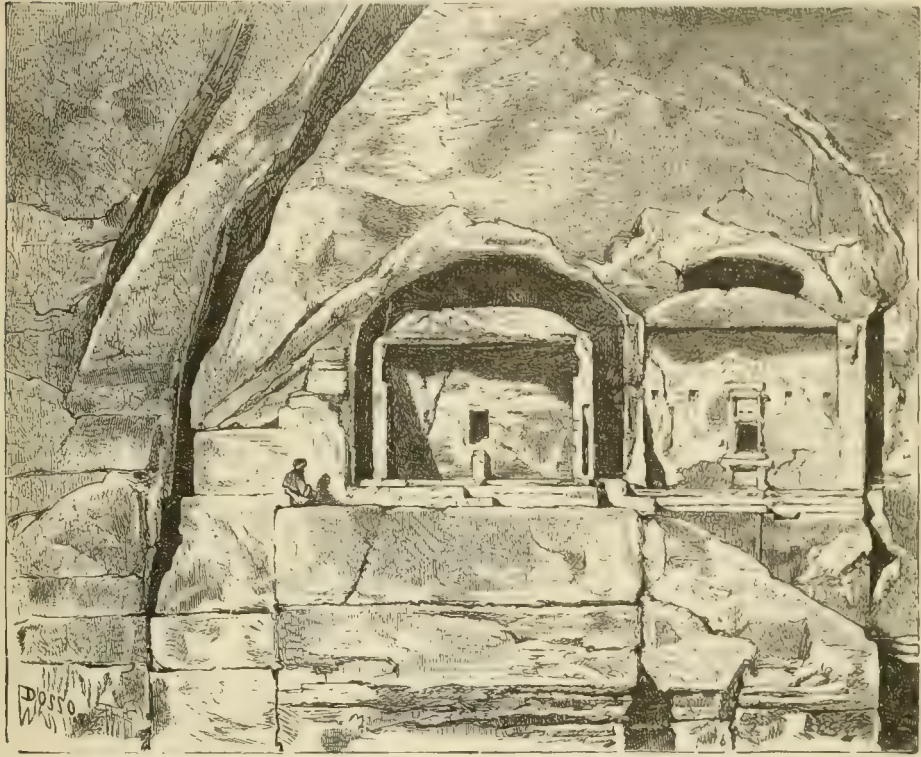
The King of Pontus did not consider himself defeated. He let this quarrel drop; and, to avoid Roman

¹ Diademed head of Ariarathes VI. From a silver coin.

² Diademed head of Nicomedes II., King of Bithynia. From a tetradrachm.

³ St. Martin places this event in the year 99; Clinton (*Fasti Hellen.*), about 94: it is probable that the true date is 93.

notice, he carried his arms into Colchis and the Trans-Caucasian regions, where he subjugated a great number of Scythian tribes. These expeditions trained his troops, and augmented his forces, by bringing him into relations with tribes which asked nothing better than to sell their courage.



TOMBS OF THE KINGS OF PONTUS.¹

When Mithridates found that the attention of the Senate was occupied elsewhere, he resumed, notwithstanding the threats of Marius, his earlier projects, in which he had been able to interest the powerful King of Armenia, Tigranes, husband of his daughter

¹ Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Expl. scientif. de la Galatie*, pl. 78. The description given by Strabo of his native city is exact to this day. It stood upon the *Iris* (Yeshil-Ermek), in a deep gorge: nature had done more than art in making it important as a city and fortress. (Cf. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, vol. i. p. 336.) The royal tombs made in the rock have lost their rich ornamentation, which time and plunderers have destroyed, but whose undoubted traces have been found by MM. Perrot and Guillaume. A curious inscription discovered in the neighborhood (*C. I. G.* 4,174) speaks of the restoration of the funeral monuments of ancient heroes by a certain Lucius; but the monuments which he restored cannot have been those of the kings of Pontus.

Cleopatra. The two kings seem to have agreed to share Western Asia: the Armenian taking the inheritance of Cyrus, and Mithridates, the Roman province; and, with the support they were able to give each other, these hopes were by no means unreasonable. From the profits of the expedition against Cappadocia, which Mithridates proposed to him, Tigranes reserved to himself only the booty: and, when Ariobarzanes had been driven out, he, as "king of kings," gave Cappadocia to his young brother-in-law, the son of Mithridates (93). The year following, Sylla appeared as pro-prætor in that portion of Cilicia where the Romans had established themselves. He gathered a small force, crossed the Taurus (possibly by way of the Iron Gates), and restored Ariobarzanes; then he advanced far enough into the East, through Lesser Armenia, to be the first Roman who had ever reached the banks of the Euphrates. He there received an ambassador from the King of the Parthians, who was at this time friendly towards the enemies of Tigranes; and he showed in this interview an arrogance of which the unfortunate envoy became the victim, being put to death, on his return to Ctesiphon, for having allowed the place of honor to the Roman prætor. The scene had been expressly arranged to impress the Asiatic mind, which has always felt a respect for power. The Roman, still an obscure individual, who caused a king of Cappadocia, and the envoy of so formidable a potentate as the King of Parthia, to sit down humbly at his side, seemed, by his attitude and his haughty language, the representative of a power to which all others must yield.

This expedition, ably managed, did much honor to Sylla (92). But scarcely had he returned to Rome, when Tigranes and Mithridates overthrew the Senate's protégé, and placed a creature of their own in his stead. Mithridates pushed his advantage. To conquered Cappadocia he added Bithynia, whence he expelled Nicomedes III., establishing, instead, Socrates Chrestos, a brother of that prince who was pledged to the interests of Pontus. Long after this, the beautiful statues by Scyllis and Dipoenus, which were to be seen in the citadels of Armenian towns, attested the part that Armenia had in the conquests of the King of Pontus.¹

Mithridates was at that time really a powerful monarch.

¹ St. Martin, art. *Mithridate*, in the *Biographie universelle*.

To the modest domain left him by his father, he had added two-thirds of Asia Minor, the Caucasus, and the kingdom of the Bosphorus. With the exception of the coasts of Thrace, all the Euxine was subject to his sway. In a political and geographical point of view, this empire lacked unity; but it supplied hordes of



THE IRON GATES ACROSS LAKE EYERDIR.¹

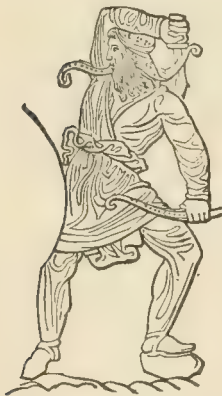
barbarians, paid by the treasures of the cities of the coast, who were enriched by the abundant fisheries of the Black Sea; by the fertility of the Crimea, and the auriferous sands of the Ural, whose precious deposit the Scythians exchanged for the merchandise of Greece; and, lastly, by a portion of the Indian

¹ Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, vol. i. page 330. The traveller Paul Lucas, though often guilty of exaggeration, gives an accurate description of the Iron Gates: "On the right," he says, "is the mountain with precipitous rocks; at the left are formidable precipices. The road, which is halfway up the mountain, overhangs the lake at a height equal to that of the towers of Notre Dame. The place was once an important pass. The road has manifestly been hewn out of the solid mass, for the rock is absolutely impassable, and perpendicular as a wall. A gateway built of hewn stones exists still; the gates themselves being of wood, mounted with iron; but they have been much impaired by time."

commerce, which at that time followed the route of the Oxus, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus. With these resources, and his alliance with Armenia, Mithridates was justified in vast hopes. But Tigranes died,¹ assassinated by one of his generals; and his successor, occupied with making his position secure, recalled the Armenian troops from Asia Minor (91). The Senate, with their wonted ability, turned this tragedy to profit. Although the storms about to burst upon Italy and upon Rome were visibly drawing near, orders were sent to the praetor of Asia to replace upon their thrones Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes. Mithridates offered no resistance. He retired into his kingdom of Pontus (90), and allowed Nicomedes to ravage Paphlagonia, and thereby obtain means for the payment of his Roman creditors (89).

II. CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR BY MITHRIDATES (88); INVASION OF GREECE (87).

SILENTLY, however, the Pontic king went on with his preparations. Four hundred vessels were in his harbors, and he still continued building. His emissaries, meanwhile, were gathering sailors and pilots in Egypt and Phoenicia, soldiers among the Scythians, Thracians, and even the Celts on the shores of the Danube; and innumerable bands of barbarians were coming across the Euxine, or traversing the defiles of the Caucasus, while three hundred thousand men were already assembled.² A part of the Galatians, "the nation to whom Rome had once paid a ransom," consented to follow Mithridates, and Asia called upon him to advance. Finally he threw off the mask, sending one of his generals to reproach the proconsul Cassius with the acts of



SCYTHIAN WARRIOR
ARMED WITH THE
ACINACES.³

¹ St. Martin places his death in 91, following Armenian writers; Clinton, in 96. (*Fasti Hellen.* iii. 338.)

² Justin, xxxviii. 4.

³ Designed from the sheath of a short sword or poniard, called *acinaces*, found, at Nicopolis, near the mouth of the Dnieper, in the tomb of a native chief. (Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.*, page 32, fig. 60.)

injustice which Rome had committed towards himself as regards Phrygia and Cappadocia. He enumerated all the forces at his dis-



INDIAN BACCHUS CALLED SARDANAPALUS (PAGE 673).¹

posal and the many allies he could find even in Italy among the subjects of Rome.² "Weigh all these considerations," he concluded, "return to better counsels, and I promise, in the name of Mithri-

¹ Colossal statue in Greek marble found in 1766 at Tusculum, in the ruins of a villa, which was perhaps that of Lucius Verus. (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, pl. 41, and Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 684, no. 1602.) This personage, divinity or king, wears the Assyrian costume. He is clad in a long, full tunic covered by a large mantle, on which is the name Sardanapalus in Greek letters. This inscription has excited great interest among archæologists. Clarac believes it of later date than the statue itself. M. Alfred Maury is of opinion that Sardanapalus, identified with the bearded Indian Bacchus, is perhaps an Asiatic solar divinity. (Cf. Movers, *die Phoenizier*, vol. i. pages 462, 478, 479, and Guigniaut, *les Religions de l'antiquité*, book vii.)

² For the relations of Mithridates with the provincials, see Appian (*Mithrid.*, 16), Plutarch (*Sylla*, 11), Dion (*fr.* 116), Justin (*xxxviii.* 3), Athenæus (v. 50).

dates, assistance in subduing revolted Italy: otherwise, it is at Rome that we shall finally settle our dispute.”¹

At the moment when the envoy of Mithridates was using this haughty language to Cassius (the end of the year 89), Rome was still the bloody arena of the rivalries of Marius and Sylla, and had not yet ended the Social war: a secret fermentation was at work throughout the provinces, and the proconsul himself was almost



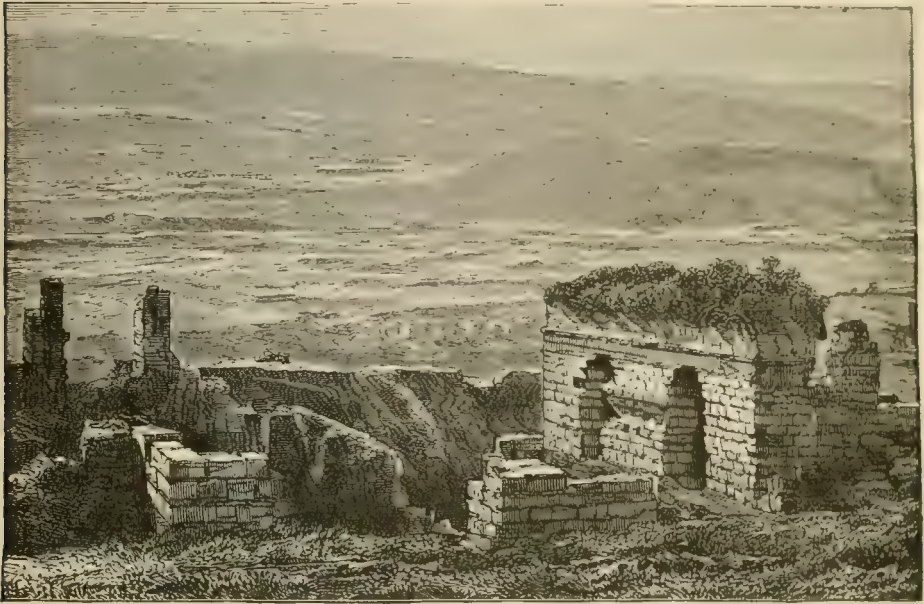
AQUEDUCT, ON THE PRINCIPLE OF THE SIPHON, AT PATARA.²

without soldiers in the midst of excited Asia. He, however, replied with an order to Mithridates to withdraw from Cappadocia. It was a declaration of war, and Mithridates had expected it. The torrent was at once let loose: Nicomedes and the consular legate Aquilius, who sought to check it at the head of those provincial levies of which Cicero speaks with so much contempt, were defeated. Mithridates drove back the proconsul Oppius from Cappadocia into

¹ Appian, *Mithrid.*, 16: ἡ ἐς 'Ρώμην ἐπὶ κρίσιν ἵσμεν.

² Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie min.*, vol. iii. pl. 179. A very ancient construction, proving that the use of the siphon was understood in remote times.

Pamphylia, and in a single action destroyed the Roman fleet which guarded the entrance of the Euxine. The conqueror then sent home the prisoners he had taken, excused the debts of the cities, and promised them five years' exemption from subsidies. As a result, the people everywhere came out to meet him, and his advance was not so much a conquest as a triumphal march. They called him a saving divinity and the new Bacchus, and his noble face, recalling that of Alexander, added to the illusion. Magnesia ad



EPHESUS: RUINS OF THE GYMNASIUM (PAGE 674).¹

Sipylum, Stratoniceaea in Caria, and Patara in Lycia, with a few other cities, resisted the general current. To bind the Asiatic population to his cause by a sanguinary tie, the King of Pontus sent to the governors of all the cities secret orders, which were not to be opened until a fixed date. On the day appointed, at the same hour, the entire province revenged itself for its long afflictions. All the Romans and Italians in Asia were murdered; women, children, and even slaves perishing amid tortures. Not even the most venerated sanctuaries were able to protect the victims;² and, their confiscated property being divided between the

¹ *Voyage de Constantinople à Ephèse* by De Moustier. (*Tour du monde*, part 229, p. 270.)

² Appian, *Mithrid.* 61. Some authors state the number murdered at eighty thousand

murderers and the king, the latter found himself sufficiently enriched to be able to declare the Asiatics free of all tax for five years. Ephesus among all these cities signalized her hate. When there were no more Romans left to kill, the inhabitants turned their fury against monuments erected by them or in their honor; and the city fairly earned the distinction of being the capital of the new empire. Cassius meanwhile had made his escape to Rhodes; but



COIN OF MITYLENE.¹

Oppius, being given up by the people of Laodicaea, was carried away in chains by Mithridates. Aquilius, betrayed by the Mitylenians, was exhibited to public derision in the principal cities, until at Pergamus he was put to death by pouring molten gold into his mouth

(88).² Rome thus expiated, by the death of nearly a hundred thousand of her citizens or her allies, and by a shock which made the whole empire tremble, the abominable exactions of her proconsuls and her publicans; and the retribution was just.

The first part of the plans of Mithridates had now been carried out. Asia had been subdued, with the exception of a few cities that still held out; one of them, Rhodes, making a brilliant resistance, and giving shelter to the Romans who had escaped from the massacre. Several times, Mithridates attacked it, but was always unsuccessful, and in one of these naval battles narrowly escaped with his life. He passed the winter of 88-87 at Pergamus in order to be near Greece, and celebrated there with great pomp his marriage with the beautiful Monima, a Greek of Stratonicea or Miletus, who had refused his offers until he consented to bestow upon her the rank of queen. The fault which had ruined Antiochus³ now became disastrous to Mithridates. The great king gave place to the voluptuous satrap, and lost the opportunity for striking a decisive blow. The Pontic king, however, did not forget himself so entirely as did Antiochus. During the wedding festivities the Asiatic despot had sent out from his palace his orders for the

(Val. Max., ix. 2); others, at a hundred thousand, and even at a hundred and fifty thousand. (Plut., *Sylla*.)

¹ Laurelled head of Apollo. On the reverse, MYTI, lyre, and serpent. Silver coin of Mitylene.

² Appian, *Mithrid.* 21. According to Diodorus (xxxvii. 27), he killed himself to escape from insults and tortures.

³ See p. 115.

massacre; and he now made ready to profit by the Civil war which was detaining the legions in Italy, to fulfil his promises to the Italians and Greeks.

The Greeks were keenly alive to the events taking place on the opposite shore of the Aegean; and the rhetoricians did not fail to extol in pompous language the generosity of the king, the liberation of Asia, and the revival of the Hellenic race. The Athenians, always mindful of the great achievements of their ancestors, were now the most excited. They had suffered less than others from proconsular exactions, and Rome had shown them very unusual consideration. But their immense vanity was not content with the trivial part which they now played in the world; and they were indignant to see eminent Romans, like the orators Crassus and Antonius, traverse their city without rendering her the customary homage, disdaining her marvels, her yet famous schools, and in the city of Sophocles and Demosthenes affecting to speak "their own barbaric language."¹ Accordingly, Athens had readily accepted the offers made to her by Mithridates. That city was now to be the base of operations for the Pontic army. The siege she endured was the most considerable incident of the war; and, as if to show that it was not so much a question of the independence of a little nation as of a struggle which had already been going on for more than a century between the Hellenic and the Latin civilizations, the defence was conducted by two philosophers, Aristion and Apellicon of Teos; and it was the representative of the old Roman party who in the end forced the gates.

In the spring of the year 87 the Pontic fleet, mistress of the Aegean Sea, transported into Greece an army under the command of the Cappadocian Archelaus; while, on the north of the Hellespont, one of the king's sons, Arcathias, was gathering another army, to be augmented on its march by the Thracian and Danubian tribes, among whom the emissaries of Mithridates had long been at work. This plan was skilful. The Roman governor of Macedonia, who alone in Hellas had some troops at his disposal, would find himself hemmed in between the two Asiatic armies. But the one hundred and fifty thousand men whom Mithridates promised to send into Greece were a kind of troops that Flamininus

* ¹ See Hinstin, *Les Romains à Athènes*, p. 68, seq.

had once characterized by telling a story;¹ and the same king who had conducted the Asiatic war with so much resolution and celerity now carried on the European campaign with inexplicable delays. Archelaus, who ought to have been able to arrive in Greece in the year 88, while Italy was yet in a blaze, reached his destination only in the following year, when the great conflagration was nearly extinguished; and the king's army spent a whole year in going from Lampsacus to Thermopylae. Archelaus easily brought about the defection of Athens, long before prepared by the philosopher Aristion, also of Euboea and the Peloponnesus, and of Boeotia, with the exception of Thespiæ; also the two fortresses of Chalcis and of Demetrias still remained in the hands of the Roman party.

The first collision between the Romans and Asiatics took place in Boeotia. Bruttius Sura, the lieutenant of the governor of Macedon, drove out of Thessaly a detachment which had endeavored to capture Demetrias, for three days fought successfully with Archelaus in the plain of Chaeronea, and would have remained master of the field if the approach of the Peloponnesians had not wrested the victory from him.² The shock was so severe that it had the effect of bringing the invasion to a stand. Moreover, Sylla was coming up, and the Pontic army was not; Archelaus fell back upon the Piræus,³ and Aristion re-entered Athens. They held only the coast of Greece; but that they held strongly, thanks to the half-insular position of Athens and their own fleet, mistress of the Aegean.

III. SIEGE OF ATHENS; BATTLES OF CHAERONEA AND ORCHOMENUS (87-85).

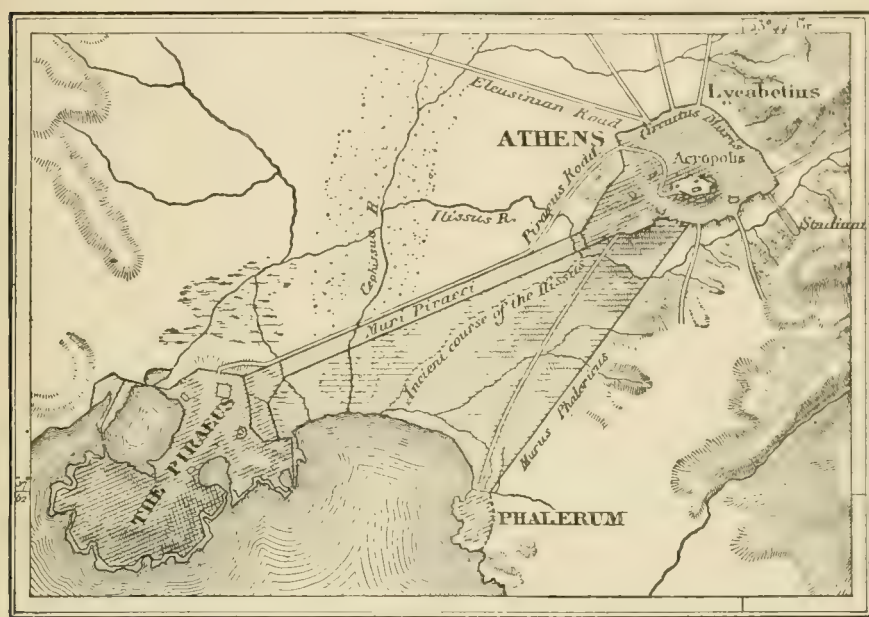
WHILE fighting was going on in Boeotia, Sylla had crossed the Adriatic with five legions—about thirty thousand men—and the

¹ See p. 114.

² The arrival of Sylla in Greece put a stop to all these movements; in the further progress of the war the Peloponnesians were entirely out of account.

³ Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol.* pl. xii. [The Piræus is now a very different place from what it was. It contains twenty thousand inhabitants; its harbor is full of ships, and, sad to relate, a rapidly increasing number of factory chimneys is defacing the place. The harbor, though not large, is perfectly sheltered, and deep up to the shore, and is able to hold many ships of war, together with merchantmen and steamers.—*Ed.*]

little gold that he had been able to obtain by the sale of the consecrated treasures of the temples.¹ He levied some auxiliaries in Thessaly, Aetolia, and Boeotia, and marched upon Athens, leaving strong detachments at Megara to close the isthmus, and at Eleusis, to keep open the route to Boeotia, which was to supply him with provisions. Athens was connected with the Piraeus by the Long Walls of Themistocles; and with the aid of the Pontic fleet the Piraeus was constantly receiving soldiers and provisions, which were sent into the city. Sylla at first devoted all his efforts to separating the city from its harbor by breaking through the Long Walls.



THE LONG WALLS OF ATHENS.²

He then made a furious attack upon the Piraeus, sparing neither his soldiers nor himself; for, proscribed at Rome as he was, it was only by a victory, and a prompt one, that he could save himself. To construct his machines of war he had cut down the fine trees of the Lyceum and the Academy; to pay his soldiers he pillaged the temples of Delphi, Epidaurus, and Olympia, promising that the

¹ App., *Mithrid.* 22. Orosius, v. 18: *Loca publica quae in circuitu Capitoli, pontificibus auguribus, decemviris et flaminibus in possessionem tradita erant, cogente inopia, vendita sunt.*

² [The Phaleric wall fell into decay as soon as Pericles completed the southern Long Wall (440 B.C.).]

gold should be restored after the war.¹ The priests of Delphi called to their aid presages forbidding this forced loan. They had heard the lyre of Apollo sound in the sanctuary. "It is a sign that he consents," the general said; "deliver over these treasures; the



SCULPTURE FROM DELPHI (QUADRIGA AND WREATHS).²

god himself gives them to us to fight against the barbarians; they will be safer in my hands than in yours." Meanwhile the attack on the Piraeus made no progress. Archelaus skilfully checked the advances of the besiegers, and employed in the defence all that the engineering science of the time had taught. On one occasion he ordered a grand sortie, which would have been fatal to the besieging army had it not been for the desperate courage of a Roman cohort,

whose soldiers had some military disgrace to wipe out. Winter came on before the rams had made a breach in the walls, constructed of enormous blocks. Fortunately the advance of the Pontic army was incredibly slow. The death of Arcathias still further delayed them;



BATTERING-RAM (USED BY HAND).³

and the year 86 found Sylla encamped at Eleusis with a portion of his troops, the rest posted between the Piraeus and Athens, to continue the blockade; the Pontic army besieged in these two places, Euboea and Macedon; and Mithridates still in Asia.

In the spring Sylla renewed his attacks vigorously; but Lucullus, whom he had sent into Egypt to collect vessels, had not been able to

¹ Plutarch, *Sylla*, 12. He kept his word; but it was the Greeks who paid for him. After the battle of Chaeronea he consecrated to Jupiter and Apollo half the territory of Thebes to compensate the temples for the treasures that he had "borrowed" from them. (Plutarch, *Sylla*, 27.)

² Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol.* pl. xcii. fig. 2.

³ Bas-relief of Trajan's Column. (Bartoli, *Colonna Traj.* pl. xxii.) Dacians attacking

form a fleet capable of disputing the seas with that of the Pontic king. Despairing of the capture of the Piræus, so long as Mithridates remained master of the seas, he turned his efforts against the city. Athens was already suffering from famine; it is asserted that the medimnus of corn was sold at one thousand drachmae.¹ However, Aristion, master of the citadel, and supported by the troops which Archelaus had furnished him, did not speak of surrender. According to Plutarch, who manifestly calumniates him, this sophist, turned general, was a wretch in whom all the vices contended for mastery. His nights were spent in revels, and by day he appeared upon the walls to insult the Romans, Metella, their general's wife, and Sylla himself, whom, on account of his roughened complexion, Aristion compared to a mul-

COIN OF ATHENS.²COIN OF APELLICON.⁵

berry powdered with meal. The philosophers of that time believed themselves to be statesmen and even warriors. The Peripatetic Appellicon of Teos also had a command in Athens.³ He was very fond of books, bought them everywhere, and stole them from the public collections, — fortunate thefts, we may say, for Appellicon suffered from the *lex talionis*; Sylla seized his library and carried it to Rome. The manuscripts of Aristotle were a part of it;⁴ they were copied, and Andronicus of Rhodes prepared from them the first known collection of this master's works.

The walls which Themistocles had built still arrested the advance

city walls by means of a beam terminating in a ram's head. We commit an anachronism in borrowing a detail of Trajan's Column to show the use of this machine, which, according to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vii. 57), is of very ancient date. On an architectural monument the soldiers are naturally represented exposed; in siege operations, however, they handled the ram under movable shelters.

¹ Plut., *Sylla*, 13.

² Coin of Athens. On the obverse, the head of Minerva; on the reverse, the name of Mithridates, ΒΑ(στ)ΑΕ(ὺς) ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ that of the Athenians, ΑΘΕ(ναίων), and that of Aristion, ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ. (Beulé, *Les monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 37, and *Revue numism.*, 1863, pp. 176–179.)

³ He was at the head of an expedition against Delos, and was defeated (Athenæus, v. p. 214; Strabo, p. 609.)

⁴ [The story of the loss and recovery of Aristotle's MSS. in a cellar at Scepsis is told by Strabo XIII. i. 54, and has excited much controversy. — *Ed.*]

⁵ Beulé, *Les monnaies d'Athènes*, No. 211. ΑΘΕ(ναίων) ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ ΑΡΓΕΝΟΣ. ΔΑ.

of Sylla, and gave the two friends time to philosophize. Meanwhile famine had spread even to the troops. Twice Archelaus made an attempt to provision the city; but Sylla, informed by two slaves, who threw into his lines hollow balls containing information, intercepted the convoys. Aristion finally decided to send to Sylla two envoys, who harangued him at great length in praise of Theseus, Eumolpus, and Miltiades. "I was not sent hither to take lessons in eloquence, but to punish rebels," said the general; and he sent them away. On the first day of March,



COIN OF ARISTION.²

86, some soldiers surprised a weak place in the defence, and the city was taken. Sylla caused a portion of the wall to be thrown down, and at midnight, with trumpets sounding the charge and the furious shouting of the whole army, he entered the city.¹ Here he respected the public buildings, but not the lives of men. It was Sylla's purpose to terrify Greece and Asia by the sack of this city, which in delaying his advance for nine months had risked his fortunes. His soldiers being satiated with blood and gold, and the terror of his name spread in all directions, he restored their liberty to those of the Athenians who yet survived, and even gave them back the island of Delos; once more Athens was saved by the memory of her illustrious dead.

Sylla now resumed the siege of the Piraeus with great activity; but behind every section of wall that his rams broke down he found another wall erected by his skilful and persevering adversary, and he was forced to conquer the place inch by inch.³ Archelaus, driven back into Munychia, which the sea surrounded on all sides, might have continued his resistance; but it was no longer worth while for the Pontic army to remain on this point of the Athenian territory. By their valiant defence they had for nearly a year kept Sylla out of Asia, and given Mithridates time to complete his preparations, and the royal army time to arrive in Greece.

¹ Plut., *Sylla*, 14.

² Beulé, *Les monnaies d'Athènes*, No. 216. The owl of Minerva, the name of the Athenians, ΑΘΕ(παίων), and that of three monetary officials, ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ ΦΙΛΩΝ ΗΓΙΑΣ ΑΠ.

³ Sylla, who has respected the public buildings of Athens, destroyed all those of the Piraeus. (App., *Mithrid.* 41.) Such was the carnage, it is said, that the blood shed in the market-place spread over the whole Ceramicus, ran in a stream through the gates and overflowed the suburbs.

Archelaus now embarked and sailed for Euboea, to put himself in communication with Taxiles, the new general in command of the army from Thrace, who was coming down in the rear of the legions with an army of one hundred and ten thousand men. Sylla, not being master of the sea, could not allow himself to be shut up in sterile Attica; moreover, he wished to meet Hortensius, who was bringing reinforcements to him from Thessaly. Being obliged to avoid Thermopylae, where a force of the enemy lay in wait for him, Hortensius had taken the road by Mount Pindus, and



SOLDIER ARMED WITH A SLING.¹



A ROMAN TRUMPETER (CORNICEN).²

was coming down into Boeotia. Two roads—one passing to the south, the other to the north of Mount Parnes—led from Athens into the Boeotian plain, coming out at Plataea and at Tanagra, respectively. Sylla doubtless availed himself of both routes to move his army more rapidly, and made his junction with Hortensius in the neighborhood of Elatea. Thanks to Plutarch, who was a native of the country, and prepared his history by aid of Sylla's Memoirs, we are better informed than usual about the incidents of this campaign.

¹ From Trajan's Column.

² From the Arch of Constantine.

The proconsul established his camp on a hill close by a stream of water. There he saw everything, and was himself seen, which was a part of his design; for he hoped that the enemy, confiding in their superior numbers and despising the small Roman force, might commit some imprudence.¹ And so it happened; for the officers and soldiers of Taxiles demanded to be led to battle, and Archelaus himself wished it. The plain was full of men and horses and chariots. The glitter of their armor,

VIEW OF PLATAEA.²

adorned with gold and silver, the brilliant colors of the Median and Scythian dress, the polished lustre of brass and steel, gave this immense mass a conspicuous and formidable aspect. But, like Marius in the presence of the Teutons, Sylla kept his army motionless behind their entrenchments, and supported with patience the taunts of the barbarians, who, encouraged by this inaction, spread themselves abroad, many days' journey from the camp, for purposes of rapine and plunder. They sacked cities, pillaged temples, and arrayed against themselves both the gods and the

¹ Plutarch gives Sylla but sixteen thousand five hundred men. But Sylla understated the number of his troops, as also that of his slain. If we say thirty thousand, of whom half were Romans, we shall doubtless come near the truth.

² Baron von Stachelberg, *Greece*. — [This view looks west towards Mount Helicon. — *Ed.*]

inhabitants of the country: the latter kept Sylla informed of all the movements of the Asiatics; the former, especially the renowned oracle of Trophœ-nius, multiplied predictions of Roman successes.

To draw the Romans out of their lines, Archelaus, who commanded in chief, broke up his camp, and moved in the direction of Chaeronea, along the western shore of Lake Copais, — an imprudent movement, for, in case of defeat, he had no line open upon which he could retreat. Sylla forestalled him; for a tribune with one legion, guided by some Chaeroneans, occupied this impor-



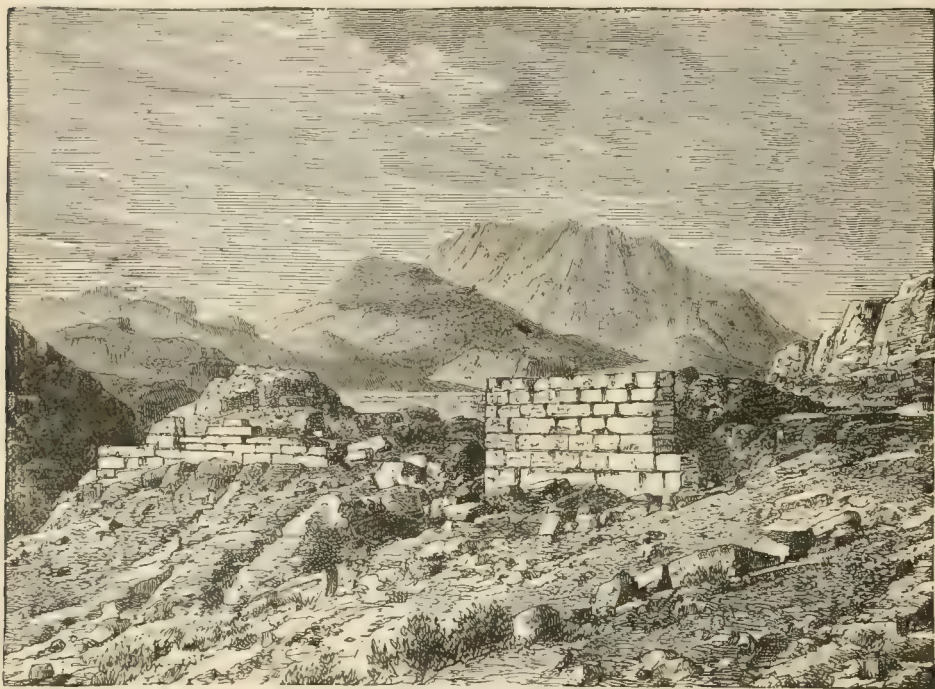
TERRA-COTTA FIGURINE FROM TANAGRA.¹

tant city before he could arrive. The Romans found here many souvenirs of the brilliant encounters of Bruttius Sura with this second Xerxes; and such was the confidence of the soldiers that, on the arrival of the general, the tribune offered him a wreath of laurel in their name, as though the victory had already been won.

The Asiatics were posted on a hill called Mount Thurium, overlooking the city. On the arrival of the proconsul, two men of Chaeronea came to him with a proposal to conduct a small party by a secret foot-path to a point above the enemy. He accepted their offer, and made his plans to take advantage of the

¹ Heuzey, *Les figurines de terre cuite du musée du Louvre*, pl. xxii. fig. 1.

panic which this unexpected attack was likely to produce. He slowly drew out his army in order of battle, the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on both wings; in the rear a strong reserve, commanded by Hortensius, took up their position on the higher ground to arrest a flank movement which the enemy were believed to be planning with a large force of cavalry and light-armed infantry. Sylla in person took command of the right

CHAERONEA.¹

wing, the left being entrusted to Murena; and both wings were covered by a ditch which would check the enemy's cavalry, while a palisade in front of the centre was depended upon to hamper the attack of the chariots.

The enemy's order of battle consisted in placing the chariots in the first rank; in the second, the phalanx; in the third, the auxiliaries armed after the Roman fashion, among whom were

¹ Belle, *Voyage en Grèce*. (*Tour du monde*, 1877, part 841, p. 97.) Chaeronea is now but a small hamlet, Kapurna. The remains of the theatre can yet be seen, "one of the rudest in Greece, whose stiff, narrow, and inconvenient seats are cut in a hard flint rock."—[The walls of the great acropolis, called Petrachus, are, however, very fine and well preserved. — *Ed.*]

many fugitive Italians.¹ Between the chariots and the phalanx Archelaus and Taxiles had placed fifteen thousand slaves, enfranchised by public decree in the cities of Greece.² Thus provincials, Italians, slaves, all the classes in revolt against Rome, were represented in this army of Mithridates.

As soon as the Romans appeared on the crest of Mount Thurium, the affrighted barbarians would have fled, but the rocks and stones rolled down the steep slope by the legionaries overtook and crushed them; they fell one upon another, wounded with their own weapons, and many perished without being able to strike a blow. Those who succeeded in reaching the plain were cut in pieces by Murena, or fell in among the Pontic army, arresting its march and bringing it into disorder. The scythe-armed chariots began an attack, but, embarrassed by the palisades, could get no headway. "As an arrow shot feebly from the bow falls useless, the first chariots, sent forward without vigor, are repulsed without difficulty; and the Romans call out for more, amid laughter and applause, as they would have done in witnessing races in the circus."

This gayety was of ill omen for the Asiatics. At the moment of receiving the Roman onslaught they closed their ranks and lowered their long lances, imitated from the Macedonian *sarissae*; but before his first line reached this dense mass, Sylla rained upon them the darts of the skirmishers (*velites*) and all the projectiles with which his second line was supplied. Thus gaps were produced in the line; then Sylla advanced his legionaries, who, as at Pydna, pushed aside the pikes or stepped over them fighting hand to hand.

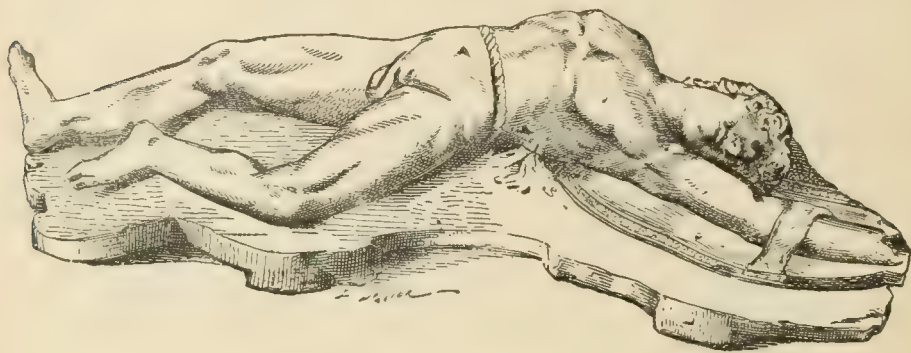
A VELES³

¹ *Mixtis fugitivis Italicae gentes, quorum pervicaciae multum fidebat.* (Front., *Strateg.* i. 3, 17.)

² Plut., *Sylla*, 18.

³ From the Arch of Septimius Severus.

The adversaries of Rome had learned nothing by their defeats. Mithridates had not been able to find anything better as an order of battle than this, whose inefficiency should have been made evident to him by three defeats in a century: Cynoscephalæ, Magnesia, and Pydna. Of the one hundred and twenty thousand Asiatics gathered at Chaeronea, ten thousand escaped to Chalcis with their leaders. The conqueror boasted that he had not lost fifteen soldiers,¹ — a falsehood which now seems most clumsy, since it gives the impression that the enemy against whom Sylla fought was contemptible. Not so, however, did it appear to the ancients, for in their eyes to gain a battle without loss was a signal proof of the protection

DYING GALATIAN.²

of the gods; and to be regarded as a favorite of heaven was a special object of ambition with Sylla. Nowadays men believe less in fortune, and more in the leader's talent.

Mithridates at once set about gathering a new army. He had promised Asia a milder rule; but he overwhelmed the country with taxes and requisitions. Conspiracies were formed, which he sought to smother in blood. The tetrarchs of Galatia, by him invited to a banquet, were murdered, as well as their wives and children. He confiscated their property, and suppressed this form of government, always a favorite with the Gauls, imposing upon them one of his satraps as king.³ Three of the tetrarchs, however, had made their escape; they collected troops, drove out the royal garrisons, and Mithridates saw a dangerous war break out in his

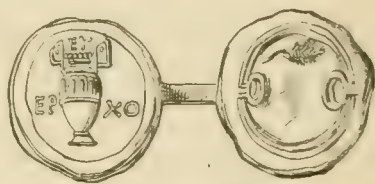
¹ Appian (*Mithrid.* 45) says fifteen were missing, but two of them came in later.

² Or gladiator, at Venice. (*Musée Saint-Marc*, vol. ii. pl. 46.)

³ So at least Sylla says in his Memoirs. Cf. Plut., *Sylla*, 19, and App., *Mithrid.* 45.

rear. At Chios he compelled the people to give him two thousand talents; then, under the pretence that the amount was not complete, one of his admirals carried off all the inhabitants, and landed them on the Pontic coast; at Adramyttium he caused the senators of the town to be all put to death. Tralles, Metropolis, Pergamus, Ephesus even, alarmed at the fate of Chios, massacred the king's officers and closed their gates.¹ To arrest the defection of the others, Mithridates granted to debtors release from their debts; to foreigners established in the cities, the rights of citizenship; and to slaves, emancipation. Having thus secured to himself a powerful party among the populace of each city, he ruled by terror over the nobles and the rich. Informers, encouraged by him, announced daily some new conspiracy; plots were formed in his very court, and in a short time sixteen hundred accused persons were put to death with tortures. Mithridates had succeeded in making the Greeks of Asia regret the rule of the Roman proconsuls.

Sylla was still at Thebes, celebrating his victory by games and festivals, when he learned that Valerius Flaccus, who had succeeded Marius in the consulship, was crossing the Adriatic with a large army. At the same time a general of Mithridates, Dorylaus, arriving from Asia with eighty thousand men, landed at Chalcis.² Between two dangers, Sylla chose the more glorious one, and marched against Dorylaus, who was advancing rapidly into Boeotia with a large force of cavalry. "Of all the plains in Boeotia that are renowned for their beauty and extent, this alone," says Plutarch,



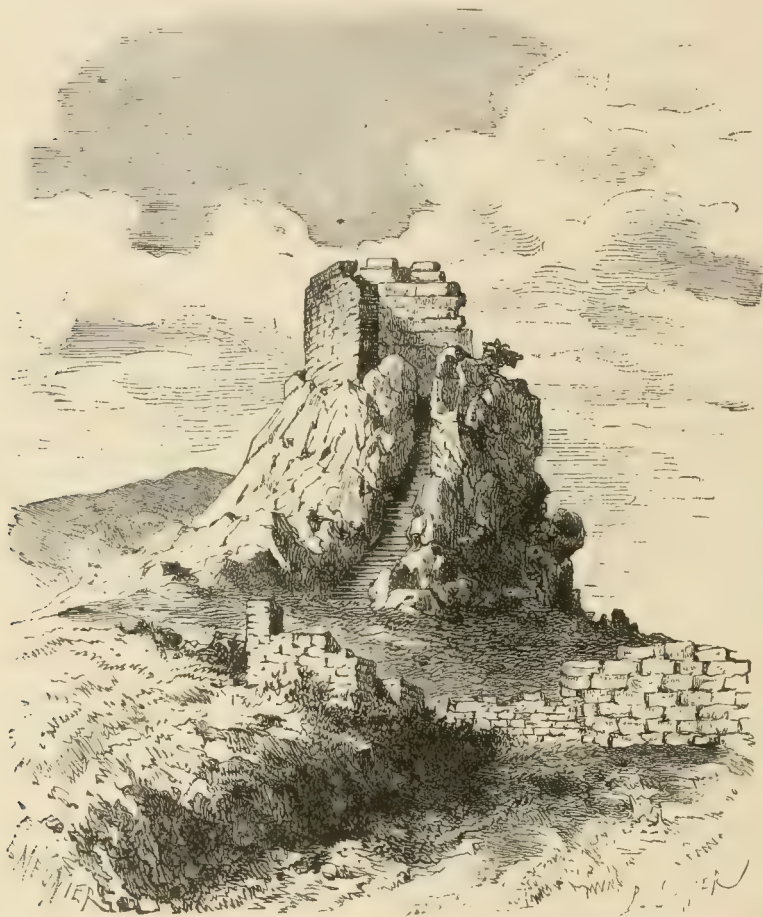
COIN OF ORCHOMENUS.³

¹ Smyrna, Sardis, and Colophon followed this example. In 1862, M. Waddington (*Inscr. de l'Asie min.*, No. 136) found an inscription containing a declaration of war of the Ephesians against the King of Pontus, and the decrees designed to give more vigor to the defence, such as the abolition of debts secured by notes of hand, the removal of debtors' incapacities, etc. Eight years later, Mr. Wood discovered in the ruins of Ephesus a legal fragment (ninety-eight lines), the longest text of the kind which has come down to us in Greek. This fragment, of later date than the peace imposed by Sylla upon Mithridates, relating however to mortgages which had become extremely numerous in consequence of the enormous burdens imposed upon the cities, is a document throwing much light upon Greek legislation in respect to debts. See R. Dareste, *Revue historique du droit français et étranger*, 1877, pp. 161-175.

² Licinianus says fifty thousand.

³ ΕΡΧΟ ΕΥ, commencement of the city's name; and monogram. Diota or vase. On the reverse, a Boeotian buckler, and an ear of corn. Silver coin of Orchomenus.

“which commences from the city of Orchomenus, spreads out unbroken and clear of trees to the edge of the fens in which the Melas loses itself.” Archelaus advised delay in order to exhaust the resources of the enemy; but Dorylaeus reproached him with



RUINS OF ORCHOMENUS.¹

his recent defeat, as if it were treason, and was eager to fight. Sylla took up a position facing the Asiatic army; and to hinder the movements of the cavalry, he cut the plain with ditches, leaving free only that part which led towards the marshy ground, in the

¹ Guhl and Koner. *Das Leben d. Gr. u. Röm.* fig. 70. Acropolis of Orchomenus built upon an isolated rock. [The famous “treasure-house of the Minyae,” a prehistoric sepulchre described by Pausanias, has been lately exhumed and described by Dr. Schliemann, in the *Hellenic Journal*, vol. ii. Unfortunately, the bee-hive roof, covered with an artificial hill, had fallen in a few years before his excavations. — *Ed.*]

hope of seeing them entangled there. His soldiers were actively employed in the trenches when Dorylaeus fell upon them with immense force, dispersed the laborers and the supporting troops, and for a moment put the Roman army in peril. Sylla was obliged to stake his life to check the panic. Leaping from his horse and seizing a standard, he rushed in among the fugitives, crying out: "When they ask you where you abandoned your general, remember to say it was at Orchomenus!" These words brought them to a stand; and, two cohorts from the right wing coming to his aid, he drove back the enemy, and then brought his troops into camp, where he caused them to rest and take food. Confidence and order being re-established, he sent them again to the trenches, and, after a second and violent combat, he succeeded, towards evening, in driving the enemy back into their camp. On the next day, as soon as it was light, he resumed his approaches, and on being attacked, routed the Asiatics, and pursued them to their camp, which he took by storm. A general massacre ensued, and the marshes and lake were filled with dead bodies.¹ Two centuries and a half later, bows and breastplates and swords continued to be found there, buried deep in mud. The Asiatic army was annihilated, — a splendid military operation, like those of Caesar later, the smaller army surrounding and destroying the larger.

Thebes, whose fidelity had been for a time doubtful, and three other Boeotian cities, shared the fate of Athens (85), and the whole of Greece trembled.

Whilst Sylla was gaining this second victory, Flaccus had advanced into Asia; but, on his way through Thessaly, he could not prevent a large number of soldiers deserting from his army to join that of Sylla. Threatened by two armies and having lost his own, Mithridates secretly endeavored through Archelaus to make terms with the conqueror; proposing to furnish Sylla with money, troops, and ships, to secure his return into Italy, if the Roman general would promise to him the undisturbed possession of Asia.² Sylla required the restitution of all the king's conquests,

¹ [In these same marshes the infantry of the grand Catalan Company destroyed the flower of the Frankish chivalry then ruling Greece, A. D. 1310. (Cf. Finlay's *Greece*, vol. iv. p. 150.) — *Ed.*]

² Archelaus perhaps sold himself to Sylla, who gave him great estates in Euboea, ten thousand plethra. (Plut., *Sylla*, 23.)

and of all captives and fugitives; the payment of two thousand talents; the restoration to their respective countries of all exiles, Chiotes and others; and the gift of seventy brass-beaked galleys.¹ These conditions were moderate, since they merely established the *status quo*, and left the king's massacres unpunished. Each day, however, new refugees from the Roman proscriptions were taking shelter with Sylla; and he needed peace if he could obtain it with honor. While the king deliberated, the Roman general led his army into Thrace, for the purpose of punishing those tribes who, as allies of Mithridates, made constant raids into Macedon; and still more with the intention of occupying his troops, and giving them opportunities for plunder. This expedition, which brought him nearer Asia, was nearly concluded, when the King of Pontus made reply that he would consent to everything except

the furnishing of the galleys, and the relinquishment of Paphlagonia; and he gave it to be understood that he could obtain better terms than these from Fimbria.

That general had killed the consul Flaccus at Nicomedia, taken command of the consular army, and was carrying on war on his own account. He had defeated a son of Mithridates, and advanced rapidly as far as Pergamus, whence the king had scarcely time to make his escape. Lucullus, whom Sylla, during the siege of Athens, had directed to collect vessels from Egypt, Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Rhodes, was cruising

in these waters with a fleet; but he suffered the king to escape him. It was an act of treason towards Rome; for the capture of Mithridates at that time would have saved her twenty years of sacrifices and anxieties. But Lucullus was true to his party. It



TURRETED HEAD FROM CYPRUS.²

¹ Plut., *Sylla*, 22; Livy, *Epit.* lxxxiii.

² Terra-cotta figurine in the museum of the Louvre. (Heuzey, *Figurines*, etc., pl. 157.)

could not be endured that a partisan of Marius should have the honor of terminating the war. Fimbria revenged himself upon Ilium, which he destroyed for having sent an embassy to Sylla; and he then gave up to the rapacity of his soldiers Mysia, the Troad, and Bithynia.¹ Mithridates hoped to profit by the rivalry of the two chiefs; but Sylla feigned indignation. "I thought to have seen him prostrate at my feet to thank me," he said, "for leaving him so much as that right hand which has murdered so many Romans. When I come over into Asia he will speak another language." Mithridates did, in fact, humiliate himself, and beg for an interview, which took place at Dardanus in the Troad. The king had with him twenty thousand foot-soldiers, six thousand horse, a great number of scythe-armed chariots, and two hundred vessels on the sea. Sylla was accompanied only by four chariots. But when Mithridates, advancing to meet him, held out his hand, Sylla asked, first of all, whether he were ready to accept the offered terms; and as the king made no answer, "How is this?" said the Roman; "ought not the petitioner to speak first, and the conqueror to listen?" Mithridates finally found it best to submit to everything, and at the close of the interview set sail at once for Pontus. Fimbria was at this time in Lydia. Sylla marched against him; and, his soldiers going over to the latter, Fimbria, in despair, took his own life (84).

Mithridates being driven out of the province of Asia, Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes once more established in their kingdoms, and the troops of Fimbria being won over, nothing now remained but to pay the soldiers the rewards of victory, and punish the province. Many cities were sacked and destroyed; others beheld their walls thrown down, and their citizens sold into slavery or put to death. The slaves whom Mithridates had liberated were sent back to their masters, and the invaded lands restored to their original owners. It was a new social revolution. After the military executions, followed exactions of every kind. The army was distributed through the cities, and quartered upon the inhabitants. Each soldier was to receive, from his host, sixteen drachmae daily (about two dollars and sixty-five cents), with a meal for

¹ Diod., *Fr.* 131; App., *Mithrid.* 53.

himself and as many friends as he chose to bring; each centurion fifty drachmae, with a suit of garments for the house, and another for the street. Finally, Sylla convoked the deputies of the province at Ephesus, and declared to them, in terms that permitted no hesitation, that the province would be required to pay immediately the taxes of the five years past since the defection, amounting to twenty thousand talents,¹ the expenses of the war, and whatever sums might be necessary for the reconstruction of the province. Money being extremely scarce among cities so often given up to pillage, the theatres and gymnasia and even the very walls of the town were given in pawn to the usurers. This settlement cost Asia more than one hundred and twenty million dollars; but Sylla was paying in advance the soldiers who were to fight for him in the Civil war.

¹ App., *Mithrid.* 61-63; Plut., *Sylla*, 25; *Luc.* 4. The allies, in 1815, made similar requisitions in the provinces of France (Vaulabelle, *Hist. des deux Restaur.* iii. 345); and in the war of 1870-71, the Prussians exceeded the exactions which had been, up to that time, cited as the most memorable instances of a conqueror's arrogance.



A GREEK WARRIOR (FROM A PAINTED VASE).



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